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I.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, November* 4, 1887.]

Bat, a thick stick. Dr. Murray cites an A.S. *bat* as a purely theoretical form, given by Somner and others, but unauthorised. But Prof. Napier has just discovered it, in the form *batt*. Among the glosses of the eleventh century printed by him in Engl. Studien, xi. 65, we find: "*Claua*, batt." The Lat. *claua* means a thick staff, cudgel, or club (Lewis and Short).

Courser; see **Horse-courser**.

Cozier, (perhaps) a cobler. This word occurs in Tw. Nt. ii. 3. 97, where Malvolio reproves the company for squeaking out their "*coziers'* catches." It is said by some to mean a tailor, but the earliest authority, Minsheu, says it means a cobbler. His Dictionary has: "A *Cosier*, or sowter, from the Span. *coser*, to sew; *vide* Botcher, Souter, or Cobler." It is not at all likely that the word is of Span. origin. It is far more likely to be French. The nearest form I can find in Godefroy is the O.F. *cousere*, for which he gives a quotation, but puts it under the form *couseor*, for which he adduces no authority. He explains *cousere* by *couturier*, and Cotgrave has: "*Cousturier*, a Tailor, or Botcher, a Seamster." The O.F. *cousere* is evidently derived from the stem *cous-*, which appears in *cous-u* (Lat. *consutus*), the pp. of *coudre*, to sew. From Lat. *con*, together, and *suere*, to sew. Godefroy also gives an O.F. *chosier*, which he does not attempt to explain. His quotation is: "Un charpentier, un cercelier, un *chosier*,

um peletier." These are all names of tradesmen; and as *peletier* means 'a furrier,' it seems just possible that *chosier* may mean 'a cozier.'

Cut. I have given this word as of Celtic origin. If this should turn out to be incorrect, perhaps it may be Scandinavian. It appears first in Layamon, as I have said. Ihre gives O. Swed. *kotta*, to cut or carve wood with a knife; but gives no reference. The Swed. dialects have *kåta*, *kuta*, to cut or chip with a knife; *kåta ur*, to hollow out; *kuta* or *kytti*, a knife; *kutts*, a piece or bit cut off, chip. Haldorsson gives an O.N. *kuta*, to cut with a small knife (quoted by Mätzner); also *kuti*, a knife (quoted by Aasen, s.v. *kytel*). Vigfusson has *kuti*, a little blunt knife, without a reference. Aasen gives Norw. *kytel*, *kjutul*, most often *kyttel*, a pointed slip of wood, with which bark is stripped off trees. The Norw. form *kyttel* reminds us of the M.E. form *kitten*. It is curious that the traces of the word should be so slight.

Decoy. On this difficult word there is an excellent article by C. Stoffel, of Amsterdam, in Engl. Studien, x. 181. He shews that we may fairly conclude that the word *coy* is simply borrowed from the Du. *kooi*, a cage. We find *coy-ducks* in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 205 (London, 1827). In the word *de-coy*, he suggests that *de* may be simply the Du. definite article, so that it would answer to Du. *de kooi*, the cage. This is a new light, and may be correct; if not, we must take *de-* to be the usual E. prefix of Lat. origin. He further shews that *kooi* is a genuine Du. word, with a variant form *kouwe*, given by Kiliaen. The whole article is valuable, and full of useful quotations. To these I add one from N. & Q. 5 S. xi. 7, where it is said that Spelman (Eng. Works, ed. 1727 [Posthumous Works], p. 153) says that Sir Wm. Woodhouse "primum apud nos instituit Decipulum Anatorium, peregrine nomine *a Koye*." And I have further to add that the word is given in Skinner's Dict., 1671, where he has: "*Coy*, Belg. *Voghel Koye*, à nom. *Koye*, cavea, septum aviarium, item avis pellax, illex," etc.

Dismal. Attempts have been made to connect this difficult word with the Lat. *dies malus*, and Trench shews, in his

Select Glossary, that the phrase *dismal days*, i.e. unlucky days, was once common. It was Minsheu who started this etymology, and he tried to illustrate it by explaining about the unlucky days called the *dies mali* or *dies Ægyptiaci*. See Brand's Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ii. 48, where Brand cites from Bp. Hall, "If his journey began unawares on the *dismal day*, he feares a mischief." Chaucer first uses the phrase "in the *dismalle*," Book of the Duchess, 1205, where he immediately goes on to speak of "the woundes [i.e. plagues] of Egipte," thus again connecting the word with the *dies Ægyptiaci*. Though we cannot derive *dismal* from *dies malus*, I believe Minsheu is, practically, right after all. By turning the Lat. plural *dies mali* into Old French, it becomes precisely *dis mal*. The O.F. word for *day* was *di*, as in mod. F. *Lundi*, *Mar-di*, etc., and the plural *dis* (with the *s* distinctly sounded) is sufficiently common. See examples in Godefroy and Bartsch. It seems to me that *dismal* meant precisely 'unlucky days'; and that the phrase *in the dismalle* meant 'at an unlucky time.' When the sense of *dis* was lost, the word *days* was added, thus producing the phrase *dismal days*, which meant no more than had been formerly expressed by the word *dismal* alone. And this is why Chaucer uses it *by itself*. If this is right, it definitely and finally solves a puzzle to which no answer has ever yet been found. Trench tells us that Minsheu's is 'one of those plausible etymologies to which one learns after a time to give no credit.' But it may be quite right, if we will but go to the *Old French* instead of *Latin* for the explanation of the actual form of the word. See also *Dies Ægyptiaci* in Ducange; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 41; Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii. 77.

Dog. Traces of this word in A.S. are so extremely scarce that I note the word *doggiþorn*, probably meaning *Dogthorn*, in the boundaries in an A.S. charter, dated just before A.D. 960. See Birch, *Cartularium Anglo-Saxonicum*, iii. 113.

Dowle. Ariel uses the expression: "one *dowle* that's in my plume;" Tempest, iii. 3. 65. The various passages in which the word occurs are given in Mr. Wright's note on the line. A wool-bearing tree, or cotton-tree, is said to have

"wool or *dowl* on it." Again, "young *dowle*" is explained by Lat. *lanugo*. And "the plumage of young goslings before they have feathers is called *dowle*." But the word probably means what is now called "a down-feather," as distinct from the larger or "quill-feather" of a bird. Two points have hitherto been missed. One is, the occurrence of the word in Middle-English; and the other is the etymology. First, the word occurs in Middle English in the Plowman's Tale, in the 14th stanza from the end, where the Griffin threatens the Pelican that "he wolde him teren, every *doule*," i.e. every smallest feather of him. It rimes with *oule* and *foule*, and was therefore pronounced as glossic [ool] or [oo·lu'], according as the final *e* was mute or not. Secondly, as to the etymology. To say that it is much the same as *down*, as some do, is mere trifling; we have no business to assume anything of the kind. The word *down* was a perfectly well-known word, of Scandinavian origin, and there was no more sense in turning it into the unmeaning form *doule* than there would be in calling a *clown* a *clowl*, or a *gown* a *goule*, which is obviously ridiculous. I have no doubt that the word was a term in falconry, and necessarily of French origin. I find in Hamilton's French Dictionary the adj. *douillet*, meaning 'soft, downy.' Littré says, and the remark is important, that it can be used as a substantive; it then means 'soft stuff'; Cotgrave even explains it by 'a milksop.' This adj. is an extended form of the O.F. *doille*, or *douille*, soft, tender; given by Godefroy with several examples. Of these the most important is one where the word is used as a substantive, to mean 'that which is soft'; as in: "Apres le dur revient le *doille*," i.e. after hardship tenderness returns. I submit, then, that the M.E. *dowle*, soft plumage, is precisely the O.F. *doulle*, given by Godefroy as an occasional spelling of *doille*, with the sense of 'that which is soft'; the very sense required. There is no further trouble; for the O.F. *doille* results from the Lat. acc. *ductilem*, i.e. easily bent, pliable; from the verb *ducere*. Hence *dowle* is the soft, pliable, down-feather of a bird, as distinct from the feathers having a hard central quill. If naturalists would like to

revive a good old word which has no simple equivalent, they might advantageously revive the word *dowle* (which might be spelt *dowl*), to replace the clumsy compound *down-feather*, and thus restrict the term *feather* to express the true feather only, without the prefix *quill-*. I believe that *dowl* and *down* are not quite equivalent terms. Shakespeare correctly says "one dowle," where "one down" would be absurd. A *dowl* is the individual down-feather, whereas *down* is the collective term for the whole of the softer part of the plumage. I would also note that *plume* in this passage clearly means *plumage*. It is singular that Dr. Schmidt should be in doubt about it; he suggests that it may mean 'wing,' or that Ariel might be supposed to wear a plume on his head. But Shakespeare has taken pains to tell us about it. The stage-direction says that 'Ariel enters like a harpy, and claps his wings upon the table.' He is therefore supposed to be at least partially covered with plumage.

Earnest, *sb.*, a pledge, security. The M.E. form is *ernes*, the *t* having been added by confusion with the adj. *earnest*. I have unfortunately supposed it to be of Celtic origin; as the W. form is *ernes*, and the Gallic is *earlas*. But the W. *ernes* must have been borrowed from Mid. English, and the Gael. *earlas* from the Northern Eng. *arles*. *Ernes*, *erles*, and *arles* are all found, and of these *arles* and *erles* are the more correct. For the etymology, see *arles* in Murray's Dictionary. *Arles* answers to a Low Lat. **arrhulas*, dimin. of Lat. *arrha* or *arra*, from Gk. ἀρραβών. See *Arrhes* in Littré, who gives the O.F. forms *arres* and *erres*.

Mr. F. W. Maitland sends me an example of the word *ernes* as early as 1221:—"Preterea si dicti homines emerint bladum aut aliam merchandisam ubi *ernes* dederint, nullus inde eos perturbabit nec a merchandisa sua eos elongabit;" Assize Roll, M. 6. 31, 1: membrane 11, back (Worcester Eyre of 1221).

Entice. I have not given the origin of the French word from which our *entice* is borrowed. It is certainly of Latin, not of Teutonic origin. I translate a remark which I find in an edition of a Norman Poem which the editor calls

Reimpredigt, ed. Suchier, Halle, 1879. In the 7th line of the Poem the word *enticement* occurs, and a note at p. 66 says: "*enticier* (E. *entice*) is wrongly derived from German by Burguy; it is Lat. **in-titiare*, formed from the nom. *titio*, like *chacier* (Lat. **captiare*) from *chace* (Lat. *captio*), or like *tracier* (Lat. **tractiare*) from *trace* (Lat. *tractio*). Another treatment of the sibilant is seen in O.F. *atisier* (mod. F. *attiser*), Lat. **ad-titiare*, which is also found, however, in O.F. with the sharp *c*, as *atice* (riming with *malice*, Ben. Chron. 12122; riming with *herice*, Roman de Renart 1 S. 47); *attice*, Joinville 33, cf. Chastel d'Amur 337); as well as in the form *atise*, cited by Littré." Hence *entice* is from O.F. *enticer*, *enticier*, representing Lat. **in-titiare*, from *titio*, a fire-brand; and the original sense was 'to set on fire.' See also *Attice* in Murray's Dictionary.

Feon, Pheon, the heraldic name for the barbed iron head of a dart. Ogilvie adds—"it is still used as a royal mark, and is called *the broad arrow*." It is conspicuous on the coat of arms of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. The usual spelling of this word, with *ph*, is a late affectation. It occurs in the fifteenth century as *feon*. Thus in the Book of St. Alban's, in the last portion which treats of heraldry, fol. b 5, we find: "*Feons* be calde in armys brode arow hedys." The context shews that *be calde* refers to the *feons*; in modern English construction, we should say, conversely, that "broad arrow-heads are called *feons*." No one can doubt that the word is French; this is clear from the form of it, and from the fact that so much of our heraldry is derived from French. But I cannot find that any origin has been suggested for it. Even the usual guesses are absent. This being so, I am going to give a guess of my own. This is, that I really believe the form to be corrupt. I suppose it to be corrupted from the O.F. *foene*, a form given in Godefroy's F. Dict. The change from *foëne* to *feön* is not a particularly violent one in a word which, to an English ear, gave no sense whatever. If this change in form be admissible, there is no difficulty about the sense, for the two words may have precisely the same meaning. Gode-

froy's quotation is: "Une *foene* doist estre enhantee en une lance comme la hante d'un glaive," which I take to mean—"a broad barbed head ought to be fitted to a handle to form a lance just as the handle of a sword (is fitted)." The spelling *foene* is rare, and so is the variant form *fouane*. The usual forms are *foine*, *foyne*, or *fuyne*. Cotgrave has: "*fouine*, a kind of instrument like an eele-speare, to strike fish with." The Latin word is *fuscina*, a three-pronged spear, or trident, used by Cicero. Ducange gives several examples of the F. word under the heading *fuscina*. Such variant forms as *fouane* and *foene* are not easy to account for; but the fact that the pronunciation of the word was so variable in O. French makes it still more likely that it appears under a further disguise in English. In fact, we know that the verb *to foine* also appears in E. with the spellings *fewn* and *fune*; see my Specimens of English, Part III. (Glossary), and Halliwell's Dict. p. 385. From *fewn* to *feon* is a very short step. Perhaps I ought to add that the O.F. word is also once spelt *foisne*, which is important as retaining the *s* of the Lat. *fuscina*. (See also **Foin**.)

Foin, to thrust with a sword. I have already given the etymology of this word in my Dictionary, where I derive it from the French word which Cotgrave gives as *fouine*, "a kind of instrument in ships like an eele-speare, to strike fish withal." This is open to the objection that the two words are not sufficiently alike, the one being spelt with *oi*, and the other with *oui*. But I can remove this objection, and at the same time clench the etymology, by remarking that the usual O.F. form of Cotgrave's *fouine* was precisely *foine*, as shewn in Godefroy. Curiously enough, there were two distinct O.F. words both spelt *foine*, and they both passed into English in the same form *foine*. Thus the O.F. *foine*, a fish-spear, gave the E. verb *foinen*, to thrust, with the action of one who uses a fish-spear; and the O.F. *foine*, a beech-marten, gave the E. sb. *foine*, with the same sense. I would draw particular attention to Mätzner's remark on *foinen*. He says, he would like to derive it from the Burgundian French verb *foindre*, a peculiar spelling of O.F. *feindre*, to

feign, or make a feint, if it were not that the sense will not suit; for the E. verb *foinen* invariably means 'to thrust,' as all his examples shew. Some have been misled by a line in Chaucer, which is the only one in which the sense is at all ambiguous. I mean the line in the Knightes Tale, 1692—"*Foyne*, if him list, on foot, himself to were;" but Chaucer himself uses the word quite clearly in the very same tale, l. 796—"And after that with scharpe speres stronge They *foinen* ech at other wonder longe." Of course it would be more satisfactory if we could produce an example of an O.F. *foiner*, but we must remember how extremely imperfect are the records of Old French. I think there is no great difficulty in deriving a verb signifying 'to thrust' from the name of a weapon-like instrument which could only be used for thrusting. (See also **Feon**.)

Flotsam. I find I have mistaken the nature of the suffix in the words *flotsam* and *jetsam*. The form of the suffix, viz. *-sam*, is a corrupt one; it was formerly spelt *-son*, or rather *-eson*, *-ison*. The right book to consult is the Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. Sir T. Twiss, 1871, vol. i. At p. 82, the Anglo-F. form appears as *floteson*; and at p. 170, it is *flotesone*, with the variant reading *flotesyn*. Hence the E. *flotson*, in Blount's Law Dict., ed. 1691; also spelt *flotsen*, *flotzam*, in Cotgrave, s.v. *flo*. Minsheu, ed. 1627, has *flotsen*, *flotzon*, *flotzam*. The A.F. form *floteson* is quite regular; it is formed from the O.F. verb *floter* (Mod. F. *flotter*) with the suffix *-eson*, *-ison*, as seen in A.F. *ven-eson*, *ven-esoun*, *ven-ison*, Mod. E. *ven-ison*; see examples in my Handlist of English Words found in Anglo-French. This F. suffix represents the Lat. suffix *-ationem*, as in Lat. *uen-ationem*. The verb *floter* does not represent the Lat. *fluctuare* exactly, but was merely formed from the sb. *flot*, from Lat. *fluctum*. Hence *floteson* is equivalent to a Lat. form **fluct-ationem*, and the word is fully accounted for. We find *fluctare* for *fluctuare* in Low Latin. See **Jetsam**.

Gorce, a pool of water to keep fish in, a weir. (F.—L.) This is an obsolete law-term; see the quotation in Blount's Nomolexicon. I have not collected the Anglo-French forms,

so that I cannot say if *gors* is sing. or plural; but the occurrence of the pl. form *gorgs* in Britton (i. 81) suggests that *gors* or *gorce* is really plural. Blount also gives the F. spelling *gort*, which retains the *t* of the Lat. acc. *gurgitem*. See Littré, s.v. *gour*, which is the Mod. F. word. Tha derivation is verified by a quotation given by Blount, who says, "I find in the Black Book of Hereford, fol. 20—*Quod tres* gurgites *in aqua de Monew attachiantur.*" Blount adds the remark—"where *gurgites* is used (though improperly) as a Latin word for *gorces* or wears." But my point is, that the Latin word is used properly. The *aqua de Monew* is clearly the river Monnow, whence the name of Monmouth. I suspect that *gorces* is a double plural.

Horse-courser, also **Horse-scorcer**, a dealer in horses. Examples of this word may be found in Nares, under the headings *Horse-courser* and *Scorse* or *Scorce*. The spelling is very variable, as the etymology was not understood. Much turns upon the various forms which the word assumes. Wedgwood derives it from an O.F. *couracier*, for which he adduces no authority, and which I can nowhere find. Wherever found, it cannot be the origin of the E. word; for it can hardly be other than a purely *graphic* error (by the common miswriting of *c* for *t*) for the O.F. *couratier*, the true original of the mod. F. *courtier*, which Cotgrave explains by 'a broaker, horse-scourser, messenger.' It will thus be seen that the F. *courtier* gives precisely the right sense, but I hold it to be impossible that either the form *courtier*, or any of the numerous variants of it (such as *courratier*, *couratier*, *coretier*) given by Littré, can ever have produced the E. word. Nor do I see how, if the form *couracier* were genuine, it could be twisted into *courser* without considerable violence. I may add that Littré gives the etymology of *couratier* quite correctly; it answers to a late Lat. form *curatarius*, from the verb *curare*. I believe that the etymology lies in a very different direction, and was long ago pointed out by Junius quite correctly. We ought to account for the verb *to cose*, or *coss*, because this is the earliest English form, as far as I can

discover. For this verb see Jamieson's Dictionary; he gives examples of *cose*, *coss*, or *coiss*, to barter, exchange, from Blind Harry's Wallace, x. 470, and Douglas's tr. of Vergil. From this verb *to cose* was formed the sb. *coser*, one who barters; in fact, we find "*Hic mango*, a cosyr," in Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 684, l. 40; and *coseri*, barter, in the Mort Arthure, l. 1582. This word was frequently used in the compound *horse-coser* or *horse-cosser*, and acquired an initial *s* by confusion with the last sound in *horse*; thus producing the forms *horse-skoser*, *horse-scosser*, and (by insertion of *r* before *s* precisely as in the mod. E. adj. *hoarse*) the ultimate form *horse-scorser*, and not unfrequently *horse-courser*. The verb to *scorce* was evolved from the sb.; it is impossible to find any other origin for it. It would require a great deal of space and a complete set of "Dictionary quotations" to establish this result; but I believe it will be found to be correct. Dr. Murray will soon, I hope, be coming to the word *courser*, and the truth will then certainly appear. Meanwhile, I quote two significant facts. A quotation which speaks of "hakeneymen and *skocers*" occurs in Croft's edition of Sir T. Elyot's Governor, where the text follows that of the first edition. There is an excellent note on the word in the Glossary, vol. ii. p. 602; but the editor begs the whole question when he says that "this word should undoubtedly be printed *skorcers*, as it appears in the *later* editions;" a principle of criticism from which I wholly dissent. Again, it is not a little remarkable that the form without a medial *r* occurs as late as in the Exmoor Scolding, where we meet with the pp. *scoast*, i.e. exchanged, at p. 78, l. 330, of Mr. Elworthy's edition. In this case, Mr. Elworthy remarks that the word is spelt *scorst* in *earlier* editions, and that *scorst* comes nearer to the pronunciation; but let us observe that he does not mark the *r* as being trilled; and the change of spelling only proves that the *o* was sometimes pronounced as *o* in *more*, and sometimes as *o* in *boat*. It seems to me that, if once we start from the old verb *coss* or *cose*, all the numerous forms which I have mentioned result from it easily and, in fact, inevitably. I suggest, further,

that the *r* was only inserted in order to define more closely the occasional sound of the preceding *o*, precisely as in the adj. *hoarse* already mentioned, which is derived from the A.S. *hás*, and is cognate with G. *heiser*. In any case, we ought to try to find an original for the Lowland Scotch verb *to coss* or *cose*, meaning to barter. My suggestion is that it was borrowed, as is the case with so many Scotch words, from French. And here I have to admit that the traces of such a verb in O.F. are very slight, but I think it may easily have been evolved out of the O.F. *coss-on* or *coss-our* (see p. 12), which meant precisely 'a dealer.' From the quotations in Godefroy, we see that a *cosson* dealt in game, fowl, eggs, fruit, and such wares. The equivalent in Italian is *cozzone*, which Florio explains by 'a horse-courser, a horse-breaker, a crafty knave,' thus giving us the very sense we want. He also gives the verb *cozzonare*, 'to break horses, to plaie the horse-courser.' The corresponding Latin word is *cocio*, a broker, or factor, given in Lewis and Short, and in Ducange (with several quotations). Roquefort's Old French Dict. has: "*cossous*, courtier, maquignon," where I submit that *cossous* is an error for *cossons*, really a plural form; observe that he gives the sense as *courtier*, which shews that the *cocio* dealt in horses in France as well as in Italy. But further, Lewis and Short give another form *cociator*, a broker, and Ducange gives *cociatura*, brokerage. These forms imply a verb **cociare*, which would precisely give us an O.F. verb **cosser* and the Scotch *coss*. The etymology of Lat. *cocio* is not known, though there is a note upon it by Festus. I offer this investigation for what it is worth; I believe that further search will definitely confirm or refute it. At present, I would sooner connect *horse-courser* with the Ital. *cozzone*, which is precisely identical with it in meaning, than with an O.F. *couracier*, which I cannot believe to be other than a miswritten form of *couratier*, and therefore incapable of giving us the E. word; nor can I, as yet, find any example of *couracier* at all. It is worth notice that, under the word *horse-courser*, Nares definitely refuses to recognize any connection with the verb *to cose*; but, under *scorse*, i.e. in a later

article, he thinks that the suggested connection is probably right after all. Second thoughts are best.

After some further investigation, I have found that *skoase* is still in use in Kent; as, "I'll *skoase* horses with you." And it is sometimes pronounced [skoa·us], shewing how the *r* came to be introduced. This will appear in the new Kent Glossary for the E.D.S. I also find, further, that the Anglo-F. word *cossour* actually occurs as early as 1310, being the precise form due to the Latin *cociator*. Riley, in his Memorials of London, pref. p. xxii, says—"the trade of a *Cossour* [is] mentioned in 1310, perhaps for *Corsour*, a Courser, or Horse-dealer." It never occurred to him that *corsour* was the later and corrupted form; and, consequently, when the word appears again 62 years later, in 1372, at p. 366 of the same volume, his note turns the whole matter topsy-turvy. He says, accordingly—"a *courser* (from the French, no doubt) was a dealer in horses. Grose (*Clas. Dict. of the Vulgar Tongue*) ignorantly says that it is properly *horse-coser*, vulgarly and corruptly pronounced *courser*, and assigns to it a Scottish origin." Yet this ignorant Grose is here perfectly right. In consequence of this misapprehension, Riley goes on to make a still greater blunder at p. 66, where he quotes an entry of the date of 1308, about a certain "John de Merlawe, quilter." Here "quilter" is, as he tells us, his translation of the A.F. *cozoun*, which, in my view, means nothing of the kind; but is precisely the O.F. *cossoun*, a dealer, already mentioned. Thus Riley's own dates and examples prove the case against him; for we find *cozoun* in 1308, and *cossour* in 1310, but *corsour* in 1372. The early existence of this A.F. form *cossour* is highly important for the etymology, since *cosser* or *coser* might have been formed from it immediately, precisely as *barbour* became *barber*, and *brocour* became *broker*.

Hutch. I have given the etymology from O.F. *huche*, which is from the Late Lat. *hutica*, with the same sense. There can be no doubt about this; but the note upon the word *hutche* in the Promptorium Parvulorum shews that the M.E. *hutche* (better *hucche* or *huche*) was strangely confused

with the M.E. *whyche*, which had a somewhat similar sense. Mr. Way does not distinguish between the words, and offers us both a French original, in Palsgrave's *huche*, and an A.S. original, which he spells *hwæcca*. Putting aside the M.E. *huche* or *hucche* as being obviously of F. origin, let us look for a minute at the word *whyche*. Mätzner gives us the forms *whyche*, *whichche*, and *whucche* in his Dictionary, p. 550 of part 2, and gives as the original the A.S. *hwecca*. But no such form as *hwecca* is known, and the form *hwæcca* rests only on an entry in Lye's Dictionary, where he gives *corn-hwæcca*, a corn-chest. Fortunately, Prof. Napier has just printed some A.S. Glosses in Engl. Studien, xi. 65, from a Bodley MS., and one of these gives us: "*Clustella*, hwicce." Hence the A.S. form, at any rate in the 11th century, was precisely *hwicce*, answering exactly to the M.E. *whicche*. The M.E. *whucche* is a mere variant, which may have arisen from confusion with *hutch*, or may have arisen quite independently, from the action of the *w* upon the *i*, as in E. *woman* from A.S. *wifman*. The gain is, that we can now definitely separate the A.S. *hwicce*, M.E. *whicche*, from the O.F. *huche*, mod. E. *hutch*.

Jetsam. This word is spelt *jetsen*, *jetzon*, in Blount's Law Dict., ed. 1671; *jetson*, in Minsheu, ed. 1623. But the full form is the Anglo-F. *getesone* or *gettesone*, in the Black Book of the Admiralty, ed. Sir T. Twiss, vol. i. pp. 96, 170. This represents, quite regularly, the classical Lat. *iactationem*, from the verb *iactare*, to cast out. See **Flotsam.** I do not find that the Dictionaries explain the suffix; and, in fact, it is only the Anglo-F. forms that make it clear. They also account for the occasional form *jettison*.

Larboard. I shall not say much about this difficult word. I only throw out a new suggestion. Nares thinks that the phrase *leer* side, as used by Ben Jonson, means the left side; and Hackluyt has the spelling *leerebord* for larboard; Voyages, i. 4. I wish to draw attention to the curious Mid. High German word *lerc*, *lirc*, *lurc*, left, also appearing as *lerz*. Examples are given in Lexer's Mid. High German Dict.; we find *lirke hand*, the left hand, *zuo der lirken siten*,

to the left side. Schade's Old High G. Dict. also gives *lirc*, *lerc*, *lurc*, with the sense of left. Schade further gives another word *lerz*, *lurz*, with the same sense, which he supposes to be related to the former. This is the word which Kilian gives as Mid. Du. *lurts*, and which appears in Bavarian as *lurz*; Schmeller gives *die lurz Hend*, i.e. the left hand. Diez suggests that it is just this form which gave rise to the curious F. *ourse*, the *l* being dropped because it was thought to be the def. article. Cotgrave explains *ourse* as 'the sheat or cable whereby the mainsaile is fastened to the *Larbord*, or left side, of a ship.' Littré gives the mod. F. *orse* as meaning simply 'larboard,' and says it is in use on the Mediterranean. Torriano explains Ital. *orza* by 'a rope in a ship, called of Mariners the larboard-sheet; which, a man standing at the poop of a ship, with his face towards the prow, is ever on the left hand; therefore is *orza* taken for the left hand or side.' If *larboard* is in any way connected with this Mid. High Germ. *lerc*, left, the chief difficulty is to discover by what channel it reached us.

Mr. Wedgwood, in his Etym. Dict., suggests that *lar-* may represent a contraction of the Mid. Du. *laager*, lower, since *laager hand*, lit. lower hand, also meant 'the *left* hand.' He kindly refers me to the Grand Dict. Holl. et Fr. par P. Marin, Dord, 1730, which gives '*laag*, bas; *laager*, plus bas,' and '*de laager hand*, la gauche'; also to Halma's Dict., 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1729, which gives the same information.

I will venture to add yet another guess. Perhaps Hackluyt's *leere* represents the M.E. *lere*, empty, already used by Rob. of Gloucester (ed. Hearne, p. 81, l. 1). For the helmsman stood on the *starboard* side; the other side was empty.

Numbles, the entrails of a deer. (F.—L.) M.E. *nombles*, Cath. Anglicum, p. 256, and note.—F. *nombles (d'vn cerf)*, 'the numbles of a stag'; Cotgrave.—Low Lat. *numbulus*, used for *lumbulus*, dimin. of *lumbus*, loin. See *nombles* in Littré. (Suggested by Mr. Mayhew.)

Obsidian, a kind of vitreous lava. (L.) It is, perhaps, worth while to point out that this name may have originated in a mistake. The usual account, correct as far as it goes, is

founded on a statement in Pliny, bk. 36, ch. 26, which in Holland's translation runs as follows:—"There may be ranged among the kinds of glasses, those which they call *Obsidiana*, for that they carry some resemblance of that stone, which one *Obsidius* found in Æthyopia;" vol. ii. p. 598. But Lewis and Short point out that the right readings in this passage are *Obsiana* and *Obsius*, and add the remark that "the older editions of Pliny read *Obsidiana* and *Obsidius*; hence the name of *obsidian* as the name of the stone." See also Holland's Pliny, ii. 629 a.

Pail. This word is not of F. origin, as I have stated, but is a genuine E. word. The gloss which appears in Wright's Vocabularies, ed. Wülcker, col. 124, l. 2, as "*Gillo*, wægel," is misprinted. The correct reading is "*Gillo*, pægel." This correction is due to Kluge; see Anglia, viii. 450; and see his further remarks upon the word in Engl. Studien, x. 180. Hence the E. *pail* is from A.S. *pægel*, just as E. *nail* is from A.S. *nægel*. Cf. Low G. *pegel*, a measure for liquids, in the Bremen Wörterbuch. Hexham gives Mid. Du. *pegel*, 'the concavity or the capacity of a vessel or of a pot'; cf. also Dan. *pægel*, half a pint. The W. *paeol*, a pail, is, I suppose, merely borrowed from Mid. English.

Pamphlet. I have already expressed my belief that this difficult word is derived from the name *Pamphilus* or *Pamphila*. The only difficulty is to know who the person was from whom the form arose. In any case, I wish to draw attention to the following facts. One of the first persons to use the word is Hoccleve. He not only writes it *pamfilet*, but he pronounces it with three syllables. In Hoccleve's Poems, ed. Mason (1796), there is a poem addressed to Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV. It begins with the line—"Go, litel *pamfilet*, and streight thee dresse." Secondly, the Knave of Clubs is sometimes called *Pam*. This is because he was called *Pamphile* in French; and Littré tells us that this is the proper name *Pamphilus*, but he does not know who is meant. My guess is this. The knave at cards was sometimes called *valet*; both *valet* and *knave* mean 'servant'; so the person referred to was a

servant. Why may he not be the *Panfilo* (i.e. *Pamphilus*) of Boccaccio's Teseide? He was the servant of the celebrated Palemone, and helped him out of prison. See Tyrwhitt's analysis of the Teseide, books 4 and 5. Tyrwhitt calls him *Pamphilo*. The editor of the Teseide, printed at Milan in 1819, calls him *Panfilo*. If ever a writer of fiction had the power to make a name widely known in Italy and France, surely Boccaccio was the man.

Thirdly, the E. word is also spelt *panflet* or *paunflet*, with *n*. But, as I have just observed, the Italian name is also spelt *Panfilo*, with *n*. This is another link.

Parget, to plaister a wall. Guided by the fact that this word also appears as *sparget* in M.E., I have supposed it to be a derivative of Lat. *spargere*. But the *s* may have been added afterwards, since we have in E. an intensive prefix *s-*, borrowed from the O.F. *es-*, from Lat. *ex-*. If so, the etymology may lie in another direction. A correspondent has kindly sent me the following. "In T. Bond's *Corfe Castle*, Stanford, 1883, p. 107, an old account is quoted in which *pargeted* is Latinised by *perjactavit*." I have since observed that, in Wright's Vocabularies, ed. Wülcker, col. 602, l. 7, is the entry: "*Perjacio*, Anglice, to perjette." This certainly suggests that our word was originally *perjette*, and represents an O.F. **parjeter* and a Low Lat. **perjactare*. Of this O.F. form, and of this Low Lat. form, I can find no very clear traces; yet I have just given an example of *perjactare*, and of the Low Lat. *perjacio*, which is equally unknown, except from this solitary gloss. At the same time, the component parts of the word, viz. the F. prefix *par-* or *per-*, and the F. verb *jeter* (=Lat. *jactare*) are extremely common, and the new compound *par-jeter* may easily have been struck out at any moment, or the E. word may have been simply coined by compounding the verb *to jet* with the prefix *per-* or *par-*, without any authority from O.F. or Latin at all. When we consider how exactly *perjette* or *parget* answers to a F. **par-jeter*, and how precisely such a compound would express all that is meant by *pargetting*, viz. a thorough sprinkling, the above suggestion becomes highly probable. Moreover,

the gloss above quoted, as well as the quotation above given, are in evidence; and in any other direction there is no evidence at all. We are bound to consider it as the best solution, till some further evidence is found. I may add that in the Chanson de Roland, l. 2634, it is said of some lanterns, that they "*pargetent* tel luiserne," i.e. spread abroad such a light; but it is thought that, in this instance, the O.F. *pargeter* answers to a Low Lat. *proiectare*, with the prefix *pro-*, not *per-*.

Pheon; see **Feon**.

Pot, to go to. I have adopted Mr. Wright's note to Coriolanus, i. 4. 47, to the effect that "the figure is taken from the melting-pot." I now believe that the figure was taken from the much more common *cooking-pot*. Whoever looks at the word *pot* in Littré will see how many F. phrases refer to the cooking-pot, and Dr. Schmidt, in his Shakespeare Lexicon, seems to take the same view; for he quotes the G. parallel phrase which Flügel gives as "*in die Pfanne hauen*, to put to the sword," lit. to hew into the pan. The reference is here to the shredding of vegetables before they are thrown into the pot to be cooked. I venture to think this expression is far more graphic, when we refer to it, in the natural way, to the ordinary cooking-pot. Without arguing the point further, I add one unmistakable example from King's Art of Cookery, first printed in 1708.

"In days of old, our fathers went to war,
Expecting sundry blows and hardy fare;
Their beef they often in their murrions stew'd,
And in their basket-hilts their beverage brew'd.
Some officer perhaps might give consent
To a large cover'd pipkin in his tent,
Where everything that every soldier got,
Fowl, bacon, cabbage, mutton, and what not,
Was all thrown into bank, and *went to pot*."

With this graphic and simple explanation I can rest satisfied. Hence, when the soldiers remark that Coriolanus has gone "to the pot," they mean that he will be cut in pieces. "The

weaker goeth to the pot" occurs in Heywood's Proverbs (1562). And still more clearly, in Udall's translation of the Apophthegmes of Erasmus (1564), bk. i. Diogenes, § 108—"by the said tyranne *Dionisius*, the ryche and welthy of his subiectes *went* daily *to the potte* and were chopped vp."

See further under *Hodge-podge* in my Dictionary. The form *hochepot* occurs even in Chaucer. "Ye han cast alle hir words in an *hochepot*"; Tale of Melibeus, Six-text, Group B, l. 2447.

Purse. I have given this word, as is customary, as being one of F. origin. But it already occurs as *purs* in the eleventh century, and must have been taken immediately from the Lat. *bursa*. See Prof. Napier's list of glosses in Eng. Studien, xi. 65, where we find the entry: "*Fiscus*, purs, oððe seod." The A.S. *seod* means 'a little bag.' The change from initial *b* to *p* still remains puzzling. I wonder whether it represents a Celtic pronunciation of the Latin word.

Rivelled, wrinkled. I have given this word as being of A.S. origin. Further light is thrown on it by the gloss: "*Rugosus*, rifelede," contributed to Eng. Studien, xi. 66, by Prof. Napier, who refers, for the mode of formation of the word, to an article by Sievers in Paul und Braune's Beiträge, ix. 257, and to Kluge's Nominale stammbildungslehre, § 234. He also notes A.S. *gerifod*, wrinkled; Ælf. Homilies, ed. Thorpe, i. 614, l. 14.

Shatter. This is merely a variant of *scatter*. I note here that it is still in use in Kent in the old sense; as, "the wind *shatters* the leaves;" which is just Milton's phrase in *Lycidas*, l. 5.

Souse, Sowse, to plunge down upon suddenly. I find I have made a mistake in connecting this word with the sb. *souse*, meaning 'pickle,' which is a mere doublet of *sauce*, and which I explain, I believe, correctly. It is probable that the words were sometimes confused, but they are of totally different origin. When Pope says (Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace, l. 60) that certain folks "*Souse* the cabbage with a bounteous heart," he employs a verb which is a mere derivative from the sb. *souse*, pickle. But

in another passage (Epilogue to Satires, Dial. ii. 15) he says—

> "Come on, then, Satire! general, unconfined,
> Spread thy broad wing, and *souse* on all mankind;"

and here he employs the same word as Shakespeare does in King John, v. 2. 150—

> "And, like an eagle o'er his aery, towers
> To *souse* annoyance that comes near his nest."

Mr. Wright correctly says, with respect to this verb—"to swoop upon or strike, is a term of falconry," and he illustrates it by an apt quotation from Spenser, F. Q. i. 5. 8. But he does not give the etymology. Webster, E. Müller, and others correctly separate the two words, but all they can think of is to ask us to compare the German *sausen*, to rush or bluster as the wind does, with which the verb to *souse* has nothing whatever to do. We did not borrow our terms of falconry from High German, but from French. The true 'source' is, without a pun, the very word *source* itself, strange as this may appear, and past all guessing. Our word *source* is the F. *source*, O.F. *sorse*, the fem. pp. of the verb which arose from the Lat. *surgere*. As applied to a river, it means the 'rise' or 'spring' of it; but as applied in falconry, it meant the upward spring or swoop of a bird of prey, and is so used by Chaucer, C.T. 7520, and House of Fame, ii. 36:

> "Therefore, right as an hawke upon a *sours*
> Upspringeth into th' aire;"

and again—

> "Me fleeing, at a swappe he [the eagle] hente,
> And with his *sours* again up wente."

The original sense of '*upward* spring' or '*upward* swoop' was easily lost, whilst the notion of 'swoop' remained; hence, the sense of direction being lost sight of, the word easily took the more useful sense of '*downward* swoop,' simply because the *downward* swoop of a hawk was of more consequence and was more closely watched than his *upward*

swoop, which was of no special consequence to the hawker. At least, such is my belief, but I want more evidence. Besides this, the *r* was dropped; and this point I can prove. For, in the Book of St. Albans, fol. dl, back, we find: "Iff your hawke nym the fowle a-lofte, ye shall say, she toke it *at the mount* or *at the souce.*" From this it is an easy step to the use of the word in Drayton's Polyolbion, Song 20, where birds are described as trying to dive to escape from the hawks, but the fowlers make them leave the water, and then the hawks secure them:

"But when the falconers take their hawking-poles in hand,
And, crossing of the brook, do put it [*the prey*] over land,
The hawk gives it a *souse*, that makes it to rebound
Well near the height of man, or more, above the ground."

To work out the word thoroughly would require a large number of quotations, but I think I have adduced enough to shew how the M.E. *sours* took a new form and a new sense. I should like to add that this view is entirely new, as far as I know at present; but I suppose the same thing will be said to me as was said when I discovered the etymology of the verb *to surround*, viz. that, in the first place, it's not true; and secondly, as shewn by our Dictionary-slips, though it is quite right, we knew it before.

Staniel, a kind of hawk. (E.) It is the same bird as the kestrel or wind-hover, the *Falco tinnunculus* of Linnæus. Nares quotes it from *Lady Alimony*, an old play dated 1659; see Hazlitt's Dodsley, xiv. 284. It does not really occur in Twelfth Night, ii. 5, but is probably the right word; the first folio has *stallion*. In Wright's Vocabularies we find: "*Aluctus*, Anglice a stamel"; where *stamel* is a misprint for *staniel*; for Halliwell quotes the same MS. correctly. Tracing the word still further back, we find: "Pellicanus, *stangella*," in an A.S. vocabulary of the eleventh century; in Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 287, l. 10. In Spelman's edition of the A.S. Psalter, Ps. ci. 7 (Ps. cii. 6 in the E. version), we find *pellicano* glossed by *stangillan* in two MSS.; this is the dat. case from a nom. *stangilla*. Our ancestors did not

clearly know what a pelican was like. In the Vespasian Psalter, the same word appears with the older spelling *stane-gella*, the sense of which is obvious, viz. 'the yeller from the rock.' Professor Newton kindly tells me that the *staniel* has "the same kind of metallic ringing voice as other hawks; it also frequents rocks where there are such, and makes its nest in or on them." The phonological changes are perfectly regular. The syllable *stān* is shortened by stress, precisely as in *Stan-ford*, *Stan-ton*, *Stan-ley* (all from A.S. *stān*). *Gella* or *gilla* is the agential substantive from the verb *gellan* or *gillan*, the mod. E. *yell*; hence *stangella* became *stan-yell*, or, with a slight weakening of the latter syllable (due to lack of accentual stress), precisely *staniel*. At a later time it was further shortened to *stannel*, just as *Daniel* is sometimes *Dan'el*. Even this is not the end, for sometimes the former syllable was translated by the form *stone*, and thus the bird was called the *stone-gall*. Both *stannel* and *stonegall* occur in Merrett's *Pinax Rerum*, 1667, p. 170. In Swainson's Provincial Names of British Birds, E.D.S. p. 140, we find the bird called *stannel*, *stannel-hawk*, *stanchel*, and even *stand-hawk*. Another name was the *wind-hover*, from its hovering in the wind, a habit (Prof. Newton tells me) possessed by no other common English bird. Taking advantage of this name, the guessing etymologists resolved the word into *stand-in-gale* or *stand-gale*, which they pretended to be the original of *staniel*; but this clumsy fiction is easily detected by observing that *gale* has a hard *g* (before *a*) which will not pass into the sound of *y*. Fortunately also there is a cognate G. word *stein-gall*, answering to the A.S. form all the way through; for the G. *stein* is the A.S. *stān*; and the G. suffix *-gall* is the same as the suffix in *nachtigall*, a nightingale. This G. *gall* is the O.H.G. *gala*, a singer, from the stem of the past tense of the strong verb *gellan*, and therefore having precisely the same sense as the A.S. suffix *-gella*, though differing in the vowel according to the ordinary stem-gradation. The A.S. *gellan* was applied particularly to hawks; as in [*ic*] *gielle swá hafoc*, I yell like a hawk; Riddle 25, l. 3 (Exeter Book). It is also used of the chirping of crickets,

as being a shrill sound. How the G. *steingall* is to be derived from *stand-in-gale*, when German does not possess the word *gale* at all, we are not likely to be informed. I may add that, in the form *stone-gall*, the suffix is not quite the same as before, but is the same as the *-gale* in *nightingale*. The M.E. *galen*, to sing, is a secondary weak verb derived from the stem *gal*, which is the past singular stem of the strong verb *gellan*.

Steward. I have given **stigweard* as the theoretical A.S. form. But I have now found it, viz. in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii. 75. In the Middle Eng. translation of the same charter, iii. 77, the form is *styward*.

Vagrant. I add to my former note on this word the remark that the original O.F. form of the verb which I cite as *wakrer* or *waucrer* was *walcrer*, answering to M.H.G. *welkern*, a frequentative of the verb which appears in A.S. *wealcan*, E. *walk*. See Suchier's edition of the *Reimpredigt*, 1879, p. 78.

Whicche. See **Hutch** (above).

Whimbrel, a bird, a sort of curlew; *Numenius phæopus*. (E.) Willughby says the bird was described to him under this name by Mr. Johnson of Brignal (N. Riding of Yorkshire). See also Swainson's Provincial Bird-names, E.D.S., p. 199. It is easily analysed as being for *whim-b-r-el*; where *b* is excrescent after *m*, *r* is frequentative, *-el* is the suffix of the agent, and *whim* (allied to *whine*) is imitative. It is therefore the bird that keeps on uttering a cry imitated by *whim*; cf. Lowl. Sc. *whimmer*, E. *whimper* and *whine*, G. *wimmern*. See also my note on *whinyard* in Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885–7, p. 331.

LIST OF WORDS DISCUSSED:—bat, courser, cozier, cut, decoy, dismal, dog, dowle, earnest, entice, feon, foin, flotsam, gorce, horse-courser, hutch, jetsam, larboard, numbles, obsidian, pail, pamphlet, parget, pheon, pot (to go to), purse, rivelled, shatter, souse (sowse), staniel, steward, vagrant, whicche, whimbrel.

II.—FIFTEENTH ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 18TH MAY, 1888. By the Rev. Prof. SAYCE, M.A., President.

I AM aware that in conferring upon me the honour of the Presidential Chair, the Philological Society has departed from a tradition of considerable standing. My immediate predecessors have been distinguished by their researches into the living languages of to-day, by the contributions they have made to the science of phonetics, and by their study of the fountain-head of all our philology in England, the English tongue itself. I can claim only to be a representative of what Mr. Sweet has expressively termed "antiquarian philology," of that side of linguistic science which deals with letters and symbols rather than with sounds, and essays to trace the history of language in the past rather than to observe its varying phases in the modern world. I have, in fact, lived more among inscriptions and ancient texts than among phonographs and the symbols of "visible speech."

But "antiquarian philology" does not exclude the study of phonetics and the observation of living speech. From the outset of my philological career, at a time when the comparative philologists of Germany and their followers in other countries were inclined to regard words as so many conglomerations of variable letters, I preached the doctrine that sounds and not letters are what the philologist has to examine, and that if we are to arrive at any solid results in our study of extinct forms of speech, it must be through

the medium of living languages. In science, as in nature, we can reach the truth only by proceeding from the known to the unknown, by working backwards from what lies before us to that which belongs to the dead past. Had scholars been content to observe and analyse language as it actually exists, instead of forming theories about it as it once was, we should have been spared the numerous *idola* and false assumptions which have impeded the progress of scientific philology. We should have heard less about Sanskrit or Latin grammar, and more about the usages of our own tongue. Above all, we should have been spared explanations of phonetic change which a very little observation of existing speech would have shown to be impossible.

The science of language has often been compared with the science of geology, and the student of language may well take a lesson from the geologist. Geology traces the past history of the globe, explains the mode in which the rocks have been built up and the forms of life they contain have followed one another. But it does so by first observing the phenomena that affect and alter the surface of the earth to-day, phenomena that are in some measure themselves the results of former changes, the records of which lie hidden in the rocks below. The geologist, therefore, who would explain the phenomena of the present must have studied the phenomena of the past, while the student who would decipher the records of the past must be thoroughly acquainted with the phenomena of to-day. It is the same, or ought to be the same, in the case of the scientific student of language. Here, too, neither the history of the past nor the facts of the present can be neglected; they are but the two faces of the same shield, the necessary complements one of the other. Linguistic science is neither antiquarian philology nor the study of phonetics, but a combination of both.

Prof. Skeat, in the Presidential Address, which he delivered two years ago, describes himself as looking about for a subject which was not "already extremely familiar to most of" his hearers. My own difficulty is of quite the opposite character. I have a hobby, which, like every man who has

a hobby, I am very willing to discourse upon. But I am not at all sure that you will be equally ready to listen to me. My special studies have lain in a direction in which I have but few fellow-labourers, and I am therefore doubtful whether anything that I can say about them can be of interest to you. The extinct languages of Western Asia, which are being painfully recovered from its long-buried monuments, offer but little attractions to those whose time and interest have been occupied with the burning questions of modern philology. Nevertheless, I believe that even these languages, fragmentary and extinct as they are, will help to throw light upon some of the problems and difficulties of our own modern science. If it is true that the scientific philologist cannot afford to neglect the most barbarous dialect of the smallest and most barbarous tribe, it must be still more true that he cannot disregard languages which stand to the living languages of the East in the same relation that the institutions of the Roman world stand to the world of to-day.

Students of civil and constitutional history tell us that we cannot understand the laws and customs, the culture and policy of the present, without the help of the past. The history of modern Europe, the social life in which we participate, would have been altogether different had the Roman Empire never existed; and though the Roman Empire seems widely removed from ourselves and our surroundings, the scientific historian must take account of its influence upon the course of future events if he would read aright the tale of European history. What holds good of history holds good also of philology. In so far as philological science is historical, the problems it presents must be solved by an appeal to history. In order to know thoroughly what a language is now, we must know what it has been in the past. Language, like all else in nature, is an example of perpetual development, and the key to this development is the study of the phases it has undergone in the past.

I will try, therefore, to indicate some of the ways in which the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions has

thrown light, not only on the historical philology of Western Asia, but also upon the general questions raised by the science of language. But let me first point out what a wide linguistic field is covered by the phrase "Cuneiform Inscriptions."

We have, to begin with, the Persian texts of Darius and his successors composed in the Indo-European language of ancient Iran. It represents the dialect of Western Persia in the Akhæmenian era, and is consequently invaluable for the purposes of comparison with the ancient Iranian dialect preserved in the Avestan literature. Whether the latter were spoken in Baktria or, as is now maintained, in Media Atropatene, is of little consequence from a philological point of view; though it is possible that light may be cast even on this question by the Cuneiform monuments. The Median princes with whom Sargon came into contact in B.C. 713, eastward of the Kurdish range, have unmistakeably Indo-Aryan names of an Iranian stamp. In Parna and Satar-parna we have the *-phernês* of the Greek transcribers, the *franâ* of Old Persian (in a name like Viñdafranâ, Intaphernês), Satar-parna, like the district of Sidir-pattian, probably containing the same element *chitra* 'a leopard,' as Chitra-takhma, the Greek Sitratakhmês. The name of Ariya, the chief of Bustu, needs no commentary, any more than that of Arbaku or Arbakês, or of Aspabara 'the horse-bringer.'

The decipherment of the Old Persian Cuneiform texts led the way to the decipherment of other texts written in more than one Cuneiform system of writing. Step by step the Semitic language of the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates was made out, with its two dialects of Assyrian and Babylonian, and with its records extending over about three thousand years, the latest dated record being contemporary with Domitian. Through Assyrian we have been made acquainted with the earliest form of agglutinative speech that has left memorials of itself. This is the Accado-Sumerian of primitive Chaldæa, whose speakers preceded the Semites in their possession of the country, and which was

subdivided into two main dialects, the Accadian of the north and the Sumerian of the south, together with several sub-dialects. As in the case of Assyrian, so too in the case of Accadian, the monuments enable us to trace the history and gradual development of the language through the course of several centuries.

Accado-Sumerian, however, was not the only form of agglutinative speech whose existence has been revealed to us by Cuneiform research. The Persian and Assyro-Babylonian texts of the monuments of Darius and Xerxes are accompanied by a third text, the miscalled Median or Proto-medic. It really represented, as I have essayed to show,[1] the language of South-Eastern Susiana, an earlier form of which has been preserved to us in the inscriptions copied by Sir A. H. Layard in the plain of Mal-Amir, and was but the sister-dialect of the language of Susa, memorials of which have been discovered, not only among the ruins of Susa itself, but as far south as the Persian Gulf. If we turn from the extreme south of the ancient civilised world of Western Asia to the extreme north, we find among the mountains of Armenia, and more especially on the shores of Lake Van and the banks of the Araxes, Cuneiform inscriptions in yet another form of language. These are the Vannic inscriptions which I succeeded in deciphering a few years ago,[2] and which have already yielded us not only startling historical facts, but startling linguistic results as well.

Not even yet, however, is our survey completed of the area covered by the Cuneiform system of writing. We owe to Mr. Pinches the discovery of Cuneiform texts in the language of ancient Kappadokia. Several clay tablets inscribed in this still undeciphered language are now in

[1] "The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir and the Language of the Second Column of the Akhæmenian Inscriptions," in the Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leiden, vol. ii. (1885).

[2] "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, deciphered and translated," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv. parts 3 and 4 (1882). I have published a Supplementary Paper in the same *Journal*, vol. xx. part 1 (1888), partly based on the researches and discoveries of Guyard and D. H. Müller.

Europe, which have come from the ruins of some old library in the neighbourhood of the modern Kaisarîyeh. The ideographs occurring upon them show that the library was established in a temple of the Sun-god.

Besides these extinct languages, relics of which, more or less numerous, we now possess, thanks to the spread of the Cuneiform system of writing, we occasionally come across isolated examples of other languages, also embodied in Cuneiform characters. Thus I possess a hæmatite cylinder found in Asia Minor, which carries an inscription in an unknown form of speech, and Dr. Oppert has pointed out in De Clercq's collection (pl. xxx. No. 321) a seal bearing a Phœnician text, but written in Cuneiform, while in 1842 a hæmatite cylinder was discovered on the hills near Herat inscribed with Cuneiform signs, which disclose a language of unknown type.[1]

The Assyrians themselves, moreover, or rather the Babylonians of the south, have made us acquainted with some of the words and phrases used by the neighbouring populations. The mountains bordering on the eastern side of the Chaldean plain were occupied by wild tribes known as Kassi or Kossæans, some of whom once overran Babylonia, and established there a dynasty of kings. A tablet gives us the equivalents of such words as 'sky' (*dagigi*), 'earth' (*miriyas*), 'wind' (*turukhna*) in their language, and another tablet explains the meanings of their royal names. In other cases words are interpreted which belonged to the language of Elam, or to the Śuti, a nomad Semitic population in the eastern part of Babylonia, or again to the inhabitants of the island of Dilvun in the Persian Gulf. The constant necessity the educated classes were under of learning the extinct Accadian gave them an interest in foreign languages, and

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xi. pp. 316 *sq.* The cylinder was bought by Major Pottinger, but was afterwards unfortunately lost. The characters, so far as I can make them out from the copy, read as follows: (1) 'god' *Nin(?)-zi-in*; (2) *Su-lukh(?)-me-am-el*; (3) *Khi-ti-sa* 'servant' *na*. The usual formula on a cylinder of the kind is "To the god *x*, A the son of B, his servant." In the second line the places of the third and fourth characters apparently require to be reversed.

in what we may term comparative philology. Hence we need not be surprised that an Assyrian king goes out of his way in a historical inscription to inform us that a particular object was called by a particular name in Syria,[1] or that Semitic words were subjected to the same kind of etymologising as the words of English or Latin in the dictionaries of the last century. Just as Junius derives *soul* from *ζάω* and the Teutonic *wala* 'a well,' or *merry* from the Greek *μυρίζειν*, so the Babylonian scribe derived the Semitic words of the language he spoke from the extinct vocabulary of primæval Sumer.[2]

Two facts, among others, of interest to the general philologist have resulted from the decipherment of the Assyrian texts. We possess in them contemporaneous documents of Assyro-Babylonian, which mount back to a period between 3000 and 2000 B.C. Nevertheless, throughout the greater part of the period during which we can trace the history of the language, it already exhibits extensive marks of decay. The final *m*, which once characterized the case-endings, is frequently lost, and the case-endings themselves tend more and more to be confused together. Analogy plays a conspicuous part in the formation of the verbal tenses, and the construct genitive of the Semitic parent-speech is constantly replaced by a construction of which the genitival relation is expressed by the pronoun *sa* 'which.' But it is in its phonology that Assyro-Babylonian shows the greatest signs of decay, even on the oldest monuments. It is true that its sounds were represented by a syllabary which had been the invention of the speakers of an agglutinative language, and was ill adapted to express the peculiar sounds of a Semitic idiom. But with every allowance for the imperfections of the instrument by means of which the

[1] "I built a portico like a Syrian palace, which in the language of Phœnicia they call a *Bît-khilani*" (Sargon's Bull-inscription, 67–69).

[2] Thus the word *sabattu* 'a Sabbath' from *sabatu* 'to complete,' is derived in the lexical tablets (W.A.I. vol. ii. p. 32, 16) from the Accadian *sa* 'heart,' and *bat* 'to complete,' and accordingly interpreted as 'a day of rest for the heart,' and *śaparu* 'a snare,' is derived from the Accadian *śa* 'a cord,' and *para* 'to spread.'

sounds of the language were represented, it remains that these sounds had degenerated widely from those of the Parent-speech. Like the Mandaite it had lost the gutturals, so distinctive of Semitic utterance; *hha* (ح) had disappeared more completely than in Phœniko-Hebrew, where it was merged in *kheth*; there is no trace of *ghain* (غ), and even *ain* had passed into the diphthong *ê*. The semi-vowels *w* and *y* are seldom represented in writing before *u* and *i*, and the sibilants have undergone much the same fate as the gutturals. As in Hebrew, *dhâl* (ذ), *dhâd* (ض), and *ẓâ* (ظ) have all been confounded with other sounds. In another respect, also, the characteristic sounds of the Semitic languages have undergone transformation. *Teth* has been assimilated to *d*, and was probably pronounced like the dental in the English *then*, and though *qoph* has not been altogether lost, it is frequently softened into *kaph* in the Assyrian dialect of the north, while it regularly becomes *gimel* in the Babylonian of the south, just as it does in the Arabic of modern Egypt.

Here then we find that a language which was spoken over a wide tract of country, and was stereotyped in literature at an early period, had already passed into what may be described as a very modern stage of linguistic growth, at all events so far as its phonology was concerned. More than 4000 years ago Assyrian had undergone more phonetic change than the Arabic that is spoken to-day in the streets of Cairo.

And yet this Arabic is considered to have departed very widely from the original purity of the language brought into Egypt by its Arab conquerors. If we turn to the lawless nomad tribes of north-eastern and central Arabia, we find the Arabic of the Korán still spoken as it was in the days of Mohammed. According to Palgrave, the three case-endings are still correctly used in Central Arabia, and the Bedouin throughout the Peninsula distinguish in pronunciation the gutturals and sibilants peculiar to the Semitic tongues, and preserve the primitive pronunciation of *teth* (ط), and *qoph* (ق). It is only in the case of *p*, which has become *f*, that the Arabic of the Bedouin stands

on a lower level of phonetic decay than the Assyro-Babylonian.

Now the fact that, from a linguistic point of view, the Arabic of the Modern Bedouin is more archaic than the Assyro-Babylonian of 4000 years ago, settles a question which has sometimes been asked by the students of language. It proves that two members of the same family of speech can exist side by side, though in two wholly different stages of linguistic development. The Semitic languages are connected together by peculiarly close ties, while Assyro-Babylonian was not separated from Arabic by any wide geographical interval; nevertheless, the latter is still in a stage of growth which must have been left by the former long before the earliest Assyrian monuments known to us were inscribed.

What makes the fact still more interesting is the further fact that the Semitic language which has shown itself so conservative is not a language which was committed to writing at an early epoch, but one which is still spoken by wild Bedouin tribes. It is the cultured languages of the Semitic group which exhibit signs of transformation and decay, while the language of the illiterate "desert-ranger" remains unchanged from generation to generation. This runs counter to the usual doctrine according to which the languages of savage and barbarous tribes are in a constant state of flux. But it is thoroughly in harmony with the stationary character and remarkable uniformity observed to exist in the various languages or dialects of the Eskimaux, more particularly of the east,[1] as well as with the relatively primitive nature of that least literary of European tongues, the Lithuanian.

[1] See my "Principles of Comparative Philology," p. 86. In *The American Antiquarian*, vol. x. p. 1 (1888), p. 40, Mr. F. Boaz says: "The languages of all tribes from Greenland to the Coast of Behring Straits differ only very slightly. . . . In Greenland and North-Eastern America the Angaskut use in their conjurations a great number of words which do not occur in the common language. Part of them are symbolical; the greater number, however, are obsolete radicals. Some of them are still in use among the tribes of Alaska, and some are still found in Greenland. They prove the existence of a close relation of the dialects in olden times." For this sacred language of the Eskimo conjurors see again my *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 84, note 2.

But Assyrian phonology, degenerated as it is, has nevertheless served to show that in one respect the phonology of the Parent-Semitic and of the Parent-Aryan agreed together. Prof. Haupt has sought to prove that the Semitic *dhâl*, *ẓâ* and *tha* were originally *d*+*h*, *ṭ*+*h*, *t*+*h*, where the aspirate was pronounced as in the Sanskṛit *dh* or *th*. At all events a comparison of Assyrian with Phœniko-Hebrew makes it clear that the Parent-speech once possessed the sounds *s*+*h* and *t*+*h*. Both Assyrian and Hebrew, that is to say, the old language of Semitic Canaan, belong to the northern division of the Semitic family, and an intimate relation exists between them. Now we find that in certain cases where Hebrew has *h*, Assyrian has *s* and *t*. Thus the causative conjugation in Assyrian is formed by the prefix *s*, in Hebrew by *h*, and the pronouns of the third person *su'* and *si'* have become *hû'* and *hî'* in Hebrew. Similarly the suffix of the feminine *t* has in most cases passed into *h* in Hebrew. As regards the sibilant, the majority of the other Semitic languages have adopted the same mode of dealing with the original sound as Hebrew. Though traces of a causative in *s* are to be found in Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic, it is only in Aramaic that we meet with the same sibilated conjugation as in Assyrian, and the only other Semitic language known to us besides Assyrian which has preserved the initial *s* of the pronoun is one of the dialects of ancient Himyar, with its modern descendant the Mehri.

Now there is but one way of explaining the fact that whereas in some Semitic languages and in certain words we find *s* and *t*, in other languages and in other words we find *h*. Both alike must be derived from a primitive *s*+*h*, *t*+*h*, the initial sibilant and dental being retained in some cases, and the final aspirate in others.

I have said that there is a second fact resulting from the decipherment of the Assyrian texts which is of interest to the general philologist. This relates to the fixity of forms of speech, and the antiquity of language. We have just seen how marvellously unchanged has been the language of the Bedouin Arab; what it is to-day, we may safely say it

has been substantially for the last four or five thousand years. Its speakers have lived isolated lives; they have not had that contact with other languages which brought about the early disintegration of the Assyro-Babylonian dialects. We may perhaps argue from this that when a form of speech once acquires a particular type, it needs the disintegrating influence of foreign tongues to produce alterations in it. At any rate this seems to have been the case in the Semitic family.

But even those members of the Semitic family which have departed most widely from the original type have done so to a comparatively slight extent. One of the chief difficulties of Comparative Semitic Philology consists in the close relationship of the individual members of the family one to another, while there is no extant Parent-speech, like Latin in the case of the Romanic idioms, which can offer us a starting-point for our investigations. French, Italian, and Spanish differ more from each other than do the several Semitic languages. The latter have preserved to a most remarkable extent a common phonological system, a common structure, a common grammar, and a common stock of words.

And yet the language among them, which has on the whole undergone the greatest amount of change, is just the language whose contemporaneous records can be traced back to the third millennium before the Christian era. It had already acquired all those characteristics which mark the Assyrian off from its sister tongues. Such a fact gives us some idea of the length of time that must be allowed before we arrive at the Parent-Speech, or, at all events, at that undivided community whose members afterwards carried with them the dialects that eventually became the Semitic languages. A comparison of the names of objects shared alike by the northern and southern languages of the family, tends to show that this undivided community had its home in the deserts of north-eastern Arabia, where it adjoined the cultured kingdoms of the Accado-Sumerians. A recollection of its nomad life was retained by the Assyrians, who gave the 'city' the name of *âlu*, the Hebrew *ôhêl* 'a tent.'

The Parent-Speech was distinguished from the other lan-

guages of the world, not only by its phonology and its lexicon, but also by its structure and its grammar. The majority of its words were triliteral, each consisting of a framework of three consonants, and the relations of grammar were for the most part expressed by varying the vowels within this framework. It exhibited, therefore, a more complete form of flectional speech than has been known before or since.

I will not stop to inquire whether or not this triliteral character of the words used by the primitive Semitic speaker had arisen out of something else. We have no materials for deciding or investigating the point; at the earliest epoch of Semitic speech to which we can reach back, it was distinguished by its triliteralism, even borrowed words as well as biliteral roots tending to follow the general analogy, and assume a triliteral form. The peculiarities which distinguish the Semitic idioms to-day distinguished the Parent-language of the pre-historic nomad.

And yet it is possible that this Parent-language was not such a solitary islet of human speech as it seems at first sight to be. Between it and Old Egyptian there appear to be points of similarity which cannot be accounted for by the theory of coincidences. It is true that the Egyptian vocabulary shows no clear traces of connection with that of the Semitic tongues, except in the case of borrowed words; it is also true that the triliteralism and internal vocalic change of the Semitic idioms are unrepresented in Egyptian; but it is equally true that between the Semitic and Egyptian pronouns and grammatical suffixes there exists a remarkable resemblance. I am fully aware that in certain respects, such as the indication of the causative conjugation by the suffix *s*, there is a further resemblance between Egyptian and the "Hamitic" languages of the south, such as the Haussa, but this resemblance does not extend very far. The construct genitive, for instance, which Prof. Maspero has shown to exist in Old Egyptian, is of itself a peculiarity, which claims direct connection with Semitic speech. I am no advocate of associating languages together because of one or two points of likeness in grammar or vocabulary; but when I

find the Egyptian personal pronouns *anuk*, *entu-k*, *entu-s*, *anu*, *tenu*, *senu*, corresponding exactly to the Old Semitic *anôki*, *anta* (,-*ka*), *su'*, *si'*, -(*â*)*nû*, *antum*, *sunu*, I cannot resist the conclusion that some relationship must exist between Egyptian and Old Semitic.[1] Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, in the Presidential Address of two years ago, has shown that mixed languages, in which the elements of the structure and grammar are derived from more than one family of speech, are to be found in Eastern Asia, and Prof. von der Gabelentz has proved the same for the Melanesian islands of the Pacific.[2] In Old Egyptian, it seems to me, we must recognise the same fact. Here, too, we have a mixed grammar compounded of elements that are partly African and partly Semitic.

But the Semitic elements appear to belong to a period anterior to that in which the principle of triliteralism became fixed and stereotyped. They bear witness to a form of speech which was Semitic, and yet not of the type of that which I have termed the Semitic Parent-speech. Whether this form of speech, which for want of a better name I must call Old Egyptian, were the sister or the aunt of the Semitic Parent-speech, I cannot say; the question must be left to be decided by future research. On the ethnological side, however, it seems probable that the Egyptians were descended from the people of Pun or Punt, who lived on either shore of the southern part of the Red Sea, though a dash of African blood has given them a massiveness of jaw which the people of Pun did not possess.[3] As the people of Pun were inhabitants of the southern coast of Arabia, their settlements on the western side of the Bab-el-Mandeb being, like

[1] Mr. Le Page Renouf's arguments against this conclusion in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, March, 1888, rest upon what I must be allowed to call an obsolete theory of roots. Years ago, in my *Principles of Comparative Philology*, I fancied I had effectually disposed of the theory, and the revolution brought about in Indo-European Comparative Philology by the "Neo-Grammarians" has since deprived it of the support it was once supposed to find in the Indo-European languages.

[2] "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprache" (1882), a treatise which ought to be carefully studied by every student of language.

[3] Such is one of the results derived from the casts, etc., of the ethnological types represented on the Egyptian monuments, taken by Mr. Flinders Petrie for the British Association in 1886-7.

those of the later Ghe'ez, of Arabic origin, it is probable that in the far-distant past they were in geographical proximity to the nomad Semites, and may therefore easily have spoken cognate languages. In any case it would appear that long before the foundation of the historical Egyptian monarchy in the fifth millennium before our era, we get a glimpse of a language or dialect which stood to the Semitic Parent-speech in the relation of sister or aunt. It takes us back beyond the earliest epoch to which the Semitic languages themselves confine our range of vision, to a period, in fact, when triliteralism had not as yet become the dominant principle of Proto-Semitic structure. When we remember the fixity and immobility of the Semitic idioms during the long period of time in which we can trace their history, when we further remember that Egyptian was already an aging language at the date to which the oldest monuments of it belong, we can form some idea of the vast antiquity to which we must refer the first beginnings of Proto-Semitic speech. We are transported to an age far behind that of the Semitic Parent-language, or the time when triliteralism first became the governing principle of Semitic structure.

The same testimony is borne by the dialects of pre-Semitic Chaldæa. We find them inscribed upon monuments, some of which mount back to about 4000 years before the Christian era. From this time onwards we can trace their history for several centuries, until at last the language of the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia became the sacred idiom of their successors, and was preserved like monkish Latin down to the days when the conquests of Alexander brought the Greeks and the Orientals face to face. The transformation undergone by Accado-Sumerian in the hands of the Semitic scribes, many of whom understood it badly, does not concern us here; it is rather the changes which it experienced while it was still a living tongue that have an interest for us. Some years ago, in 1877, a paper of mine was read before this Society upon Accadian Phonology, in which I endeavoured for the first time to trace some of the changes experienced by Accado-Sumerian through the action

of phonetic decay. These changes were in many instances very considerable, and bear evidence to the length of time during which they must have been going on. Since the publication of my paper the subject has been further worked out, more especially by Haupt and Hommel, and we now have a fair idea of the extent to which the original appearance of Accado-Sumerian had been affected by phonetic change. Already in the earliest of its monuments it shows signs of decay. *Wüdün*, for instance, signifies 'wine' in the Accadian dialect of the north, the proximity of whose speakers to the Semites caused it to alter more rapidly than the Sumerian of the south. In the latter dialect, and in the oldest records of it that we possess, the word in question takes the form of *gesdin* (or *gösdin*). But *gösdin* itself was not the primæval word. This was *gwösdin*, literally 'the draught of life,' from *gwös* 'a draught,' and *din* 'life.' The wine of the ancient Chaldæan, in fact, was like the Soma of India, that which made glad the hearts of gods and men. Similarly the fire-god was called *Wubára* in Accadian, *Gubára* in Sumerian, dialectal varieties of which were *Kibira* and *Gibil*, but there is evidence to show that the original form of the name was *Gwusbára*, though it was a form that had been lost in pronunciation before the rulers of Tel-loh erected their monuments in the fourth millennium B.C.

Accado-Sumerian, however, was already a fully-formed and complete language. Its structure and grammar were already fixed; it was already as far removed from the earliest beginnings, not only of language in general, but also of the particular form of language to which it belonged, as are the Turko-Tatar languages of to-day. Whatever changes subsequently passed over it, they were phonetic changes only, affecting in no way its special type and character. Sixty centuries ago Accado-Sumerian was already very old.

I shall pass over the contributions that have been made to the comparative philology of the Semitic idioms by the Semitic language which we usually term Assyrian, though its older and purer form was spoken in Babylonia rather than in Assyria. I shall say nothing of the help it affords

in settling the question of the primitive home and social condition of the undivided Semites; how instructive it is, for example, to find that whereas the Phœniko-Hebrew word for 'a city' is borrowed from Sumerian, *âlu*, which is used in Assyrian in the same signification, is identical with the Hebrew *ôhel*, 'a tent.'[1] Nor shall I point out what light it has thrown on the formation of the Semitic Perfect, proving that the third person is merely an abstract noun, while the other two persons are amalgamations of the noun with the personal pronouns. Such matters belong rather to the special province of Semitic philology, than to linguistic science in general.

But I cannot refrain from drawing your attention to the new vistas that have been opened up, not only for the student of history, of religion, and of ancient geography, but also for the student of language, by the decipherment of the inscriptions of Van. Throughout the larger part of the country now known as Armenia, and extending northwards of the Araxes into the modern Georgia, inscriptions are found, written in Cuneiform characters which were borrowed from Nineveh, but in the language of a kingdom which had its capital on the shores of Lake Van. The language is inflectional in the same sense as is the Georgian of to-day, but it does not belong to the Indo-European family of speech. In fact, down to the close of the seventh century before our era, when the monumental record forsakes us, there is no trace throughout this district of any other language than that of the Vannic kings. Wherever they led their armies, moreover, eastward, northward, or westward, the names of the princes they encountered, and of the countries they traversed, are all distinctively non-Aryan. As late, therefore, as the age which ushered in the fall of the Assyrian Empire, Armenia had not as yet been conquered by Aryan-speaking tribes.

This fact, coupled with the further fact that the vocalism

[1] The identification of *âlu* with *ôhel* was first made by myself in 1872, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, i. 2, p. 305, and like many other things has since been re-discovered by younger Assyriologists.

of Armenian is European and not Asiatic, while the Iranian element once supposed to be present in it has turned out to be due to Persian influence of comparatively late date, goes to show that the classical tradition concerning the Armenians was based on actual history. Herodotos (vii. 73) tells us that the Armenians who served in the army of Xerxes were a colony from Phrygia, and Eudoxos declared that their language was largely Phrygian,[1] the Phrygians themselves being stated by Strabo (pp. 295, 471) to have been of Thrakian origin. Such a tradition cannot have been very old at the time when Herodotos committed it to writing, and the support it has received from my decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions leads us to accept the view that in Armenian we may see the last surviving representative of Thrako-Phrygian speech. This alone would give a high importance to the scientific investigation of the Armenian language, an importance which is enhanced when we remember the close connection that seems to have existed linguistically as well as geographically between Thrako-Phrygian and the Greek dialects.

But the recovery of the old Vannic language itself ought to possess considerable interest for the comparative philologist. Considerations of geography, as well as of ethnology, would suggest that it belonged to the family of speech of which Georgian, Mingrelian, Suanian, and Lazian are the living representatives. In this case it will become possible to analyze the words and grammatical forms of Georgian, hitherto one of the greatest puzzles of linguistic science, and to trace their transformation into their present shape. But even if it shall turn out that the Vannic language is the waif of an otherwise extinct family of speech, it will still be well worth the attention of the philologist. Its grammar belongs to the same type as that of Georgian, but is infinitely more simple and transparent. There is seldom much difficulty in discovering the root of the word; the suffixes are limited in number, and are used with great regularity. The

[1] Καὶ Ἔυδοξος δὲ ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ φησὶν, Ἀρμένιοι τὸ γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι.—Eustath. *in Dion.* v. 694.

language holds the same midway place between agglutination and inflection as does Georgian; in fact, so far as one can judge at present, it may be pronounced inflectional rather than agglutinative. The suffixes in most common use are *-ni*, *-li*, and *-di*, which, like the suffixes of the Indo-European languages, may be employed either in a flectional or a classificatory sense, or, again, without any meaning whatever. Thus, *-ni* and *-di* denote the accusative and locative of the noun, but *-ni* also forms adjectives, and *-di* nouns of place, while both are employed without any special signification to attach a root to another suffix. Similarly by the side of a phrase like *ini-li zai-li zadua-li* 'after this gate was built,' we find *pi-li* 'the place of a name,' or 'memorial,' and *qabqabru-li-ni* 'approach,' where *-li* serves to attach the suffix of the accusative to the stem of the word. Other suffixes which may be mentioned are *-ka*, which expresses the idea of race or descent, as in *Argisti-ka-s* 'the race of Argistis,' *-a*, which denotes persons, as in *tarsu-a* 'the people of strength,' that is, 'soldiers,' and *-khi*, or with the adjectival suffix *-khi-ni*, which represents the patronymic. The nominative terminated in *-s*, the genitive and dative in the vowel of the stem (*-a*, *-i*, and *-u*), and there does not seem to have been any special suffix for expressing the plural. At all events, there is usually no difference between the forms of the singular and plural, both in the noun and in the verb. The machinery of the verb is of the simplest possible description. There is only one tense, the past, the first person singular of which is represented by the suffix *-bi*, while the third person singular and plural ends in *-ni*, perhaps a contracted form of the demonstrative *i-ni* 'this.' Other forms of the verb are expressed by gerunds and participles, the most common being the dative of the gerund in *-li*, which is used as a present, a future, and an optative. *Alus tulie*, for example, 'whoever carries away,' is literally 'whoever (is) for carrying away.' I may add that composition plays a large part in the formation of the language; thus, *abili-du-bi* 'I burnt,' is properly 'I set on fire,' *śui-du-bi* 'I appropriated,' is 'I set for a possession,' and the word

tarsu-a, quoted above, is a compound of *tar* 'strong,' and *su* 'to make.'

Though the Vannic inscriptions are numerous, and some are of considerable length, no bilingual text has as yet been discovered. It may, therefore, be asked how it was that I succeeded in deciphering them. I will answer the question as briefly as I can.

When the Cuneiform characters of Nineveh were borrowed by the people of Van, they selected from the multitudinous signs of the Assyrian syllabary only those which expressed such simple values as *a*, *ba*, *bi*, *bu*, etc., along with a few others, which represented closed syllables like *gis*. At the same time, they rejected the polyphony of the Assyrian system, assigning to each character one value only. Fortunately for us, however, they did not content themselves with these phonetic characters; they also borrowed the 'determinatives' of the Cuneiform system of writing, as well as a good many ideographs. Consequently we can always tell in an inscription whether a particular word represents the name of a man, of a woman, of a city, of a country, or such objects as oxen, sheep, metals, wood, and the like, through the help of the determinatives prefixed to it. Similarly, the ideograph of plurality indicates to us when a word is employed in the plural number, while the other ideographs, which are freely scattered through the texts, give us some idea of what the inscriptions are about. Moreover, by comparing two parallel passages together, it is often possible to arrive at the Vannic pronunciation of the ideographs, what is expressed by an ideograph in the one passage being written phonetically in the other. In this way I was enabled to construct the framework of Vannic grammar, and to determine the signification of a good many words. It then became clear that the Vannic scribes had not only borrowed the Assyrian characters in the forms found in the inscriptions of Assur-natsir-pal, the first Assyrian monarch who penetrated into their country, but had also borrowed, or rather imitated, the stereotyped phrases of his historical texts. That such was the case had already been divined by

the French Semitic scholar Stanislas Guyard, whose untimely death is still deplored by science. He had observed, by an attentive study of the ideographs occurring in it, that a formula which is frequently attached to the Vannic inscriptions must correspond with the execratory formula added at the end of Assyrian monuments of the same kind. The decipherment of the language has shown that his conclusion was right.

Since the publication of my Memoir on the Vannic Inscriptions, the work of decipherment has been carried on first by Guyard, and subsequently by Prof. D. H. Müller, of Vienna. New texts have been brought to light, new words explained, and corrections introduced into the translations I put forward six years ago. Already a large part of the long-lost and forgotten Vannic language has yielded up its secrets, and a fresh field has thus been won for philological research.

It is time now to turn from an account of what I have been doing myself to what has been done by others in other fields of research. Mr. Wharton, more especially, has for some years past devoted himself to the neglected subject of Latin etymology, and the advances made by Comparative Philology, more especially in the hands of the so-called Neo-Grammarians, have enabled him to discover phonetic laws, and determine the etymology of words which have hitherto been the despair of the philologist. Most of his discoveries remain unpublished: a very important one, which throws light on the derivation of a large number of words, is placed before you this evening for the first time. I shall, I know, express the sentiment of the Society, if I thank Mr. Wharton for his kindness in allowing the results of his investigations to be made known through our means.

III.—ON THE VOCALIC LAWS OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE. By E. R. Wharton, M.A.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting, June* 1, 1888.)

Latin Vocalism. I. Short Vowels.

[Vowels not marked long are understood to be short.]

(1) Besides the recognized vowels *i, u, e, o, a,* Latin must have possessed a 'modified' *u* pronounced like French *u*, German *ü*, with a sound between *u* and *i*, and expressed sometimes by *u* sometimes by *i*. The Emperor Claudius proposed for it a peculiar sign, ⊢: we may use *ü*.

Thus *lubet lunter surpiculus* were later written *libet linter sirpiculus*: *cliens* goes with *cluō*, *li-tô* ('pay one's vows') with *luō*, *cilium* with *κύλα*, *ligô* with *λυγίζω*, *suf-fiō* with *θύω*, and apparently *miser* with *μυσαρός*: *stipula* answers to Old Slavonic *stŭblo* (a by-form of *stĭblo*), *stringō* to Old Slavonic *strŭgati*, *tinguō* to Old High German *duncōn*. So, I would suggest,

nimis stands for **numis-um*, the old form of *numerum* (cf. Oscan *Niumsiels* 'Numerii'), and *nimis altus*=*numerum altus* 'a quantity high,' as French *trop haut*=Lat. *turbam altum* 'a crowd high':

pingō 'paint' (originally 'stipple') goes with *pungō* 'prick':

sirempse (later *siremps*, as according to Wölfflin *instar* 'weight' is from *instāre* 'to press on') stands for **surempse*, Inf. Perf. of **surimō* (whence Festus has the Perf. *surēmit*), the original form of *sūmō* (cf. Naevius' Inf. Perf. *sumpse*) 'to assume,' so that the phrase 'siremps lex esto quasi, etc.' means properly 'let an assumption be law, as though, etc.' The first element in these words is, as Bréal has suggested, *sus* 'up' as in the phrase *susque dēque* 'up and down' and in *suspendō sustulī*.

With the same letter *ü* we may account for Augustus' spelling *simus* for *sumus*: *culullus intubus lacruma manubiae obstupescō quadrupes satura* were later spelt *culillus* etc.; *optumus* and other Superlatives gave way to *optimus* etc.: *āverr-uncus* and *long-inquus* have really the same termination: from *supô* came *dis-sipô*. Further instances will be given below.

(2) Latin vocalism was complicated by four distinct influences: intermixture of dialects, accent, adjoining letters, and analogy.

(I.) Dialect:

The most perplexing phenomenon in Latin vocalism is the occasional change of *e* in the root-syllable into *i*, and of *o* into *u*. The later Roman dialect, as we shall see, changed every *o* before a consonant in the *final* syllable into *u*: the difficulty is to account for sporadic changes of radical *o*. It may be conjectured that some dialect—whether that of the lower or of the upper class does not appear—changed *every* radical *e* into *i* (as Gothic does), and that either the same or some other dialect changed every radical *o* into *u*; and that certain words in Latin were infected by this dialectic influence. Nor are these changes confined to Latin: in Old Umbrian we have *enumek esuk vea vestiçia* and beside them *inumek isek via vistiça*, in Oscan *estud* and *ist*: New Umbrian *curnaco*=Lat. *cornīcem*, *sunitu*=Lat. *sonitū*, Faliscan *cuncaptum*=Lat. *conceptum*.

First for the change of *e* to *i* in Latin: beside *felix* ('fern') *penna speciō vea* we have the spellings *filix pinna spiciō via*, *en* and *endo* become *in* and *indu*, *trebus* becomes *tribus*, for *erus septem sex* we have in inscriptions *irus siptem six*: *sinister* seems to mean 'senior' as a term of respect, a euphemism like εὐώνυμος (for the first *i* cf. *sinātus* beside *senātus*), *vitulus* (whence Greek ἰταλός is borrowed) must mean 'a yearling' and go with *vetus* and ἔτος, while *sileō* (as I have suggested) 'settle down' is a by-form of *sedeō* (Gothic *ana-silan* 'to abate' is borrowed from Latin): *cicur* 'tame' answers to πέπων in the sense of 'gentle,' *plicô* to πλέκω, *cicer* to Prussian *keckirs*, *niteō* (I would suggest) to Old Slavonic

gnetą 'I press' (so that *niteō* properly means to be rubbed, polished, and *nota* 'mark' is an Ablaut of the same root). In *vigeō* beside *vegeō* an un-original *e* (see sec. 3, β) becomes *i*. So the sonants *m̥* and *n̥* are represented sometimes by *em* and *en*, sometimes by *im* and *in*, we have *hemō* (in Old Latin) and *centum*, *similis* and *inter*. (The relation of *helus hemō* to the later *holus homo* is obscure.)

Secondly for the change of *o* to *u*. This is commonest before Liquids: Priscian says the oldest Romans said *humo* for *homo*, which, if true, proves that the change does not belong to the *later* Roman dialect: *humus* goes with χθών (for *χjώμ), *numerus* apparently with Irish *nōs* 'custom': cf. *puls* with πόλτος, *sulcus* with ὁλκός: βολβός becomes in Latin *bulbus*, *culpa* and *pulcer* have seemingly older forms *colpa* and *polcer*: to μορμύρω answers *murmur*, to πορφύρα *purpura* (borrowed). So the sonants *l̥* and *r̥* are represented sometimes by *ol* and *or*, sometimes by *ul* and *ur*, we have *tolerō* and *fornāx*, *tulī* and *furnus*. Before non-Liquids *o* changes to *u* in *luxus* 'dislocated' beside λοξός, in the forms *rutundus* and *ubba* mentioned by grammarians for *rotundus* and *obba*, and (I would add) in *lucūna* (a by-form of *lacūna*, see sec. 5 fin.) from *locus*, *pudet* 'it smites me' beside σποδέω 'beat,' and perhaps *cupiō* 'try to take' for **copiō* with *o* Ablaut of *e* in **cepiō* i.e. *capiō* (sec. 5, γ).—A consideration of certain forms tends to show that in these cases the change was not to a genuine but to a 'modified' *u*, representable by *i*: beside κόνις we have not **cunis* but *cinis*, beside Old Slavonic *po-klopŭ* 'a lid' both *clupeus* and *clipeus*, and see *cingō imber imbilīcus* below (sec. 8). See also sec. 6 on unaccented *o*.

(3) The later Roman dialect differed from the earlier as to short vowels chiefly in two points:[1]

(α) *o* in proclitics or enclitics, and before a consonant in the final syllable of polysyllables, invariably became *u*: *honc* and *sont* became *hunc* and *sunt*, the original form **com* 'with' (which remained in compounds, *compōnō*) became *cum*, *fīlios*

[1] The preference of *i* to *u* as representative of *ŭ* has been illustrated above (sec. 1).

opos trebibos pōcolom consol became *fīlius opus tribubus pōculum consul*, to γένος answers *genus*, to ἑ-κατόν *centum*, the Nom. of *rōboris* is *rōbur*. (The *o* in *amor color* etc. remained because originally it was long.) In pre-Augustan times the original *o* remained after *v* or *u*, *vīvos mortuos*; later these forms gave way to the analogy of the others.

(β) Initial *vo* became *ve*: according to Quintilian, Scipio Africanus first wrote *versus* and *vertex*. Thus *vorrō vortō voster votó* were the older forms of *verrō vertō vester vetó*; we have the older form *volō* kept for distinction beside the younger *velim*; *vellus* must have been originally **vollus* (cf. οὖλος in the sense of 'woolly'), *venia* originally **vonia* (ὀνίνημι), *vereor* originally **voreor* (ὁράω), *vegeō* originally **vogeō* (Gothic *vakan*), *verbum* originally **vorbum* (Lithuanian *wardas*), *vespa* originally **vospa* (Anglosaxon *väsp*), *vermis* originally **vormis* with *or* representing a sonant *r* (Gothic *vaurms*). So **voicos* (οἶκος) became *veicus* and later (sec. 14) *vīcus*; *vois* 'thou wilt' became **veis* and later *vīs*. Exceptions to the rule are due to analogy, on which see sec. 9: the relation of *voxor* to the later *uxor* or *oxor* is obscure. In *vescor* from **voscor*, cf. βόσκω, the *v* represents *gv*: in the same way *quercus* is from **quorcus* with a sonant (Anglosaxon *furh*), and *quisquiliae* (with *i* from *e*, sec. 2) from **quosquiliae* (κοσκυλμάτια). In some cases the law of 'pretonic' *e*, for which see section 5, takes effect: the older *vocó* became not **vecó* but *vacó*, **gvodios* (Irish *buide*: oxytone like πολιός) became not **bedius* but *badius* (an Oscan form of which the Roman equivalent, I would suggest, is *varius* with *r* for *d*), **cvonis* (cf. κύων) became not **cenis* but *canis*. The relation of *calix* to κύλιξ awaits explanation.

(4) (II.) Accent:

Every language has necessarily both a stress-accent and a pitch-accent: in every polysyllabic word we naturally emphasise one syllable, and further pronounce one syllable—whether the emphasised syllable or another—in a higher tone than the rest. In modern languages the accent, whether of stress or of pitch, is matter of tradition, in dead

languages mostly of inference: Greek and Sanskrit mark the pitch-accent, but neither they nor any other language mark the stress-accent. In Latin, as in English, the stress-accent was more powerful than the pitch-accent, while in Greek the reverse was the case; hence the difference of vocalism between Lat. *abigō* and Greek *ἀπάγω*. We may here confine the term 'accent' to stress-accent, and give to pitch-accent the appellation 'tone.'

(5) (A.) As I pointed out three years ago, Latin *e* and *o* when 'pretonic,' *i.e.* when the pitch-accent fell on the syllable following, regularly become *a* (cf. Stokes, Neoceltic Verb Substantive, p. 31): all exceptions are due to analogy, on which see sec. 9. Thus in the case of pretonic *e*:

(*a*) Noun-stems in *-i* (except *potis ovis*, cf. *πόσις ὄις*) and *-u* were oxytone: *apis* goes with *ἐμπίς*, *ratis* with *ἐ-ρετ-μόν*, *vas* (for **vadis*) with *ἄεθλον i.e. ἄ-Fεθ-λον*, *gradus* with Gothic *grids* (which proves the root to be *ghredh*, cf. Lat. *gressus*); and, I would add, *ās* for *assis*, **ad-tis*, with *elementum* ('unit') for **edementum*. So *auris* (Lithuanian *ausìs*) beside *οὖς* is for **ouris* or **ūris*.

(*β*) The Noun-endings *-nos*, *-ros*, *-vos*, were oxytone: *magnus* goes with *μέγας*, *stagnum* possibly with *στεγανός*, *sacer* with *sequor* (for the sense compare the related word *ὄπις* 'retribution'), *aper* with Anglosaxon *efor*, *arvum* with Welsh *erw*. So also the ending *-kos*: *vacca* for **vat-cā* goes with *ἔτος* and means properly 'yearling' (see *vitulus* sec. 2).

(*γ*) The Verb-endings *-āō* (in Latin the first conjugation), *-eō*, *-iō*, were paroxytone: *amō* (as I would suggest) goes with *emō* 'take' (cf. *cupiō* sec. 2), *flagrō* with *φλέγω*, *maneō* with *μένω*, *pateō* (and, I would add, *patior* 'lie open to') with *πετάννῡμι*, *candeō* with Sanskrit *cand* i.e. *kvend*, *sapiō* with Anglosaxon *sefan*, while *capiō* (as the Perf. *cēpī* shows) represents **cepiō*, *faciō*=**feciō* cf. *ἔθηκα*, *jaciō*=**jeciō* cf. *ἧκα*. So the Verb-ending *-iscō* had the pitch-accent on the *i*, *paciscor* goes with *pecū* from a root *pek*.

In the same way we may explain the difference of root-vowel between *hara* and *συ-φεός i.e. συ-φεσός*, *palea* and Lithuanian *pelai*, *aries* and Lith. *ẽras*, *tabula* and Lith. *stẽbas*.

Examples of pretonic *o* becoming *a* are *crassus* for **crat-tus* beside κροτώνη 'excrescence on trees,' *amārus* beside ὠμός, *salvus* beside *solidus* (the word answering to οὖλος 'whole' is *sollus* not *salvus*), *ansa* beside Umbrian *onse*. I would add *atrōx* from **atrus* (as *ferōx* from *ferus*) for **ad-rus* (Latin does not allow the combination *dr*[1]) beside *odium*; and *lacūna* 'space' (in popular etymology connected with *lacus*) from *locus*. In *valvae* beside *volvō*, and, I would add, *callis* 'hill-path' beside *collis*, and *carbō* 'carried in a basket' (the λάρκος of the Acharnians) beside *corbis*, the *al* or *ar* may represent a long sonant *l* or *r*.

(6) (B.) The unaccented vowel in Latin—*i.e.* any vowel but the first in the word—suffered various fortunes.

Unaccented *i* before *r* became *e*: *ānser* is for **hānsis* (Lithuanian *žąsis*), *vōmer* stands beside *vōmis* and a stem *cucumer-* beside *cucumis*, *numerus* and *umerus* were originally **numisus* and **umisus*. In all these cases the *r* represents an original *s*; but the rule applies equally to an original *r*, witness *adferō* beside *adimō*, *imperō* beside *adigō*. Accented *ir* remains, whether from *-is*, *dirimō sirempse*, or original, *circus cirrus hirūdō hirundō pirus vir vireō virga virgō*.

Unaccented *o* is preserved in the second element of all compounds, sec. 9: *sēdulō* is from the epigraphic form *dulus* for *dolus* (sec. 2), *īlicō* owes its *i* to *īlicet*. At the end of a stem it remains in *somnolentus vīnolentus* and the isolated by-forms *colober tonotrū*, but normally becomes *ū* (sec. 2 fin.), written *u* in *somnulentus coluber aurufex monumentum volumus*, *i* in *tonitrū aurifex monimentum agimus bonitās* etc. So in ἀνάπτυξις, Old Latin has *sorticolis popolum tabolam volop colomna*, later *u* in *sorticula* etc. *fīcēdula tegumen figulus*, *i* in *tegimen figilīnae lāmina fictilis* etc.; and in the Gen. Sing., in *senātuos* the *o* is preserved by Dissimilation, otherwise we have *u* in Old Latin *patrus nōminus hominus*, *i* in the later *patris* etc.

[1] Except in *quadru-* for **quatru-*, taken, I would suggest, from some Celtic dialect, cf. the Belgic town-name *Quadriburgium*; and *quad-ra* 'square' ('angular,' cf. Old Norse *hvass* 'pointed,' Anglosaxon *hvät* 'sharp'), which owes the preservation of its *d* to a popular connexion with *quadru-*, the true Roman form appearing in *triquetrus* 'with three points.' Compounds, e.g. *adripiō*, do not come under the rule.

Unaccented *e* and *a* must be taken together; when open, *i.e.* before a single consonant, both became *ü*, when close, *i.e.* before two consonants, *e* remained and *a* became *e*.

Open *e* became *ü*, written *u* in *famulus* beside Umbrian *fameδias*, *occulō* beside Irish *celim*, *occupō mancupium recuperō* from **cepiō* i.e. *capiō* (see sec. 5); *i* in *familia accipiō mancipium reciperō adimō compitum agitis* etc.: cf. Umbrian *aδputrati* beside Lat. *arbiter*, both from a root *gvet* (Gothic *qithan*). Sonant nasals mostly keep their *e*, *decem novem septem lūmen juvenis*: it becomes *i* (sec. 2) in *lūminis vīgintī*. —Close *e* remains, e.g. *legens acceptus* (see on *capiō* above).

Open *a* likewise became *ü*, written *u* in *contubernium concutiō abluō* (whence Silius Italicus absurdly formed a simple Verb *luō* 'wash'), *insuliō surrupuī*; *i* in *adigō adhibeō additus* etc., *insiliō surripuī*. In *aboleō adolescō* (beside *adulescens*) *exolescō indolēs subolēs*, which cannot be disconnected with *alō*, *a* became *o* apparently through a popular connexion with *oleō*.—Close *a* became *e*, *concentus* from *canō*, *ne-cesse* from *cassus*, *peregrē* from *agō*, *identidem* from *ante*, *sollemnis* beside Oscan *amnod* 'circuitu': *condumnari* in the Tabula Bantina is a mere mistake, *condemnatus* following in the same line. For limitations see sec. 8, α, β: *surruptus* is due to *surrupuī*.

Unaccented *i* differed little in pronunciation from *e*, unaccented *ü* from *o*; hence some isolated forms in inscriptions or grammarians show *e* for *i*, *fīleai soledās tempestātebus sōbreus*, *o* for *ü* as the resultant of *e*, *oppodum*.[1] Tacitus's *flamonium* must owe its *ō* (for *i*) to the analogy of *mātrimōnium*.

Final *i* and *o* alike became *e*: *ante* answers to ἀντί, *mare* and *leve* are from the stems *mari-* and *levi-*, *ille* from the stem *illo-*, *sequere* corresponds to ἕπεο. In such forms as *nisi* and *quando* the final vowel remains because it was originally long.

[1] So *ērodīta* from *rudis*. An accented *u* becomes *o* only in post-classical Latin, *subolēs*: *cotōnia* must be from a dialectic by-form of κυδώνια, *folium* has a more original vowel than φύλλον (cf. *mola* μύλη) and (if the connexion is real) *formīca* than μύρμηξ, *foris* 'door' has a sonant *r* (Old Slavonic *dvĭrĭ*). I would add that *fore* 'to be about to be' is a by-form (cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 67) of the adverb *foris* (as *mage pote* of *magis potis*), standing for *fore esse* 'to be outside, beyond' (so *ultra* 'beyond' is used of time as well as of space); and that Livius' *sortus* = **sur-ortus* (see on *sirempse* sec. 1), with the vowel of the simple verb. The *o* of *ancora* from ἄγκῡρα must be due to *remora* 'hindrance.'

(7) (III.) Adjoining letters:

The Roman dislike to the combination *ii*, which gives us *pi-etas* by the side of *bon-itas*, or *uu*, see above (sec. 3, *a*) on *mortuos*, is well known. So *ji* and *vu* become *je* and *vo*. The derivation of *vulgus vulpēs vultur vultus* is so obscure that we cannot tell whether these or *volgus* etc. are the more original forms, whether *vu* has become *vo* by Dissimilation or *vo* has become *vu* by the change (sec. 2) of *o* to *u*.

Original initial *sve* became *so*, *socer* cf. ἑκυρός, *sonus* cf. Anglosaxon *svin*, *sopor* cf. Anglosaxon *svefan*, *soror* cf. Gothic *svistar*. After an original initial velar *k*, *e* in a few words became *o*, beside πέλω (i.e. *kvelō*) we have Faliscan *quolundam* and Lat. *colō*, beside πέπων *coquō*; but much more often the velar subsided into a palatal and the *e* remained, *celeber celer centō cernuus cervīx cervus cernō cerrītus*, while in *corbis* (Old Norse *hrip*) *corium* (Sk. *cárman*) *cortex* (Lith. *kertù*) the *or* probably represents a sonant *r*. In Pliny's *combretum* beside Lith. *szwendrai* the *co* represents a *palatal k + ve*.

The Latin change of original *ev* to *ov*, and of original *ov* to *av*, is now generally admitted: *ev* becomes *ov* in *fovea* cf. χειά for *χεϝιά, *moveō* cf. ἀ-μεύομαι, *novem* cf. ἐν-νέα, *novus* cf. νέος, *ovō* cf. εὐάζω, *sovos* (later *suus* on the analogy of *tuus*) cf. ἑός, while *ov* becomes *av* in *avilla* cf. ὄις, *avis* cf. οἰωνός for *ὀϝι-ωνός, *caveō* cf. κοέω, *cavus* cf. κόοι, *lavō* cf. λούω. So *paviō* goes with ποίη, not with παίω (in which, as the Bœotian form πήω shows—cf. the Bœotian κή for καί—the αι is original, and does not represent *aϝι*). In words also of more obscure formation, *avēna aveō avus faveō favilla favus gravis ravim*, the *av* may represent original *ov*, though we cannot prove it; while *ovis*, like *bovem*, must be Oscan, not pure Latin. The combination *ev* occurs in Latin only in *brevis* and *levis*, and in each the *v* represents original *ghv* (cf. βραχύς and ἐλαχύς respectively).

(8) Little attention has hitherto been paid to the Latin dislike to certain apparently harmless combinations of a vowel with two consonants:

(*a*) *e* cannot stand before *nc* or *ng*: it becomes *a*, *nanciscor*

beside *ἐ-νεγκεῖν*, *anguilla* beside *ἔγχελυς*, *frangō* (*i.e.* I would suggest, **freg-nō*: *pēgī* is formed on the analogy of *frēgī*) beside Gothic *brikan*, *mangō* (quasi 'exaggerator') beside *μέγας*; or, when unaccented, *i*, e.g. *attingō* (for **attengō*, sec. 6). So the sonant *n* before *g* or *gv* is represented not by *en* but by *in*, we have *inguen* beside *ἀδήν*, *lingua* beside Gothic *tuggō*, *singulī* beside Irish *samal*, *pīnguis* beside *παχύς*, and *īgnis* (i.e. **ingnis*) beside Sk. *agnis*. *E* before *nqv* becomes *i* (sec. 2) and is lengthened, *quīnque* cf. *πέντε*.

(*β*) *e* cannot stand before *lc*, *lg*, *lt*, or *lm*: it becomes *u*, *inculcō* from *calcō* (see sec. 6), *ulcus* beside *ἕλκος* (which is known to owe its rough breathing to *ἕλκω*), *mulgeō* beside *ἀ-μέλγω*, *adulterō* from *alter*, *insultō* from *saltō*, *catapulta* borrowed from *καταπέλτης*, *ulmus* beside Anglosaxon *elm*. (Festus' *meltom meliōrem* should perhaps be *meliōsem meliōrem*.)

(*γ*) *o* cannot stand before *mb*: it becomes *ü*, written either *u*, *umbilīcus* cf. *ὀμφαλός*, *umbra* cf. Sk. *andhás*, or *i*, *imbilīcus* (Probi Appendix), *imber* cf. *ὄμβρος*. *Combretum* (see sec. 7) must belong to some rustic dialect.

(*δ*) *o* cannot stand before *nc*, *ng*, or *ngv*; it becomes *ü*, written *u* in *cunctor* beside Sk. *çank*, *uncus* beside *ὄγκος*, *ungō* beside Old High German *anco*, *unguis* beside *ὄνυξ*, *i* in *cingō* beside *κόμβος* 'a band.' I would suggest that *cunctī*, meaning 'inclusive' (cf. the relation of *frequens* to *farciō*, *saepe* to *saepiō*), is a Participle of *cingō* with the older *u* to represent *ü*. *Broncus* and *oncō* are loan-words, *tongeō* Praenestine; *longus*, I would suggest, is borrowed from a Greek form **λογγός* (whence *λογγάζω* 'loiter'), as in turn Gothic *laggs* is borrowed from *longus*. The proper Roman form *lungus* occurs in an inscription.

(9) (IV.) Analogy:

The law of 'pretonic A' (sec. 5) obtains in but few instances, though the form *vacō* for the older *vocō* (see sec. 3, *β*) shows that it had some influence even in classical times; in the great majority of cases the influence of analogy led to the retention of the radical *e* or *o*. Thus *crepō* (for **crapō*) must be derived from a form **crepĕre* seen in *crepitus*, *doceō* (for **daceō*) from a form **docĕre* seen in *doctus*.

In *vocō* ('to call') *volō* ('to fly') *volup volvō vomō vorō voveō* the later Roman dialect abstained from changing initial *vo* into *ve* (sec. 3, β), and followed the analogy of other Ablauts in *o*.

'Re-composition,' the feeling of the essential duality of a compound word, which leads us in English to distinguish *re-cover* ('cover again') from *recover* ('get again'), often preserves the original vowel:

e in *advehō, expetō impetus, ēlegans* ('very careful') and *neglegō* (both from the old Verb **legō* 'to care,' seen in *dīligō*), and in an inscription *oppedeis* (the root appears in ἔμπεδος). Sometimes the compound preserves the original vowel even where the simple Verb has changed it to 'pretonic' *a*, *aggredior dēpeciscor perpetior* (for these see sec. 5, α, γ on *gradus paciscor patior*) and *dēfetīgō* (of which the root is seen in *fessus*):

o in *impotens innocens insolens* etc. (see sec. 6):

a in *adamō*.

So *menceps concors congerō combūrō* show combinations which have been proved above (sec. 8, α, γ, δ) to be inadmissible in non-compound words.

The laws about unaccented open vowels, sec. 6, are sometimes disturbed by analogy: the second vowel of *celeber integer* is due to *celebris integra*, of *segetis* to *seges*, of *vegetus* to *vegeō*, of *anatis* to *anas*, of *alacer* (derivation obscure) to *ācer*.

In *comes jūdex* (for **comis* **jūdix*) the second vowel is due (according to Brugmann) to the analogy of forms like *superstes* and *rēmex*, in which unaccented *a* duly (sec. 6) becomes *e* in the close syllable (**superstet-s*, **rēmeg-s*).

Forms like *scribundi* seem due to the analogy of *eundum* (in which the *u* is the result of Dissimilation).

Other instances of the action of analogy have been given above, sec. 3 and 6.

II. Long-Vowels and Diphthongs.

(10) The sixth vowel, *ü*, is even more important in its long than in its short form: it appears not only as a distinct vowel, but as a dialectic representative of the diphthongs *oi*

and *eu* and of unaccented *au*. As *ŭ* in the short form (sec. 1) is represented sometimes by *u* sometimes by *i*, so *ū̆* is represented sometimes by *ū* sometimes by *ī*: *mūtulus* and *stūpa* are also written *mītulus* and *stīpa*, *trūgonus* (τρῡγών) also *trīgonus*, *frīgō* goes with φρύγω, *gībbus* with Lithuanian *gumbas*, *līmpidus* with Oscan *Diumpais*, *sīparium* with Oscan *sūpparum*, *stīpes* with Old Norse *stúfr*. I would add

fīcus ('wasp-shaped') beside *fūcus* 'drone';

fīnis beside *fūnis*, a metaphor from the Circus, which was marked out with a rope (so a 'rape' in Sussex means 'land divided by a rope');

mīrus for **mūsus* from the root of μύω 'to close the eyes,' as one does when dazzled;

pītuīta beside *pūteō*;

scrī-nium 'place for odds and ends' beside *scrū-ta* 'frippery';

spīrō beside *spuō*.

The same interchange of *ū* and *ī* appears in several Noun-endings: compare

cadūcus with *mendīcus amīcus*, cf. *vēnūcula vēnīcula*,

aerūgō with *porrīgō*,

hirsūtus with *acītus*,

testūdō hirūdō with *cupidō formīdō*,

opportūnus fortūna with *dīvīnus culīna*,

edūlis with *senīlis*,

corūscus mollūsca (the *u* must be long, as the *i* in *vopiscus* is known to be) with *vopīscus marīsca*; and, I would add,

**vacūvus* (whence comes *vacuus*, as *duo* from **duvō*, Old Slavonic *dūva*) with *vacīvus*.

Further, an attempt seems to have been made to distinguish this *ū̆* from genuine *ū* and *ī* by writing it *oi* or (later) *oe*: thus we have side by side *fūī fīō* (and *fīlius*) *foetūs*, *sūra soera*, and, I would add, *fūs-cus foedus* 'dirty' (for **foes-dus*). So in Noun-endings we have side by side *opportūnus dīvīnus amoenus* (and *amēnus*). Further instances will be given below (sec. 14) on the diphthongs *oi*, *eu*, and *au*.

In Old Umbrian (see below) *ī* became *ē*; and the same seems to apply to *ī* representing original *ū̆*, beside *fīō* we have *fētūs*, beside *dīvīnus* we have *serēnus terrēnus*, beside

avītus we have *facētus*, beside *amīcus* we have *amēcus*, beside *senīlis* we have *crūdēlis*, beside *cupīdō* we have *cuppēdō*. See further on the diphthongs just mentioned.

(11) The influence of dialect on the Roman long vowels, and especially on the diphthongs, was much stronger than on the short vowels, as conversely that of accent was much weaker.

Old Umbrian, and what the Roman grammarians call the 'rustic' dialect, changed both *ī* and *ai* to *ē*. In Umbrian we have *klētra* beside Lat. *clītellae*, *kvēstur* beside Lat *quaestor*. The 'rustic' forms of *spīca* and *vīlla* were *spēca* and *vēlla*; *avēna* stands for **avīna* cf. Old Slavonic *ovĭsŭ*, and *clē-mens* possibly goes with *ac-clī-nis*. In the same way Old Umbrian occasionally changed *ei* to *ē*, *ētu* 'let him go' is from the root *ei* (which remains in *eiscurent* 'let them summon'): Latin *lēvis* stands for **līvis* or **leivis* (cf. λεῖος *i.e.* λεῖϝος), and from **quei-ve* **nei-ve* **sei-ve* (or *sīve*) through intermediate forms **quēve nēve* **sēve* came (by eliding the final vowel, vocalising the *v* and shortening the vowel before it) *ceu neu seu*; *deivos* became **dēvus* (the Gen. Fem. *devas* is found in an inscription), and, dropping the *v* before *u*, *deus* (*dea* is due to analogy). So, I would suggest, **rīvus* beside *rīvālis* became **rēvus* and then *reus* 'party to an action,' and so *olīvum* (a popular distortion from ἔλαιον, meaning 'fragrant,' *olens*) became **olēvum* and then *oleum* (*olea* being due to analogy). In the same way final *ei* became *ē*, cf. *nei* later *nē*, and the old Latin Datives *patrei tibei* and *patrē tibē*.

Parallel with the Old-Umbrian change of *ai* to *ē* we have in Latin *aerumna aesculus caelum* 'chisel' *caementum caerimōnia caesariēs caespes caestus caeterī faelēs fraenum glaeba haerēs nae paedor paenūria paetus praehendō praelum saepēs saeta saevus taeter vae-* and the loan-words *caetra gaesum paenula raeda mūraena volaema* spelt also with *ē*: though the spellings *laevis vaenum* for *lēvis vēnum* show that the spelling with a diphthong may not always be the older.[1] The spelling with

[1] In *caepe naenia paelex scaena scaeptrum*, which are also spelt *cēpe* etc., we have *ae* to represent Greek η: *caepe*, I would suggest, meaning 'grown in a garden,' κῆπος, and *paelex*—the spelling *pellex* is only due to a popular con-

oe in *caecus caelebs caena caenum faecundus faenum faenus faetēō haedus obscaenus paene* (all spelt also with *ē*), and in *caelum* 'sky' *maerēo paenitet praelium*, is a peculiarity of post-classical Latin, which had lost the earlier *oe* except in *foedus moenia*, sec. 14. The epigraphic *Saeturni* may be a mere mistake for *Sāteurnī*: *Aesculāpius* (Ἀσκλᾱπιός) owes its diphthong, I would suggest, to the physician's *fee, aes*.

(12) New Umbrian reduced the diphthongs *ou* and *au* to *ō*: we have *tōta* 'civitas' beside Oscan *tovto, ōte*=Latin *aut, ōht* =*auctoritate, plōtōs*=*plautōs*. The change of *ou* to *ō* is also Volscian, cf. *tōticu* 'publicō': it appears in Latin in *rōbīgō* from a root *roudh* (cf. Gothic *rauds*), in *cloāca* (with the *ō* shortened before a vowel) also spelt *clouāca*, and, I would add, in *lōcusta* from *lūcus* 'wood' (also spelt *loucos*, cf. Lithuanian *laukas*). Even un-original *ou* becomes *ō* in *noundinom* spelt also *nōndinum*. The reduction of *au* to *ō* is very common in Latin: we have *cauda caupō caurus claudicō claudō haustus laurētum lautus naugae paululus plaudō plaustrum raudus* spelt also *cōda* etc., *cōleus* beside *caulae, cōs* beside *cautēs, fōcāle* from *faux, ōlla* beside *aula* 'pot,' *ōmen* for **aux-men* 'authorisation' from the root of *auxilium, ōs* 'mouth' and *ōrīga* beside *ausculum* and *aurīga, ōstium* and *austium, sōdēs* for *sī audēs* ('if you are inclined'). So *ad-ōrea* 'victory' goes with ἐπ-αυρίσκω, *crōciō* with Lithuanian *kraukti, ōtium* with Gothic *auths*. (This change, like that of *ī* and *ai* to *ē*, is ascribed by the Roman grammarians to the 'rustic' dialect).

(13) The occasional change of *ē* to *ī* and of *ō* to *ū* in Latin must be connected with that of short *e* and *i* to *o* and *u* respectively, sec. 2. Thus (1) we have epigraphic forms *cīnsum* for *cēnsum* and (with the vowel written *ei* to show its length) *dēcreivit leigibus pleibēs* for *dēcrēvit*, etc., and in classical Latin *dēlīniō* (possibly with a reference to *līnum* 'net') beside *dēlēniō, sublīlis* from *tēla*: (2) *hōc* is the older form of *hūc, fūr* goes with φώρ, *ūlna* with ὠλένη, *datūrus* apparently with *datōr* for **datōr, praestōlor* is also spelt *praestūlor*, γλαύκωμα gives *glaucūma*. The converse change of *ū* to *ō* (cf. sec. 6, note)

nexion with *pellicio*—representing *πῆλαξ, the Ionic form of πάλλαξ 'boy,' cf. προπηλακίζω.

occurs only in post-classical Latin, *jōcundus* perhaps with a reference to *jocus*: *nōn*, I would suggest, is not from *noenum*, i.e. **ne-oinom* (sec. 14), but for **nōne* (later spelt *nonne*, as *annulus* for *ānulus*), from *nō-* (a by-form of *nē*, as *sō-* in *sōbrius* of *sē-*, *dō-* in *dōdrans* of *dē*, *certō* of *certē*)+the *-ne* of *pōne superne*.

(14) The classical Roman dialect modified all the original diphthongs except *au*:

ei became *ī*, *deicat* (of δείκνῡμι) *deivos* (cf. Sk. *dēvás*) *eitur* (cf. εἶμι)=later *dīcat dīvus ītur*, *nei sei patrei tibei* are the older forms of *nī sī patrī tibī*: *līveō*, 'am beaten black and blue' stands, I would suggest, for **leiveō* and goes like *lēvis* (sec. 11) with λεῖος 'beaten smooth.' In words of obscure origin like *ceivis leis leitera* the old diphthong may merely be a graphic way of representing the length of the vowel. The relation of *sīspes* or *seispes* to *sōspes* is as obscure as its derivation.

oi is found in old Latin, *coirāre foidere loidos moiro oino oitile co-moinem*: later we have *coerāre foedus loedus moerum oenus oetier moenia* 'duties' (*moenia* 'walls' must be a different word, a technical term which like *foedus* 'treaty' preserved its archaic *oe* through all periods), later again *cūrāre* (also spelt *courāre* to show the quantity of the vowel) *lūdus mūrus ūnus ūtor commūnis* and *mūnia*. So *mūtō* is for **moitō*, cf. μοῖτος; and *pūmex* for **poim-ex*, Ags. *fām*. (The same change from *oi* to *ū* occurs also in Old Umbrian: *kuratu*=Lat. *cūrātum*, *muneklu*=Lat. *mūnusculum*.) In all these spellings original *oi* coincides with the original *ū̄* discussed above (sec. 10); and the identity is further shown by the spelling of original *oi* as *ī* in Ennius' *fīdus* 'treaty,' *līra* (Gothic *laists*), *tībia* (Lith. *staibiai*), and as *ē* in *fēdus dē-lērus pō-mērium*. So the Nom. Plural ending, Gk. *-οι*, appears as *-oe* in the old form *Fescēnīnoe*, as *-ī* in *colōnī* (in old Latin spelt *colōnei* to show the length of the vowel), and as *-ē* in the old form *ploirumē*; the Genitive Singular in old Latin was in *-oe*, *poploe*, later in *-ī*, *populī* (or *populei*); the Abl. Plural, answering to Gk. *-οις*, was in *-oes*, *ōloes*, later in *-īs*, *illīs*. In this last the original diphthong was *ōi*, sec. 16.

ai became *ae*, *aide aiquom airid praidad quaistōrēs*=later *aedem aequum aere praedā quaestōrēs*.

eu is found in early proper names, *Leucesie Leucetio Teupilo Teurano*, and remained in the interjections *eheu heu heus*: in *ceu neu seu* (see sec. 11) and *neuter neutiquam* it is unoriginal. Later it generally became *ū* (or, to show the length of the vowel, *ou*, *abdoucit*): *gūstô* goes with γεύω for *γεύσω, *lūgeō* with λευγαλέος, *lūridus* (I would suggest) with λευρός (for the transition of meaning see above on *līveō*), *nūtô* with νεύω, *plūma* with πλέω for *πλέϝω, *pūlmō* with πλεύμων, *rūctô* with ἐ-ρεύγομαι; *dūcō lūbricus lūx prūna* and (I would add) *nūtriō* (for **nūdriō*, cf. sec. 5 fin.) with Gothic *tiuhan sliupan liuhath frius* and *niutan* respectively. So *brūma* stands for **breuma* from **brevima*.—But there are indications that this *ū* from earlier *eu* was not a genuine *ū* but our *ū̄* (sec. 10): from the root *leubh* in ἐ-λεύθερος (for *ἐ-λεύφερος) we get *lūbh* in *lūber* or *leiber*, *loibh* in the old form *loebertātem*; the original **plē-iōs* or **plē-jōs* 'more' became successively **plē-ōs*, **pleōs* (though the form *pleores* in the Arval Hymn is perhaps a mistake for *ploeres*), and **pleus*, whence in forms actually found we get alike *ū* in *plūrima* or *plouruma*, *ī* in *plīsima*, *ē* in *plērus* (which can hardly go with πλήρης), and *oi* (later *oe*) in *ploirumē ploera*.

ou became in classical Latin *ū*: *jous loucom poublicom* are the earlier forms of *jūs lūcum pūblicum*, *lūcusta* and *rūbigō* come (as we have seen, sec. 12) from roots with *ou*, *clūnis cū-dō mūcus* go with Lithuanian *szlaunìs kau-ti mauk-ti* respectively, *cloāca* (sec. 12) is also spelt *cluāca*. So unoriginal *ou* became *ū*, *noundinom nountios* are the earlier forms of *nūndinum nūntius*. The shortening of *ou* to *u* in *jubeō* was due, I would suggest, to the analogy of *habeō*.

au, alone among diphthongs, remained in the pure Roman dialect: for instances see sec. 12 on the New-Umbrian reduction of it to *ō*. Its reduction between consonants to *ū* may be conjectured to have belonged to the vulgar dialect of Rome: beside *caulae caupō claudō claudus fraus naugae raudus* we find *cūleus cupō clūdō clūdus frūdô* (and *frūstrā*) *nūgae rūdus* (spelt also *roudus*).

(15) Accent has no influence on long vowels,[1] and (as has been said above, sec. 11) but little on diphthongs: all, except *ae* (from *ai*) and *au*, have the same form in the unaccented as in the accented syllable. The diphthong *ae*, when unaccented, regularly becomes *ī*, *exquīrō incīdo pertīsum* from *quaerō caedo taedet* (so *sī* or *sei*, as a 'proclitic,'=**svae*, Oscan *svai*): *au* in such cases regularly becomes *ū̄*, written (1) *ū* in *indūtiae* beside *ōtium* for **autium* (see sec. 12), and, I would add, *ad-ūlor* for **ad-ūdor* from *audiō* (like *assentor* from *sentiō*), and *ob-tūrô* 'put a dead weight on' from *taurus*; (2) *oe* in *oboediō* from *audiō*, and (3) *ē* in *obēdiō*. Analogy, however, sometimes appears in the form of 'Re-composition,' and the diphthong remains as in the accented syllable, e.g. *conquaerō pertaesum exaudiō* (*explōdō suffōcô*).

(16) Diphthongs beginning with a long vowel undergo various metamorphoses in Latin:

(*a*) Those ending in *i* lose the *i* before a vowel, see **plēiōs* sec. 14, or when final, *equō* cf. ἵππῳ. The Dative in *-ā* however, *Fortūnā Menervā*, is un-Roman; that in *-ae* is said to be a Locative, not from *-āi*.

(*β*) Those ending in *u* change it to *v* before a vowel, *gāvīsus nāvis*. *Octāvus* goes with Sanskrit *ashṭāu* (quasi **octōcus* by a change similar to that of *ov* to *av* in Latin, sec. 7). *Bovem* and *bōs* are un-Roman, sec. 7; *Jovis* (Nom.) goes with Ζεύς (cf. *jugum* ζυγόν, and see sec. 7), not with Sanskrit *dyāús* 'sky, day,' Latin *j* never comes from *dj* or *di*.

(*γ*) When a consonant follows, the first element of the diphthong is shortened, *ōloes* (sec. 14) from *-ōis* cf. Sanskrit *áçvāis*, *gaudeō naufragus claudō*. *Ōvum* cannot=**ōivom* (which would give **oevum*, **ūvum*), but must go with ὠ-όν ὤ-(*F*)εον ὤ-βεον from a root *ō*, not with ᾠ-όν ὤι-ον and Old Slavonic *aj-e* from a root *ōi*.

[1] *Anhēlus* for *anēlus*, from the root of *anima* + a termination similar to that of *crūdēlis*, owes its *h* to a false connexion with *hālô*: *convīcium*, if rightly so spelt, must mean a meeting in the street, *vīcus*: *suspīciō* (the spelling *suspitiō* is obscure) = (I would suggest) 'an inward pricking,' from *spica*, and to it *suspicor* and *suspectus* owe their meaning, which is quite distinct from that of *suspicere*.

IV.—ON THE CONDITIONS OF A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE, IN REFERENCE TO THE INVITATION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, U.S., TO SEND DELEGATES TO A CONGRESS FOR PERFECTING A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE ON AN ARYAN BASIS, AND ITS REPORT ON VOLAPÜK. By ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S., a Vice-President.

(*Read* 15 *June*, 1888.)

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§ 1. ORIGIN OF THIS PAPER.

THE following letter was addressed by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to the President of the Philological Society. It was directed to Prof. Skeat, our last President but one, and hence did not come formally before the Society till our last Anniversary, 18 May, when it was of course impossible to consider it. It was consequently

remitted to the present writer, together with the reports of a Committee mentioned in it, which are necessary to understand the reason and nature of the request in the letter, to introduce to the Society at the present meeting.

HALL OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,
PHILADELPHIA, *March 12th*, 1888.

SIR,

At a meeting of the Society, held at Philadelphia, January 6th, 1888, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the American Philosophical Society be requested to address a letter to all learned bodies with which this Society is in official relations, and to such other societies and individuals as he may deem proper, asking their co-operation in perfecting a language for learned and commercial purposes, based on the Aryan vocabulary and grammar in their simplest forms; and to that end proposing an International Congress, the first meeting of which shall be held in London or in Paris.

Accordingly, I have now the honour of transmitting it for your consideration, and to invite your co-operation in accomplishing the object to which it refers. In order that the views of our Society, which have led to the adoption of the resolution, may be understood, I have obtained permission to send herewith copies of the Reports of the Special Committee to which the subject of a plan for a universal language had been referred by the Society.

You will perceive that the resolution of the Society does not go so far as what was advised by the Committee, but the subject is of such large interest that it is eminently worthy of the fullest investigation. I therefore ask for it your early and favourable consideration, and request that your action may be communicated to me, and, if favourable, whether you would prefer the holding of the Conference in London or in Paris, and also indicate the number of Delegates each Society should send.

On receipt of action by the different bodies with which we are in correspondence, I will make the call for the Conference.

Very respectfully yours,
FRED FRABY, PRESIDENT.

To the President of the Philological Society,
London, England.

The above letter was based on the "Reports of the Committee (D. G. Brinton, Henry Phillips, Jr., Monroe B. Snyder) appointed October 21, 1887, to examine into the SCIENTIFIC VALUE OF VOLAPÜK, presented to the American Philosophical Society Nov. 18, 1887, and Jan. 6, 1888." It appears therefore that this Committee was not, as implied in the letter itself, appointed to consider "the subject of a plan for a universal language" in general, but the "scientific

value" of one particular proposal. The Reports of the Committee, however, far exceeded the terms of the reference. After a preface in which the desirability, indeed almost the necessity, of an international language in view of the veritable Babel now existent in the transactions of local societies received by the American Society, and therefore specially for learned purposes, the Committee proceed to examine the "requirements of such a tongue to merit the recommendation of" the American Society, and then rather briefly, and unfortunately not always quite correctly, reviewing Schleyer's scheme for a Universal Language termed Volapük, and finding it "plainly evident" that their own scheme and his "are in absolute opposition," they state that they "cannot recommend Volapük as that which is suited to the needs of modern thought." Finally, they proposed a resolution slightly more extensive than that contained in the letter just read, which however was reduced to its present state in the discussion which ensued on the presentation of their report, as explained in a second or supplementary Report of the Committee.

§ 2. The Nature of the Invitation.

Now the letter "invites" our "co-operation in accomplishing the object to which" the resolution "refers," that is, "in perfecting a language for learned and commercial purposes" ("ordinary intercourse," together with "an international scientific terminology," having been eliminated from the resolution as originally proposed by the Committee) with the distinct limitation that it should be "based on the Aryan vocabulary and grammar in their simplest forms." This last restriction, as appears by the reports, excludes Volapük altogether, and would direct the deliberations of the proposed "International Congress" towards the consideration of an entirely new scheme, intended to oust Volapük, and to proclaim it entirely unsuited for "learned and commercial purposes," and to accept the invitation would consequently imply that we accepted the limitation to Aryanism and therefore rejected Volapük.

Now Volapük is the only scheme which has ever numbered its adherents by the hundred thousand. Complete Introductions to it have been published in every European language, including Turkish and Hungarian, its grammar has been briefly explained in twenty-one languages, and the fourth edition of its Dictionary, published since the date of the American invitation, contains over 20,000 words. If, then, any scheme of a Universal Language is to be considered at all, Volapük has the first claim for attention, instead of being peremptorily excluded. Several other schemes, with different bases, have been hatched by the altogether unexpected warmth of the reception accorded to Volapük, and theoretically would have also to be considered, as well as the unhatched scheme which is proposed by the Committee, and which I suppose we are invited to "perfect."

By the kindness of Mr. Henderson, author of *Lingua*, I am able to lay most of these new schemes before the Society. They are as follows:

I. On a Latin basis.

Mr. Henderson. Lingua. 1888.
Anonymous (Bamberg). 1887.
Volk und Fuchs. Die Weltsprache. 1883.
Lauda. Kosmos. 1888.

II. On a basis chiefly Romance.

Samenhof (under the name of Dr. Esperanto). International Language. 1888.
Bernhard. Lingua Franca Nuova (chiefly on an Italian basis). 1888.
Menet. Langue universelle. 1886.

III. Mixed Romance and Teutonic.

Steiner's Pasilingua. 1885–8.

IV. Symbolical.

Maldant. Langue Naturelle. 1886. Subsequently withdrawn in favour of Volapük.
Janne Damm's Praktische Pasigraphie, which need not be considered.

V. Volapük improved on a new plan.

Prof. Georg Bauer's Spelin. 1888 [pronounce *Spay-linn*, with accent on the last syllable. not *Spellin'*].
To which I add Dr. E. Müller's Lecture, *Das Phantom der Weltsprache*, (The Phantom of a Universal Language), 1888, arguing against the possibility of our ever having one, and well worth reading.

At the outset of my remarks I may state that I shall conclude by proposing that the Philological Society respectfully decline the invitation of the American Philosophical Society. This invitation is to take part in deliberations for "perfecting" a scheme which is not so far advanced as to assume a discussible form, but is vaguely stated to be "based on the Aryan vocabulary and grammar," as if there were such things in existence. There are certainly very various vocabularies and grammars of the languages termed Aryan, mutually unintelligible, so that the very scheme itself would have to be patched up in the heat of a discussion. A scheme must have been well thought out, well tried, widely approved, before it is ripe for the discussion of a congress. Last year such a preliminary meeting of the favourers of Volapük assembled at Munich, and appointed an Academy, of which the Inventor of Volapük, Herr Schleyer, is president, but M. Kerckhoffs, of Paris, director. This academy, now consisting of twenty-seven members representing fifteen countries,[1] is preparing for an international congress at Paris, on the occasion of the universal exhibition to be held there next year, at which it will probably be reconstituted. If then the Congress proposed by the American Society also meet in Paris next year, there will be the most open and possibly far from friendly rivalry.

§ 3. The Two Preliminary Conditions fulfilled by Volapük.

There are two preliminary points in forming a universal language: first it must be invented, and secondly it must be accepted.

First the invention must be by one man, well acquainted with the contrivances for conveying thought in numerous languages, and such Herr Schleyer is reported to be, his

[1] These are Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Portugal, France, Austria, Russia, Holland, England, North America, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Italy (*Le Volapük* p. 178). The work of the Academy is divided into six parts—1. Alphabet; 2. Word forms (radical, non-radical, and compound); 3. Order of words in a sentence; 4. Grammar (declension, conjugation, prepositions, adverbs, etc.); 5. Examination of false words in the dictionary; 6. Formation of new words (*ibid.*).

repertory extending, it is said, to fifty tongues, of which he can speak five. In his new year's address, written both in German and Volapük, contained in No. 85 of his *Central Volapük Journal*,[1] for January, 1888, Herr Schleyer says: "In March, 1879, having been born on the 18th July, 1831, I thought out my universal language, or Volapük, from pure love of humanity, without any desire of fame or gain, entirely original, without any assistance whatever, but that of God, my creator, and without knowing or desiring to know what had been done by my predecessors in the idea of a universal language." The one source of Vp. is therefore indisputable and complete. The proposal of the American Committee does not even attempt to satisfy this first condition.

Secondly, acceptance is essential to the very existence of any language, and in this Herr Schleyer has been singularly fortunate. Numerous men of different nationalities already use his language, and the number is increasing daily. An edition of his "middle grammar" has been published every year from 1880. The first edition of his dictionary in 1880 contained only 2782 words, the second edition, appearing in 1882, contained 10,127 words, the third in 1885 contained 12,570 words, and the fourth in 1888 contains 20,480 words. The Vz. No. 91 shews that there have been appointed after examination and certificated 42 professors, 150 head teachers, and 772 teachers, by the Central Bureau in Constance, Baden, and that 234 societies have been started to promote Vp. Names and addresses are all given in Vz. Besides which much has been done by the Paris Association for the Propagation of Vp., which also grants certificates and gives medals. I mention the above numbers because they shew better than anything I can say the wide acceptance accorded to Vp., but they do not shew half the reality, for the numerous Societies founded throughout Europe are constantly adding to their number, and encouraging the study of Vp., so that the new expositions and journals of Vp., which are constantly appearing, are rapidly exhausted.

[1] *Volapükabled zenodik*, henceforth contracted into Vz., while *Volapük* will be contracted into Vp.

Hence the two preliminary conditions for founding a Universal Language have been eminently well fulfilled by Vp. One mind thought out the whole system, many thousand minds are already using the system. Other plans have been invented of more or less ingenuity, by other individuals. But none have had the same wide acceptance as Vp., and, with that in the field, all other schemes, even if thought out in the same degree as Vp., which is now really a language and not merely a proposal, have a great obstacle in the way, for it is impossible to suppose that the thousands who have already learned Vp. will throw it away in favour of a new aspirant, while the writers of books and teachers have a vested interest in the old system. The American Report (p. 15), after specifying the wide acceptance of Volapük, says: "If this is the case with so imperfect a language, backed by no State, no learned body, not even by the name of any distinguished scholar, what would be the progress of a tongue perfect in adaptation and supported by all those aids to its introduction? In a decade it would be current among ten million people." There is much virtue in an "if." *If* Volapük were not already in the field; *if* all or at least a preponderating majority of learned societies could invent a single language and agree upon its use; *if* they could adapt it for general purposes; *if* unlearned society could be got to see the good of it, which the very fact of its emanation from the learned would render difficult, — *then* the notification of the Committee might be fulfilled. Under the present circumstances it seems to me a useless expenditure of time and thought to take part in any such deliberations as those proposed by the American Society.

§ 4. What Acceptance of the Invitation would imply.

And, observe, the expenditure of both time and thought would be very large indeed. First, as each Society addressed could not go in a body, each must, as implied in the invitation, select "delegates." These would have to attend each meeting of the Conference, or at least to examine, report

upon, and vote upon first all those schemes presented to them, which in some degree satisfy "the Aryan basis," whatever meaning be given to this elastic term. Next they would have to join with the rest in selecting one. After this, they would have to examine the details of a vocabulary of not less than 20,000 words as a commencement, the means of selecting these words, the means of modifying each for the different classes of ideas to be symbolised, in connection with the means of connecting those ideas grammatically. Again, as it is to be a language for "learned" as well as "commercial" purposes, the wants of each branch of learning in the way of communication as well as the wants of each branch of commerce—and why not of each matter now spoken or written about in each language, extra-European as well as European?—would have to be studied. Would each branch require a separate Committee? and would all the Committees accept the work of each separate Committee *en bloc*? or would they have to overhaul it? I see nothing but years of labour and continual debates, at least on paper, and endless controversy, with small chance of that adherence which would alone render the result in the slightest degree useful. I could not recommend our Society to enter upon such a work.

For Volapük there is one head, the Inventor, who says (Vz. June, 1888, No. 90, § 1276) respecting the auxiliary Academy, "Any resolution of the Academy not accepted by the Inventor is *null*, even if the whole of the members united against the Inventor. *He* has thought over everything relating to Vp., often and deeply, and he cannot make alterations every day in his system already so widely spread. Otherwise thousands of his best friends would be angry and desert him." But in a system which had no head, only committees and committees, only debaters and proposers, none with a stake in the existence of the scheme, where would be the security for its stability? There could only be worry and useless labour.

§ 5. Further Conditions.

Leaving these general considerations I pass to the particular suggestions made by the committee, and to a comparison with the methods employed in Vp. For this purpose I have endeavoured to make myself better acquainted with the facts of the case than I was when Mr. Dornbusch first brought Vp. under our notice in Dec. 1887, or than the American Committee seem to have been when they so summarily dismissed it from consideration. But I think it will be more convenient at each step to see what has been done in Vp., in immediate connection with what are apparently the conditions of a universal language, than to leave it to the last, as the American Committee has done.

§ 6. Phonetics—English Sounds.

First then a universal language must be a *spoken* one. It must not be like Arithmetic, a succession of signs which each nation calls by names unintelligible to any other, or like the ideography of the Chinese, to which different sounds are attached in different parts of the Empire, or like the Latin language of modern days, which each nation pronounces in its own abominable way, and the English nation the worst of all. Men from Asia, Africa, and Polynesia should be able to *converse* in it with men from Europe and America, and not merely *correspond* in it, although of course correspondence is extremely important. For the purpose of speech the sounds should be *easy* to acquire. Mr. Melville Bell has proposed the English language for universal use, with a new orthography, which he considers to be the one thing needed. "Give," says he in his *World-English*, p. 22, "Give definite and certain phonetic values to letters, and English utterance will be found to be, in no case, and in no degree, difficult to native or foreigner. . . All the elementary sounds will be correctly pronounced, almost at first effort, by any person to whom they are properly exemplified. The vowels in a(n), u(p), a(ll), and the consonants in th(in), th(en), h(ue), wh(y), may perhaps need a few repetitions by strange organs to render them facile. The only real

difficulty to speakers of other languages is the *accent*, or stress." Thus to every one his own sounds are easy. Mr. Melville Bell has had a wide experience in phonetic teaching, but my own experience does not corroborate his on this point. I consider received English to be a most difficult language for a foreigner to pronounce.

§ 7. Phonetics—The Vowels—Umlaute.

What then is easy? The American committee say, "The vowels should be limited to the five pure vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*, pronounced as in Italian." They do not seem to be aware that *e, o* have each *two* sounds in Italian, which has thus *seven* vowels. The only European languages that I know with five vowels are Spanish and Modern Greek, and these do not pronounce their five vowels in precisely the same way. Many Englishmen, especially Londoners, have a difficulty with *e, o*, and their number is increasing. A Swede is very troubled with *u*, and so are some Midland speakers in England. Schleyer admits eight vowels, the former five, *a, e, i, o, u*, or *vokals*, and the three "*umlaute*," *ä, ö, ü*, or *vökäds* as he calls them. These sounds are all extremely easy to him, a South German. He finds the last three add much to the beauty of the sounds of language, and that without them a language is "like a coloured picture without violet, brown, grey or rose." See Vz. May 1888, p. 385, § 1244, 9, where Schleyer quite rises to poetry over them, and explains how he has used them in Vp. He finds them frequent in Europe in German, French, Swedish, English, Hungarian, and Turkish. "Almost every educated man," says he in this article, "has hitherto learned Latin, French, or English. But in all these three languages *Umlaute* occur, as in Cæsar, cœlum, h*y*mnus; maire, peu, lu; a, sir, much." The cœlum exists only in the German pronunciation of Latin; I do not know what country pronounces h*y*mnus with *ü*, although of course it was ancient Greek and was meant to be indicated by the Latin *y*. The three sounds also exist in French, one at least under two distinct forms, as in *peu, peuple*. But I

think it will be news to all here present that the English words *a, sir, much,* are pronounced *ä, sör, müch,* or *möch* as Herr Schleyer elsewhere states. The fact is that *ä ö ü* are pronounced by most English people very indifferently, and in general only after much training, although in West Somerset, Norfolk, and lowland Scotch, there is provincially some approach made to the last two. Herr Bauer in his *Spelin* has six vowels, *i, e, a, o, u, œ,* the latter of which he also, as well as Schleyer, identifies with English *sir, much,* but he avoids *ä, ü.*

M. Kerckhoffs of Paris, as Director of the Academy for Volapük, in proposing the consideration of *ä, ö, ü* to the Academy, says (*Le Volapük,* No. 13, Jan. and Feb. 1888, p. 197): "The introduction of the sounds *ä, ö, ü* certainly forms one of the greatest faults of Volapük, because they are foreign to most European tongues. But we do not see the possibility of eliminating them from the language without the complete reconstruction of the grammar. We cannot suppose that M. Schleyer would concede a point, the necessity of which might be contested." Schleyer has indeed (in his Vz. for June, 1888, p. 391, § 1276) expressly declared that they must remain. In fact, to any one who examines a dictionary of Vp. it will be clear that they could not be changed, as far as the writing is concerned, without a complete reconstruction, not of the grammar only, but of the whole language. Nine years ago that would have been possible. Now, it would destroy all the progress that has already been made. Vp. must be taken as it is, or left. Three of the Academicians have spoken, one would retain *ä, ö, ü*; another would reject them from suffixes, where *ä* and *ö* are now very prevalent; the third, resident in Russia, says they cannot be admitted, as the distinctions *e, ä, ö* are too difficult for a Russian (*Le Volapük,* 209–210). But all this is time thrown away. Those who use Vp. must learn to pronounce the sounds sufficiently well to be intelligible. And it is not only Englishmen that will have to do so. A very large number of middle Germans habitually confuse *e, ä, ö* on the one hand and *i, ü* on the other.

§ 8. Phonetics—The Consonants—Voiced and Voiceless.

The American Committee allow only sixteen consonants, but do not specify them. They however reject "all gutturals, aspirates, lisps, and nasals." Presumably they would have *p b, t d, k g ; f v, s z, sh, y ; r, l, m, n,* but I feel doubtful as to *z* at least. Prof. Bauer, in his Spelin, uses only fifteen of these, omitting *r*. Herr Schleyer has nineteen consonants, arranged thus: *b p, d t, v f, h, y, g, k ; l, r, m, n ; s, j, c, x, z,* where the *r, c, x, z* are in excess of Prof. Bauer's. Here certainly *v* was to Schleyer German *w*, *s* was probably both our *z* and *s* according to position, as it is in German, but he recognises English *z* alone; *j* represents our *sh*, *c* is said to be the English *g* in *g*erm, which I have rarely met any German who could pronounce, and *x, z* are the difficult initial combinations *ks, ts,* of which the first was familiar and the second impossible to an Athenian. But Schleyer considers *x, z* to be *gz, dz* with English *z*, as in e*x*amine, o*dds*, which initially are extremely difficult (Vz. No. 91, § 1320).

The American Committee says, "elsewhere he extends his alphabet to 37 letters." This is an error. Schleyer's alphabet of 37 letters was apparently composed before he invented Vp., and was intended to be a Universal Alphabet. He introduces it in his Vp. grammar as a means of writing foreign names phonetically. It is however very deficient. It contains the eight following letters in addition to those used in Vp., the figures give the numbers in his greater alphabet, p. 2 of his Grammar, 6. English *a*ll, 14. English *th*e (English *th*in is not named), 19. German la*ch*e (but German i*ch* is not distinguished), 24. Spanish Sie*rr*a, a very strong trill, but the "soft" Spanish *r* is not recognised, 27. French no*m*, 28. French mo*n* (the two words *mon nom* exactly rhyme, so that their sounds should not have been separated, and Schleyer does not take account of the three other French nasal vowels), 29. German sa*ng*, 31. German Flei*ss* (shewing that *s* is theoretically not used in Vp.), 35. English *ch*ild. With this alphabet he introduced a system of accents, the grave meaning long, and the acute short accented vowels,

which he used in writing German, as in *Wéltspràchelìteratùr*, and occasionally in Vp. words used in his Grammar, Dictionary, Vz. and elementary books. But these accents are no part of his Vp. alphabet, and no other writer thinks of employing them. Hence when the American Committee say that "he (Schleyer) also introduces various diacritical marks, indicating accent, tones, vocal inflection and quantity, all of which we consider needless and obstructive," the Reporters convey an entirely wrong impression. "Tones" and "vocal inflection" are never indicated. The marks for accent and quantity intended to assist the learner, and especially the German learner, vanish from the printed pages of other writers. In his dictionary and elementary works, Schleyer also often italicises root syllables, which is convenient, and in his Vz. he does the same, especially when introducing new compounds, because his Vz. is in fact an elementary teaching book. No other Vp. writer uses italics in this way. To say then that Vp. "is both written and printed with underscoring and italic letters, *necessary* to facilitate its comprehension," is thoroughly misleading, and shows that the reporters possessed an insufficient knowledge of the system they condemn.

With regard to the pairs of letters *p b*, *t d*, *k g*, there is in Germany and Holland great difficulty in distinguishing the separate letters, especially when final. The double letters *x*, *z* are difficult to many speakers, *x*=*ks* initial is even troublesome to Germans, and *z*=*ts* is very troublesome to English, French, and Spanish. As to using *c* for English *j* (the American Committee wrote "French *j* (*dsch*)," an evident slip), and *j* for French *ch*, Schleyer says in his Vz. (p. 391, § 1276, 5), "A speaker of Vp. can pronounce the letter *c*, at pleasure, either as *g* or *c* in the Italian words *gena*, *cena*, similarly the letter *j* as the French pronounce *j*, *ch* in the words *Jean* and *chant*. Many men have no ear for these fine distinctions; therefore, as you please!" And again, in Vz. for July, § 1320, he says that *s* may be pronounced as English *s* or *z* at pleasure, "for many men have not fineness of hearing for these sounds," and then reverting

to his *j*, *c*, *x*, *z*, says, "the pronunciation of all these in Volapük is indifferent," adding, "though in our (Schleyer's) eyes *x* and *z* are *gs* and *ds*, and if *x* and *z* have to be *ks* and *ts*, write them so, and not *x*, *z*," and he then refers to Vz. for 1884, p. 162, § 363, which I have not at hand.

These explanations are a key to much not only in Vp., but in all general phonetic writing. We do not want to enter upon all the niceties and subtleties of accurate phonetics. It is for some persons, as myself, a most attractive study, for others it is mainly incomprehensible and wholly stupid. They hear a sound and are satisfied with giving some sort of an imitation of it which shall convey to the person addressed a knowlege of the *letters* intended. Taking then the fact that "many people have no ear for these fine distinctions," we may say that every sound in any universal language may be more or less altered, provided only it does not cease to be recognisable. The *ä*, *ö*, *ü* of Vp. would be in an Englishman's mouth the *a* of b*a*t lengthened, the *ir* of s*ir*, and the *ew* of n*ew*. The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, would be pronounced long, as in *father*, *there*, *machine*, *so*, *rule*, and short as in *pat*, *pet*, *pit*, *pot*, *put*, all of which have, of course, a slightly different quality. No possible confusion would thus arise. If, however, we limited ourselves to five vowels, we should only be creating immense difficulties in the formation of roots, unless we adopted Prof. Bauer's combinatorial and correlative system, and even then he requires six vowels.

But the written language as distinct from the spoken must also be considered. Up till last year Schleyer did not write *ä ö ü* with two dots, but knicked in the commencement of each letter, thus requiring three new types. The seventh edition of his grammar, and the first 104 pages of the eighth edition, still contain these marks, but they have now vanished, as decided by the Munich Congress. There remains a difficulty for telegraphing and type writing, and it is proposed there to write *a: o: u:*, with a colon, or the two dots, by the side instead of over. But in the printing telegraph of Prof. Hughes, which is most common, this colon could not be used without a new type wheel substituting (:) for *w*, as only

twenty-six forms exist on the present type wheel. Hence there seems nothing left for telegraphic purposes but to use *w* as *aw*, *ow*, *uw*, or duplications as *aa*, *oo*, *uu*, or the secondary German forms *ae*, *oe*, *ue*, and when those combinations occur, as they do, in a few words, to double the final *e*, thus the usual *vät* 'weight,' and *nöt* 'nut,' would be *vaet*, *noet*, and the usual *vaet* 'juice,' and *noet* 'a note,' would be *vaeet*, *noeet*. In ordinary writing the two dots can remain, but they are often intolerably frequent, as *pökälöl*, one to be taken care of, a patient. English printers, who would soon run short of *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, or *a:*, *o:*, *u:*, and have no capital double dotted A, O, U, may use either plan with due explanation. None of these difficulties occur in Spelin.

§ 9. Phonetics—Other Alphabetical Difficulties.

There are several other points of the alphabet which I should like to touch on briefly. The aspirate *h* is a great difficulty in France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Russia, where it does not exist. The *r* was felt to be so difficult for Chinese that Schleyer has nearly banished it, and either omits it or uses *l*. But then a new trouble arises, for *tr*, *dr*, *kr*, *gr* having become *tl*, *dl*, *kl*, *gl*, great difficulty is felt in the separation of the first two from the last two at the beginning of words. In England the greater number of speakers unconsciously use only *tl-*, *dl-*, and say *tlay*, *dloves*, for *clay*, *gloves*, but then they are puzzled to distinguish *tl*, *kl*, and *dl*, *gl*. Vp., like ancient Greek τλῆμι 'I suffer,' and κλῆμα 'a bough,' has both. Modern Greek avoids τλ-. It will require some training to distinguish *kl-*, *tl-*, and *gl-*, *dl-*. Then with regard to length of vowels, I think we need not be particular in Vp. or any other universal language, provided we do not let quantity determine meaning, as we do in English. It is generally laid down that all Vp. vowels are *long*, and the accent or stress upon the last only. The following is Schleyer's last statement on the subject (Vz. June, 1888, p. 391, § 1276, 4): "Vowels are not always long. Only in monosyllabic words, and in the last syllable of words of two or more syllables are the vowels long. Poetry is free.

In every beautiful natural language vowels are both long and short, hence short vowels are by no means an exception in Vp., just as two eyes are not an exception. Every lan guage without short vowels is stiff and ugly. We read the word *jinunel* (female messenger) with the long vowel on the last syllable, not in the second, but as the French read the word *général*," in which we must assume the way that Germans usually pronounce it, which is somewhat different from the French. Again he says (*ibid.* 7), "To lay the stress on any other syllable but the last is difficult and too complicated (*pekosiadöl* properly compounded), hence it cannot be allowed." To almost all but Frenchmen this position of the accent is strange, and as in French we must mind to keep the preceding syllables distinct, and not hurry them over to get to the last, compare Italian *Libertà*. I find on examination that any other position of the accent in Vp. would not act, on account of its method of composition and inflexion. As a general question it must at present be left undetermined. Prof. Bauer's Spelin is enabled to have a different, and to most Europeans a more natural system of accentuation (see p. 91, No. 7).

The ideal limit of sounds cannot be easily settled. There is no one set of sounds essentially easy, and another essentially difficult. We can speak only relatively respecting the languages we ourselves encounter. To any speaker, only the sounds with which he has been surrounded during the first ten years of his life are easy. All others have to be acquired with difficulty and after considerable practice, and can never be really acquired without living, for a while at least, and that while comparatively young, in their atmosphere. There are of course great individual differences in the power of appreciating and assimilating new sounds, and the increase of phonetic knowledge and training will probably render such a power more general. Still there will always be individuals who remain quite impervious to any attempt to teach them new speech sounds. We cannot take count of those. Although we may regret the use in Vp. of *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, *h*, *x*=*ks-*, *z*=*ts-*, *tl-*, *dl-*, and the position of accent, yet as these

are *all* the difficulties of speech in this language, they are so few compared with those of such widely diffused languages as English, French, and German, that I think we cannot complain. At the same time I should of course have preferred the much simpler alphabet of Professor Bauer. This contains only the six vowels, *i, e, a, o, u, œ*, and the fifteen consonants, *p b m, f v, t d n l, y s z, c(=sh), k g*, of which *œ, y, z*, are used "euphonically" to separate consonants and vowels, and admits only the initial combinations *bl, fl, gl, kl, pl, sl, sf, sm, sn, sp, st, sv, tv, kv*, in *bl*ow, *fl*ow, *gl*ow, *cl*ay, *pl*ay, *sl*ay, *sph*ere, *sm*all, *sn*ail, *sp*ell, *st*ay; the last three are easy substitutes for the difficult English *sw, tw, kw*, in *sw*ain, *tw*ain, *qu*een. These initial forms would offer difficulties to very few, such as Arabs. There are also no double final consonants, the euphonic *œ* being always interposed. These would suit all European Aryans.

The American Committee says roundly the phonetics of Vp. are "strange in part to every Aryan," but the phonetics of any one Aryan language are still more strange to that of every other. The easiest, the Tuscan, having two forms of *e* and *o*, two forms of *z* (*ts, dz*), peculiar *c*ena, *g*emma, and their varieties, with a most "vagrom" accent, difficult for any foreigner to "comprehend," and all entirely unmarked.

§ 10. The Aryan Basis—Vocabulary.

Leaving phonetics, let us go to the language itself. The invitation is expressly for "perfecting" a language on an Aryan basis. The Committee say: "The Aryan stock is now and has been for two thousand years the standard-bearer of the civilisation of the world; *hence*, a universal language should be based upon the linguistic principles of that stock." This is a wonderful *non sequitur*. Had the languages used by the Aryan races anything to do with this "standard-bearing"? It is not even hinted that they had. The history of the Aryan race, so far as it is known, for the origin of it is lost in obscurity, and who were the original Aryans is just at present a matter of rather lively discussion—did they come from the North of India or the North of Europe?—the

history rather shews that their advance in civilisation was independent of the languages used. The fact that one language for a long while prevailed over Europe was a mere matter of conquest, and broke down with the breakdown of the power which had conquered. It is notorious that peoples change their language from the action of circumstances. We have a curious little bit of history in that way in our own dominions in North-east Caithness and the Orkneys and Shetlands. Similarly, it is doubted whether there is a drop of Greek blood in Greece. We have long known that commonness of language is no proof of commonness of descent. But that advance of civilisation should be due to a certain common origin of language, and should condition the formation of a new cementing language which has especially to act on peoples beyond its limits, is altogether new and to my mind untenable. What follows seems to have a trifle more foundation, but really is equally untenable. "In the Aryan stock," say the Committee, "the six principal living tongues in the order of their importance and extent, may be ranged as follows: English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian. It should be the aim of the proposed general tongue to ally itself to these somewhat in the order noted, as thus being more readily acquired by the greater number of active workers in the world at the present time." Now in the first place, if only those six languages were concerned, we could do without a universal language. In the next place, it is *not* these peoples that we want especially to enlist, except as recruiting sergeants for the non-Aryans, and lastly it is very doubtful whether any one of those six nations who had to learn the Universal Language would be at all specially benefited by its reference to the five others which he did not know and did not wish to acquire. No, what we want is a short simple means of expressing thoughts and their relations, and whether this is connected in any way with Aryan or non-Aryan stocks, is of no consequence whatever. It should be constructed quite independently of any racial considerations.

Now the first thing we have to deal with is the construc-

tion of a *vocabulary*, and it is just here that the most diverse opinions exist. The Report states: "The vocabulary of the Universal Language should be based primarily on *the vocabulary* which is common to the leading Aryan tongues." There *is* none. There is no common vocabulary. We must not take English and German as examples. They both belong to one Aryan branch, and their common words are not those of the Romance languages, which are in common with (lexicographical but not constructional) English. And how many (bating scientific terms and a few that came through the Latin mint) are in common with Greek? What shall we say of Russian? But the Report adds: "There are 1500 words in German, which are almost or quite the same in English; there are more than this number common to English, French, Italian, and Spanish. A selection should be made from these similar or identical word-forms as the foundation of the lexicon. At least a thousand words in common use will be found to be the same in all these languages, *when we allow for the operation of simple and well-known phonetic laws*," a large proviso, which is immediately further developed by saying: "*Let the learner be taught these laws*, and he will at once know a good share of all the more usual terms of daily intercourse in the new language."

Now to my mind this proposition is simply impossible. What! people, in order to learn a new universal language, are first to learn the phonetic laws by which the particular branches of the great Aryan division of languages have been altered in Western Europe, and then they, who must be Western Europeans, or their trans-European descendants, to be in the slightest degree benefited, will forsooth "know"—save the mark! *know!*—a good share of the terms of daily intercourse, which differ so widely even in Western Europe. And what of non-Europeans? Does "universal" mean "West European"? Are the Semitic stems, the various non-Aryan, Asiatic, African, American, and other languages to be eliminated from the "universe"?

This therefore may be at once dismissed, and with it the dream of an Aryan basis for the world-language, which

realised by Mr. Melville Bell's World-English, st what no one can afford to wait for.

§ 11. The Formation of New Roots.

of the vocabulary must be sought elsewhere. ages the roots must be learned quite inde- any other language. In a natural local tongue of the roots gradually arises in the mind of constant intercourse with his parents and In an artificial universal language the learning ing of roots must take place by help of a own natural native language. There is no Each root must become separately familiar to o uses it; and it is not of the least consequence at root has, provided the learner can approxi- nd provided it is suitable for constructional distinct from every other root in sound and the so-called Aryan languages a long course d circumstances have given to the most usual variety of meanings, as dictionary makers know In order that the universal language should , each root should have one meaning only, or literal and figurative. This eliminates the language in particular, except as occasionally ms for the roots.

e roots to be chosen? Bishop Wilkins in his *a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, which should never be neglected by any one a universal language, first made an elaborate f all ideas known to him, with their differences nd then instituted a philosophical inquiry into grammar and the relations of spoken sounds. invented a set of signs which marked all the l particles" as he termed them, thus forming racter," which was addressed only to the eye, ideography. This done, he vocalised his such a way that each part of any real character ed into a sound, that thus represented his

classification of ideas and views of the philosophy of grammar. He gives as specimens of this language the Lord's Prayer (pp. 395 and 421) and the Apostles' Creed (pp. 404 and 427), and compares the first interlinearly with 50 other languages, reckoning written and spoken English as two (p. 435). These are probably the only specimens that were ever written. I give the first two words of the first, namely, "Our father,"—h*ai* Coba, as he writes them, with his explanations. "(h*ai*). This Dipthong (*ai*) is assigned to signifie the first Person plural amongst the Pronouns, *viz. We*. The letter *h* prefixed to it, doth denote that the Pronoun is to be used possessively, *viz.* Our.—2. (Coba). Co doth denote the Genus of *Œconomical Relation*; the Letter (b) signifying the first difference under that Genus, which is Relation of Consanguinity; the Vowel (a) the second Species, which is *Direct ascending*; namely, Parent," Sex was left undetermined in this case, it comes under Natural Powers VI, and is expressed in his "real character" p. 396, and see also p. 415. It is evident that a language which required such a preamble could never become practical. Nor could any language which depended upon any classification of ideas, as long as it was entertained, for the classification of to-day must be superseded by the knowledge of to-morrow. Hence all words which recall a classification in our present languages are only useful by reason of the classification having been forgotten, or becoming overlooked. We may therefore dismiss all such as thoroughly unpractical, including in them the construction of roots where each letter refers to some general conception or idea, which, combined with the conceptions suggested by the other letters, make up, in the mind of the inventor of the root, the general conception which he desires that root to express. Not only would such combinations become obsolete, but the inventor would soon find himself at the end of his resources in inventing them.

Next there is the onomatopoetic principle, which, however, has such a limited range of action, and becomes so extremely vague when applied to ideas not immediately connected with sound, that it may be passed by as naturally insufficient.

Another plan is to take a language generally known, with all the values of the words it contains, and make use of clippings from it as roots. This has been done, or rather suggested, by Mr. Henderson, in his *Lingua*, taking Latin as the basis. An examination of this decidedly ingenious book convinces me that it is impracticable. In fact it requires a preliminary knowledge of Latin, and its clipped forms are so many stabs in the heart to one who knows Latin. The same remark applies to the other attempts to found a language on Latin, or Romance, or mixed bases. They all give me the feeling of breaks down, nigger language, talkee-talkee. And it is to me very ominous that the American Committee refers with satisfaction to the Creole Indian jargons. When we set to work to form a new language, it should evidently be composed of living co-ordinated parts, and not a loose heap of dead chips.

It remains then that the roots should be chosen arbitrarily, like Linnaeus's "trivial names" of plants, so as to suit the method selected for indicating construction. But when thus "the world is all before us where to choose," it is very difficult to strike out any path at all, and hence it is necessary to recur to the forms existent in such languages as happen to be more or less known to the inventor, and to reduce the roots to the shape required for the system of grammar and derivation to be adopted. This is what Schleyer has done. He has taken a large number (the American report says 40 per cent.) from English, but has so changed the forms for his purpose, that they are scarcely recognisable. Thus *nil* near, *lil* ear, *nim* animal, *dled* dread, *vol* world, *flen* friend, *läd* lady, *söl* sir, gentleman, all monosyllables, always beginning and ending with a consonant, and all the vowels long. Prof. Bauer limits himself to taking the roots from English, French, and German; they are, however, necessarily more or less similarly transformed out of all knowledge. But it is really of no consequence whatever whether or not the old words are recognised in their new forms. They have to be learned by Frenchmen and Arabs who know nothing of English, just as Englishmen know nothing of the other

languages laid under contribution. It is necessary to insist on this in the formation of an artificial language. The roots must be arbitrarily selected. There ought to be no "most favoured nation clause" in this "international commercial treaty," in the sense that the result should be more easily comprehended by one nation than another. The Universal Language is wanted as a means of communication between *all* nations. Every one who wishes to communicate by its help must learn the meaning assigned to the roots. There are at present numerous handbooks for teaching Vp., but a literature is as yet wanting, for Schleyer's little books of unconnected scraps (*Rimapets*, or Proverbs in verse; *Nur Geist*, a collection of 200 pithy remarks; *Das Buch der Wahrheiten*, of a similar character; *Biblika*, biblical texts, to which may be added his *Bib I.*, or translation of the first Epistle of St. John) do not form literature sufficient for the purpose of rendering a reader familiar with a language.

That will, however, not be long delayed. The pioneers in this direction are Fieweger's translation of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, and Dr. Lederer's *Volapükabuks* (Andersen, Grimm, etc.). In the mean time the various newspapers and journals, especially Schleyer's Vz., and Kerckhoffs' *Le Volapük*, supply a good deal of more or less interesting matter to read and understand. But till a very considerable number of roots is absolutely familiar there can be no proper speaking or writing. In Vz. for July, § 1326, it is however announced from Chicago that Corinne Cohn, a girl of six, daughter of a professor of Vp., already *speaks Volapük*, in addition to German, French, and English. But then America is so go-ahead!

§ 12. The Aryan Basis—Grammar—Analytic or Synthetic.

The third and most important point is *grammar* or construction, the means by which the relations of thoughts to one another are expressed. Now here the Aryan theory breaks down altogether. Anything more perplexing than the verb in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and even in modern Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English, could hardly

äpenob, epenob, ipenob, I did write, I wrote or have written, I had written. But *o u* give the futures present and past, *openob upenob,* I shall write, I shall have written. I should certainly be wrong in the opinion of the American Reporters, but I consider this process much more *analytic* than the English, which uses clumsily *periphrastic* forms that do not analyse the conception at all, but actually suggest wrong meanings, as we see at once if we try to put them into French. Then the continued forms insert an *i*, as *aipenob* I habitually write, *äipenob* I used to write, *oipenob* I shall be habitually writing; forms absent in most other languages where their meaning has to be expressed by periphrasis. These forms do not seem to be much used except by Schleyer himself, who is very fond of them. The English forms "I am waiting, I was writing," have been adopted in Vp., as *binob penöl, ebinob penöl,* where *-öl* is the participal termination.

Prof. Bauer in his *Spelin* adopts another and, I think, still simpler process. Taking *mil*=love, he forms five infinitives, present *mili* to love, past *mile* to have loved, pluperfect *mila* to have had loved, future *milo* to be about to love, future past *milu* to have been about to love. Then by prefixing to these the personal pronouns, which with him are the simple vowels *i* I, *e* thou, *a* he, *o* she, *u* it, *œ* one=French *on,* he makes these finite, as *i mili* I love, *e mile* thou lovedst or hast loved, *a mila* he had loved, *o milo* she will love, *u milu* or *œ milu* it or one will have loved. This is the very simplest verb which I have seen. But the beauty of its construction cannot be properly appreciated by an isolated example. The whole grammar of Prof. Bauer's Spelin turns on this correlation of *i, e, a, o, u, œ.* In the passive voice *bi* is prefixed and a participle in *-ed* added, thus *i bi miled* I am loved, as in English. But in Vp. *p* is prefixed to the active form to make it passive, as *pened papenom* or *pipenom,* the letter is written or had been written.

In Vp. the direct or name-case of nouns is left untouched, the three oblique cases have *a, e, i* subjoined, *pena, pene, peni* of a pen, to a pen, a pen. And for the plural *s* is added,

as *penas* of pens. Is not this also analytic? For these syllables express these relations without any exception for every class of words; as *pen ola* the pen of you, *egivom penedi ole* he (*om*) gave (*e*) a letter (*i*) to (*e*) thee, compare the Latin *dedit tibi epistolam.* Here again *Spelin* is simpler than Vp. It leaves the original form untouched, but adds *æs* for the plural; the genitive and dative are expressed by prefixed prepositions *dæ, tu* in both numbers, and the accusative is, as in English, left to position to determine.

I am not writing a grammar of Volapük or Spelin, and hence I do not go into further particulars. The mere English reader will find good introductions in C. E. Sprague's Handbook of Volapük (Trübner, 1888), and H. M. Hain's Grammar of Volapük (Carr & Co., 1888), both written in English specially for English speakers. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. have also published a translation of Alfred Kirchhof's Grammar, while Auguste Kerckhoffs' *Cours Complet* and *Dictionnaire* are admirable for a Frenchman, but those who know German should get Schleyer's own grammar and dictionary.

§ 13. Volapük according to the American Committee.

Now I turn specially to the appreciation of Vp. by the American Committee, which is in some respects founded on inaccuracies, and this is a pity, considering how uncompromising the condemnation is. They begin thus: "His (Schleyer's) scheme is evidently the result of conscientious labor and thought, and he manifests a just appreciation of the needs of the time; but unfortunately the theory of construction he has adopted is in conflict with the development of both the Teutonic and Romance languages, *and full of difficulties to the learner.*" This last assertion any one who has even dipped into Vp. is competent to contradict. The "development of the Teutonic and Romance languages," so dear to the Reporters, is, as I have already said, unsuited for a universal language, which is wanted for persons beyond that influence, or under very different forms of that influence, and whatever plan is used, it must be altogether much simpler than in any Aryan language.

The Reporters then enter upon the phonetics of Vp. already sufficiently considered, together with the incorrect assertion that accents and italics were necessary, and the fact "that various sounds of the Volapük alphabet could not be pronounced by a member of any Aryan nation without special oral teaching," which they say "we regard as a fatal defect." *Actum est!*

"Moreover," they continue, "many words are manufactured from entirely new radicals, capriciously and even fantastically formed, and this we condemn." Unfortunately no examples are given. It is, however, of no consequence even if correctly stated, as I have already endeavoured to show. "The article is omitted which is well." Whenever the article is of importance there are substitutes, as *sembal* 'some one,' corresponding to Latin *quidam* and *at, et* 'this and that,' Latin *hic, ille,* which can be used as in that language. In fact, in his dictionary Schleyer gives *el* as "the definite article, general; but only where absolutely needed" (bestimmter Artikel, allgemein; nur, wo durchaus nötig). He uses this *el* in the Lord's Prayer (Grammar, p. 56), *O Fat obas, el in süls,* O Father of us, *the* (one) in heavens, where it is rather a demonstrative pronoun as the Greek *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,* which it translates, and in usual Vp. would have been *ut kel binol,* or *binom,* that one which art or is.

Then the American Committee proceed to complain of the cases of nouns already spoken on, and would probably in this respect prefer Spelin. Next they find fault with the method of forming "diminutives, comparatives, and superlatives, by prefixes and suffixes." In the illustration the comparative (by a misprint?) is made to end in *üm* instead of *um.* "It will be observed," say they, "that while this process is not dissimilar to that *once frequent* in the Aryan stock," it is still very frequent, "it is not analogous to that which the evolution of that form indicates as its perfected form," that is, the degrees of comparison are not formed by the clumsy prefixment of two adverbs meaning greater and greatest in quantity, to adjectives which may not have any relation to quantity, as "more good-natured, most good-natured," but

by the addition of the syllables *um*, *ün* in every case without exception, as, *gudäl* being "good-natured," *gudälikum*, *gudälikün*. To prefer the former to the latter is certainly riding a theory very hard.

Then comes the passage about *binob* I am, already spoken of, with the comment, "this we object to as contrary to the logical arrangement of the proposition." Now in Vp. the arrangement of the order of the words, as in Latin, is arbitrary, because the inflectional system allows it. The Reporters themselves go in strongly for position as indicating sense, thus they say "the phrase *give to the child a spoon*" would be just as intelligible in the form *give spoon child*, if we remember that the direct precedes the indirect object." In Vp. *givol-öd cile spuni* might be put in any order, as feeling or emphasis dictates. In English we should say, when we use a preposition, *give a spoon to the child*, or, omitting the preposition, *give the child a spoon*, in each case precisely contrary to the order used by the Reporters. But they seem to impute it as a fault to Vp. that "the meaning is largely derived from placement," a statement which is quite incorrect. It is only when the adjective, as is generally the case, follows its substantive, that, in imitation of the German custom, it is not declined, otherwise it is declined. Schleyer illustrates this on p. 46 of his *Mittlere Grammatik*, by first shewing how position can be varied, and lastly giving a passage which is purposely ambiguous, chiefly from confounding the adjective and adverb, and which is immediately corrected. Now this is cited (and the citation is incorrectly printed[1]) to shew not only that much depends on position, but that "it is acknowledged by the author that obscurities

[1] The errors extend even to the translation, though here the Reporters had the German before them. The original has "*Gudikòs plidòs Godè* das Gûte gefällt Gott," where the accents are written to prevent probable German errors in reading. The Committee print "*Gudıkòs plidòs Godè*, Goodness pleases God" where *plidòs* has no meaning, but may be a misprint for *plidòs*, and *Gudıkòs*, like *das Gûte*, is 'that which is good,' Latin *bonum*, not abstract goodness, Lat. *bonitas*, which is *gud* in Vp., and *die Güte* in German. The ambiguous passage in Schleyer is "*gudik Godè plidos*, it pleases the good God, or what is good pleases God," or even "it pleases God well," which, in order, should be *gudike Gode plidos*, *gudikos Gode plidos*, *gudiko Gode plidos*, which are quite unambiguous, but the more usual forms are *plidos Gode gudık*, *gudikos plidos Gode*, *plıdos Gode gudiko*, without accents.

may arise from these transpositions, and there is much dependence on accents and tones." The errors in these statements can only have occurred through carelessness. But much capital is made out of them, and in summing up the case against Vp. the Reporters end by saying "its expressions involve *unavoidable* obscurities," which is an incorrect assertion founded only on their own mistake.

The Reporters say: "We are surprised to see the German third person plural (*Sie*) retained by the author as a *courteous* form. It should be the first duty of a universal language to reject such national solecisms." Of course it was not the third person plural in Vp., for that would be *oms* or *ofs*, but it was a special form *ons*, a quasi-plural to *on*, used as the French *on*, that is meant. The second Vp. Congress at Munich in 1887, before the Report was read, had rejected it. But Schleyer says (Vz. Jan. 1888, p. 365, § 1138, 12a), "It seems a secondary matter whether one corresponds with *ol* thou, or *ons* courteous you. But if any one does not like to use *ol*, or looks upon it as an insult, we cannot compel him to employ it," and consequently he gives *ons* with all its derivatives in the last edition of his dictionary, just published. In the East especially a courteous form of address will be a necessity.

The Reporters say, "The excessive multiplication of forms lends to Vp. an appearance totally un-Aryan." This is of no consequence. "The verbal theme is modified by sixteen suffixes and fourteen prefixes." This is a very small amount compared with the alterations in the numerous older Aryan conjugational forms, and the heaping of auxiliaries in the newer, especially when we remember that each suffix or prefix affects every possible verb in precisely the same way. "There is a *durative* tense," already spoken of, but it is merely facultative, and its effect may be given by adverbs or auxiliaries as in other languages, *aipenob* I am habitually writing, or *penob egelo*, or *fovo*, j'écris toujours, ich schreibe immerfort. There is "a *jussive* mood, conjunctive, optative gerund, and supine forms all indicated by added syllables, reminding one of the overloaded themes of Turanian tongues."

There is no supine syllable; supines are expressed by prepositions, and the infinitive, which is treated and declined like a substantive. The passive gerund *amandus* has indeed a peculiar form, as *pölöföl*, one to be loved, rarely used, and easily expressed periphrastically. The other gerunds are cases of the declined infinitive. "This mechanism," say the Reporters, "is not only superfluous, but if any lesson may be learned from the history of articulate speech, it is precisely the opposite to what the universal language should and must be." The mechanism being quite different from any that could be thus alluded to, this remark does not apply, and perhaps the ease with which these things are acquired, the rapid increase of readers and writers of Vp., may lead some people to disagree with the Reporters.

Their own propositions are extremely vague, and so far as I can see totally insufficient to express modern thought. They fall back on "jargons," and they pay the English language the compliment of calling it "a jargon of marked type," which is quite incorrect; for though we incorporate foreign words in abundance, we almost always nationalise them, and never lose grip of our Teutonic grammar. They say that "the evidence, both from theory and history, is conclusive that the progress of language, linguistic evolution, means the rejection of all paradigms and inflections and specialisation of the process of placement" (p. 14). To my mind the history of the break down of Aryan forms has nothing to do with the invention of an artificial language, except to teach us what to avoid. The strange confusion even of the English verb, the wonderful use of auxiliaries, the distinction of *I shall* and *he will* in the pure future, never mastered by many English speakers, as in Scotland,[1] and their difference from *I will, he shall,* with

[1] In one of her novels Mrs. Oliphant, a Scotch writer, makes her heroine, supposed to be an English lady, say, "If you read that *I will die*," meaning merely *I shall die* in the simple future, not that she had any intention of putting an end to her life. This reminds one of the supposed fraudulent bankrupt, who was reported to have declared, "I will be a bankrupt," and in whose case Lord Eldon is said to have ruled that "*shall* and *will* mean the same thing," and of the man in Joe Miller, who, falling into the water, cried in a fright, "I will be drowned, nobody shall save me!"

tle distinctions again in interrogatives and negatives, may be pardoned historically, but would be a digrace artificially. ever the proposition of the American Philosophical Society mes so far as to the construction of a single book of xamples, which I do not anticipate my living to see—but hen I have turned seventy-four—I own I shall be curious to learn how they have waded through the grammatical slough of Aryanism.

§ 14. VOLAPÜK CONTRASTED WITH OTHER LANGUAGES AND WITH SPELIN.

The author of Spelin, Prof. Bauer, of Agram in Austrian Croatia, a mathematician and a linguist, who is thoroughly acquainted with Volapük, possessing a "certificate as head teacher," *diped lõpitidela*, writes four languages, German, French, Italian, and Croatian, and reads also Latin, English, Russian, and Spanish, and is therefore thoroughly competent to compare the two artificial languages, Vp. and Spelin, with natural languages, after receiving the American Philosophical Society's Report, just considered, writes to the following effect (Spelin, pp. 50–54, here abridged).

"*Volapük is superior to natural languages in these respects.* 1. No exceptions. 2. Almost phonetic orthography. 3. Latin alphabet only. 4. One place of accent. 5. One single word for each idea. 6. No grammatical gender. 7. Treatment of sex as in English. 8. One declension. 9. One conjugation. 10. Suitability for mathematical combinations [this is in reference to his own proposed improvements]. 11. Simple syntax. 12. Greater and more correct linguistic feeling. 13. Brevity. 14. Neutrality with respect to nationality as a universal commercial language." [There would probably be great jealousy if it were proposed to adopt any existing language as a basis.]

Then he contrasts his own Spelin with Vp., and I may say at once that if Spelin had preceded Vp. (which was impossible, as its existence is entirely due to Vp.), and had been worked out in the detail now attained by Vp., it must have been far more widely accepted, and have become as its

name implies the All-language; but now to all appearance Vp. stops the way.

Spelin is superior to Vp. in the following points:—1. An Alphabet common to German, English (reckoning *æ*=*ä* English), and French. 2. Strict phonetic orthography. 3. No letter but *i* for which the pen must be raised in writing. 4. Acoustic vowel series *i, e, a, o, u*. 5. Euphony attained by a linguistic anatomy of European languages (especially German, English, French, and Italian). [Spelin is certainly very much more euphonious than Volapük.] 6. Two euphonic vowels *e, æ*, and two euphonic consonants *y, z* [used to prevent harsh collisions of consonants and vowels]. 7. Accent as in Spanish [on penultim of words ending in a vowel, on the last syllable of words ending in a consonant, in which case the vowel is short in Spelin]. 8. *Modern* linguistic ideal observed. 9. Sex treated as in English. 10. No declension, only prepositions. 11. The Croatian law of correlation extended to all grammatical forms. 12. Relative and interrogative pronouns identical. 13. Only five tenses, present, past, pluperfect, future, future past. 14. No subjunctive. 15. Imperative and optative as in English. 16. Conditional and its correlative as in Hungarian. 17. The letter *s* used not only for the plural, but also when prefixed for the durative and frequentative form of verbs and collective names. 18. Nearly twice as many monosyllabic words as in Vp., in flowing sentences. 19. Fewer letters for expressing the same thoughts by 19 per cent. 20. Vowel termination frequent and no indistinct conflux of consonants. 21. No words of more than four syllables. 22. No lexicographical isomery or words with the same letters and different meanings.

§ 15. Spelin and the American Committee.

Points on which Prof. Bauer agrees with the American report:

1. The alphabet should be one known to the leading commercial nations. 2. Absolutely phonetic spelling. 3. No accents or other diacritics. 4. Latin letters. 5. No

difficult combinations of consonants. 6. Brevity important. 7. Vocabulary *primarily* founded on those of the principal Aryan languages. 8. No article. 9. Only natural gender or sex indicated. 10. Plural not needed in connection with numbers expressed. 11. That the dative never precedes the accusative unless necessary for understanding.[1] 12. Interrogatives replace relatives.[2] 13. The reflective pronoun confined to the third person. 14. That the form of the verb remains unaltered for all persons and numbers. 15. One syntactic order of words; subject before predicate; noun before adjective; verb or adjective before qualifying adverbs; immediate before remote object.[3] 16. No postfixed conjunctions [as Latin enclitic *-que*, *-ve*].

In the following points Prof. Bauer differs from the Committee:

1. That every sound used should be common to all the Aryan languages. 2. That the sound *ö* should have no place in a universal language. [If we identify it, as we may for all purposes of speech, with English *ü* and Sanskrit *ú*, it is one of the commonest sounds in the world.] 3. That scientific language should have a second vocabulary, different from the other. 4. That the grammar should be founded *only* on that of the Aryan languages. 5. That we should renounce inflected forms of comparatives and superlatives. 6. That postpositions should not be used, though we have prepositions before nouns and postpositions after verbs in English. [The Committee was thinking probably only of nouns, but we also use postpositions after nouns in English, as "something to cut with," "the house I live *in*," etc., and

[1] The English usage is here peculiar. When only one object is a pronoun, it comes first, whether dative or accusative, as "he gave it Charles, she gave him the cup." When both objects are pronouns, the acc. precedes, "he gave it me," not "he gave me it," so in "he gave her him," her is the accusative; if we want to make *her* the dative, we must use a preposition, as "he gave him to her." When neither object is a pronoun, *to* is generally used before the dative, "they gave a chair to Charles," but if not, the dative comes first, "they gave Charles a chair." The indirect object is often the one most thought of. It is at any rate not usual to find such rules of position observed as in the text. These and similar alterations in other languages render dependence upon position very doubtful.

[2] As in modern English, the man *who* did it, or the older "Our Father *which* art, etc." But "the man *what* drove the coach" is unbearable.

[3] This rule would greatly hamper construction. See footnote [1] above.

ey were used in Latin *mecum*, etc.] 7. No affixes, suffixes d infixes; because, says Prof. Bauer, "the more of them, e fewer roots." 8. No method of forming entirely new ots.

Points of indifference between the Report and Prof. Bauer: . Whether adverbs should have a particular form. 2. Vhether interjections should have a particular form.

I have cited all these points as they form a kind of summary of the Reports.

16. Schleyer's Statement of the Principles of a Universal Language.

The following thirty-one principles are given on the cover of Herr Schleyer's *Grosses Wörterbuch*, 4th ed. 1888.

1. For one humanity a single speech. [This put into Vp., as *menade bal püki bal*, contracted still further to *m. b. p. b.*, forms his motto and mark at the beginning and ending of his dictionary; it gives the conception of a universal language its simplest form. Kerckhoffs objects to the form, which is that of a prayer, *God gicom-ös menade bal püki bal*, 'may God give one language to one humanity,' and alters it inharmoniously as *Menad bal, pük bal* 'one humanity, one language.']

2. For common language but one common writing.

3. For common writing but one common sound.

4. For every single sound a single sign.

5. For every single sign a single sound.

6. Roman letters only used.

7. No mute or superfluous letter.

8. The same orthography everywhere.

9. No exceptions to any rule. [This is the wonderful and attractive part of Vp.]

10. The order of the words in general free. [This is dead against the American Reporters' view.]

11. No double negatives. [This is a common Aryanism.]

12. No article, or only very seldom. [See exceptions on p. 86.]

terminations to substantives and verbs Vp. *söl* gentleman, lord, ruler, *sölum* greater gentleman, etc., *sölün* greatest gentleman, etc. [Hungarian *ember* man, *emberebb* more human; *ördög* Satan, *ördögebb* more Satan-like].

"From the Latins and Sclaves (Poles, Russians, Servians, Slovenes, Czechs) the absence of the article.

"Further I took from Latin its brevity and logic.

"From Latin and German I borrowed the free order of words: [which the director of the Vp. Academy, M. Aug. Kerckhoffs, is trying to do away with.]

"From the Greek the abundance of participial forms.

"From the Chinese the simple radicals.

"From the Swedish the sharp distinction between reflective and reciprocal verbs [Fr. *ils s'aiment*, Germ. *sie lieben sich* might be either they love themselves (reflective) or they love one another (reciprocal), Vp. *löfomsok*, and *löfoms balvotik* respectively, Sw. *vi roa oss* we amuse ourselves, *de berömma hvarandra* they praise each other; such so-called reflective verbs as Fr. *ils se battent*, Germ. *sie schlagen sich* they fight, do not exist in Vp., for to translate *ich schlage mich mit ihm*, that is, I fight with him, by *flapobok ke om* = I beat myself with him, would be mere nonsense, and should probably be *komipob ke om*.]

"From the French, the logical form of phrases.

"From the Russian the reflective *-ok* for all three persons of the verb [the Russian form is not *ok*, but *sya*, except after vowels, when the *a* is omitted, for all persons and tenses, as *umibáyu* I wash, *umibáyusy* I wash myself; *ymibáem* we wash, *ymibáemsya* we wash ourselves; in Vp. respectively *vatükob*, *vatükobok*, *vatükobs*, *vatükobsok*], and the genitive in *-a* [in the second declension, as *slon* an elephant, *slonà* of an elephant.]

"From German and Turkish the dative in *-e* [Germ. *der Mann* the man, *dem Manne* to the man, Vp. *man mane*, but the *e* is short and unaccented in German, and long and accented in Vp.; in Turkish there are properly no cases, but affixes which give the required meaning, if the word end in a consonant the dative affix is written *h* and pronounced *eh*, if it end in a vowel the dative affix is written *yh* and pronounced *yah*, thus *ev* a house, *eveh* to a house, *bābā* a father, *bābāyah* to a father], and from the last (Turkish) the pronoun *kim* who? [which has the same form in Turkish].

"From the Italian the accusative in *-i* (*tutti fratti*). [But there is no case-termination in Italian, and here *-i* is simply a masculine plural form; in Turkish, however, *-i* is the affix of the accusative case].

"The *s* of the plural is common to Vp. and Spanish, French, English Portuguese, Latin [occasional], Greek [occasional], Dutch, Rhetoromanic and Sanskrit."

§ 17. Conclusion.

A careful examination of Vp. leads me to the conclusion that it is well adapted for the purposes for which it was intended, and displays great ingenuity in its construction. At the same time Spelin seems to me simpler, easier, and

more adapted for speech. We have at any rate *two* universal languages, both on a non-Aryan basis, both highly ingenious, both eminently suited for their purpose, both having the characters of living tongues, thoroughly compact and organic, without the slightest indication of patching or break down. Whereas such proposals as are avowedly formed on an Aryan (generally a Latin or Romance) basis have the appearance of mere makeshifts, or of jargons so dear to the hearts of the Reporters. But Vp. alone has at present the ear of the public, and is in possession of a vast organisation highly interested in propagating it and making it become as its name implies "the language of the world." Vp. therefore has the chief claim on our attention, and all those who desire the insubstantiation of that "phantom of a universal language" which has flitted before so many minds, from the days of the Tower of Babel, should, I think, add their voice to the many thousands who are ready to exclaim *lifom-ös Volapük*, long live Volapük!

§ 18. Summary of Reasons for Declining the Invitation of the American Philosophical Society.

Hence I recommend the Philological Society not to accept the invitation of the American Philosophical Society to take part in their proposed Congress, for reasons which may be thus summarised.

First, because the subject is not one which can be properly dealt with in a Congress, even if a complete programme were laid before it for consideration.

Secondly, because the invitation is one-sided; and while it is by no means clear from the Reports what is meant by "the Aryan vocabulary and grammar in their simplest forms," it is also by no means clear, *à priori*, that an Aryan basis is desirable, and this would be conceded by acceptance.

Thirdly, because there already exists a Universal Language, Volapük, which has a large number of adherents in all countries of the world, and which is completely elaborated in

grammar and vocabulary, but has been formed entirely without reference to Aryanism.

And lastly, because the whole value of a Universal Language consists in its general acceptance, while the attempt to form an opposition scheme by the aid of all learned Societies, upon an incompatible basis, would, if in any respect successful, materially impede the progress of Volapük, and would possibly altogether defeat its object.

I therefore beg leave to move :

"That our Hon. Sec., Dr. Furnivall, be instructed politely to acknowledge the invitation of the American Philosophical Society, and to say that the Philological Society of London, having duly considered the invitation and the reports sent with it, have resolved to take no action in the matter."

P.S.—This resolution was seconded by Prof. Rieu, and supported by the Hon. Sec., Dr. Furnivall, and the Chairman, Mr. H. Bradley, and passed unanimously, and the paper was ordered to be printed *in extenso* and widely circulated.

V.—THIRTY-FIVE WORDS OF THE CAYAPAS INDIANS IN THE INTERIOR OF ECUADOR.

By GUSTAVUS WILCZYNSKI.

(*Read at the Phil. Soc.'s Meeting on 1st June*, 1888.)

THIS Vocabulary was collected by Mr. Gustavus Wilczynski, who is the head of a firm carrying on large mercantile business at the Pailon in Ecuador, which brings him into close and intimate connexion with the natives of the interior from whom he buys the country produce, etc. The tribe of Cayapas is a pure and unmixed one, difficult to approach by white men, although fairly peaceable.

English.	Cayapas.	Quichua.
Head	Mishpuca	Uma
Hair	Achua	Agcha
Forehead	Lechi	
Eyebrows and Eyelashes	Capupijo	
Eyes	Capucua	Naguiuctu
Nose	Kijo	Singa
Mouth	Fipaqui	Shimi
Cheek	Teyu	
Teeth	Tesco	Quiro
Tongue	Nigca	Callo
Arms	Fiamilia	Rigra
Hands	Fiapapa	Maqui
Fingers	Fiamisho	Maquipalca
Nails	Fiaqui	Sillo
Chest	Fembapo	
Legs	Embo	Changa
Feet	Nepapa	Chaqui
Man	Luipula	Cari
Woman	Supula	Guarmi
Boy	Cana	Cariguagua
Girl	Guarmiguagua	Supunama
God	Dios apa	Dios yaya
Life	Sunchachi	Causay
Soul	Tembuca	Aya
Walking	Gino	Puringapae
Sick	Penhuma	Ungushca
Handsome	Unnala	Alinagui
Old	Rucula	Ruca
Ears	Pungui	Rinri
Singing	Verse	
Weeping	Huato	Guacangapac
Laughing	Ucagto	Asingapac
Speaking	Pacto	Rimangapac
Sleeping	Casto	Puñungapac
Sleep	Puñuniyaguanmi	Yucasabesusay

VI.—ON *S*-STEMS IN THE CELTIC LANGUAGES.

By Whitley Stokes, D.C.L.

It is now nearly twenty years since the late Hermann Ebel, while recasting the Grammatica Celtica, called attention, in in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, vi. 222, to a class of Old-Irish neuter nouns which had the following characteristics: (1) in the nom. sg. there was no umlaut; (2) the gen. sg. ended in *-e*, which caused umlaut; (3) the acc. sg. was identical with the nom. sg.; (4) the nom. and acc. pl. ended in *-e*; (5) the dat. pl. ended in *-ib*, the *i* causing umlaut; (6) many of these nouns were identical with Greek, Latin, Old Slavonic, and Sanskrit stems in *s*. Thus *teg*=τέγος, *leth*=Lat. latus, *mag*=Skr. mahás. He hence inferred that we had here neuter stems in *s*, the existence of which in the Celtic tongues had previously been denied. Take, for example, *teg* or *tech* 'house':

	Old-Irish	Old-Celtic	Greek	Latin	Old-Slavonic
		Singular.			
Nom. Acc.	teg, tech	*tegos	τέγος	latus	nebo
Gen.	tige	*tegesos	τέγεος	lateris	nebese
Dat. Loc.	tig	*tegi	τέγεϊ	lateri	
		Dual.			
Nom. Acc.	dá theg, dá thech				
Gen.	dá tige				
Dat.	dib tigib				
		Plural.			
Nom. Acc.	tige	*tegesa	τέγεα	latera	nebesa
Gen.	tige-n	*tegeson	τεγέων	laterum	nebesŭ
Dat.	tigib	*tegesebis		lateribus	

Here in most of the cases in the singular and the plural the agreement, especially with Greek, is close. Ebel notes in particular the formation of the oblique cases from a stem in *-es*, the nom. sg. being a stem in *-os*. The dative sg. of the Irish forms has not yet been explained. Ebel, indeed, would deduce *tig* from an Old-Celtic **tegesi*=τέγεϊ. But **tegesi* would have become in Old-Irish *tigi*, and it seems more

likely that we have in *tig* a formation after the analogy of the *i*-stems. Compare the declension of the Lithuanian *debes-*, of which Schleicher says that it is partly after the analogy of the *i*-stems, partly after that of the *ja*-stems; only the gen. pl. has remained consonantal. The dual of Irish stems in *s* is obscure. One would have expected in the nom. and acc. *tige* from **tegese*. Probably *teg*, *tech* is due to the analogy of the *o*-stems, in which the nom. dual is in Old-Irish identical with nom. sg. The dat. dual points to an Old-Celtic instrumental in *-bin* (from **-bhin*), just as the dat. plural points to an Old-Celtic instrumental in *-bis* (from **-bhis*). The gen. dual is obscure to me.

The Old-Irish words which Ebel referred to the *s*-declension were eight in number, viz. *teg* (house)=τέγος, *nem*[1] (heaven), *leth* (side)=Lat. *latus*, *mag*, *mach* (field)=Skr. *mahás* (great[2]), *sliab* (mountain), *lóg* (price), *glún* (knee, from **gul-nos*), and *dún* (fort). To these in the Grammatica Celtica, p. 226, he added *die* (ex **diyas*=Lat. dies), *gné* (ratio), *-gu*, in *di-gu* (reiectio), and *ro-gu*, *to-gu* (electio) (√*gus*), and, lastly, the comparatives *máa* (more), *ferr* (better), *laigiu* (less), etc.

To these discoveries of Ebel, Thurneysen, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxviii. 153, added two more, viz. *sid* (elf-mound), which seems cognate with ἕδος, *sēdes*, Noven-*sides*, and *tir* (land), from **tersos*, cognate with Lat. *terra* from **tersa*, and Osc. *teerum* from **tersom*.

But there are certainly nine, and probably more, other Old-Irish nouns belonging to the *s*-declension.

Here follow what Germans call *belegstellen* of the nouns just referred to:

1. *ag* N. (a bovine animal) .i. *bó*, O'Cl.

sg. nom., *ag méth*, Sc.M. 7; *ag allaid* 'cervus,' Corm.

gen. *turcreic aige loige meich cona fosair* ('the proportionate stock of a calf of the value of a sack with its accompaniment'). Laws II. p. 254, l. 30.

[1] Ebel equated *nem* with Gr. νέφος and Slav. *nebo*, assuming that here, as elsewhere, *m* stood for infected *b*. But the modern Breton (*n*)*env* shows by its nasalised *e* that the primaeval Celtic form was *nemos*, which in form is=Skr. *namas* (reverence). Compare O.Ir. *nemed* (gl. sacellum)=Gaulish *nemeton*.

[2] Cf. Skr. *mahî* (the earth) and *mâla* (field), from **mahla*, with compensatory lengthening (Bühler).

dual n. *dá ag dec* (twelve cows), LL. 295[b], 25.

acc. *astaid dá n-ag dibh*, Rev. Celt. v. 200.

pl. n. *aige ocus mucca*, Sc.M. 6; *aige alta* LH. 19[b].

gen. *benna na n-aige* (the antlers of the deer), LL. 67[b], 18.

dat. *alma d'aigib alta*, LL. 67[a], 42; *forsna haigib*, LL. 67[b], 19.

acc. *dosennat na secht n-aige* (they hunt the seven deer), TBF. p. 138.

This word seems to belong to the root *ag*, whence ἄγω, Lat. *ago*, Skr. *ajāmi*, and the Old-Ir. *atom-aig* (adigit me).

2. *all* N. 'cliff, rock.'

Sg. nom. *all n-glaine* (rock of purity), Fél. Jan. 6.

gen. *oc cluchi for bru inn aille* (playing on the edge of the cliff), Lism. fo. 20[a], 2.

dat. *no leicthe fon aill a mblegon* (their milking was cast under the cliff), LL. 115[b].

acc. *con-ecmaing a tul immon n-all* (so that her forehead struck on the rock), LU. 109[b].

dual acc. *itir dá n-all* (between two rocks), O'Don. Supp.

pl. dat. *essarcain cind fri hallib* (dashing a head against rocks), LL. 176[b].

acc. *atraacht am-muir impi suás, co ndernai alle dimora impe imacuaird* (the sea rose up around it, and made vast cliffs [of water] all round about it), LU. 26[a].

In *all* initial *p* may have been lost, and *ll* may represent original *ls*. If so, it is cognate, not only with Germ. *fels*, but with Gr. πέλλα [from *πελσα] · λίθος, Hesych. and with Vedic *pāshya*, Skr. *pāshāṇa*, which come respectively from **palsia* and **palsāṇa* (Fortunatov, Bezz. Beitr. vi. 217).

3. *au, ó* N. 'ear,' 'cup-handle.'

sg. nom. *au* ab aure, H. 2, 16, col. 90.

gen. *au-nasc* ('earring') .i. *nasc aue* (ring of an ear), Corm. *meilid smit ind aue itir a da mér* (he grinds the lobe of the ear between his two fingers), Corm. B. s.v. *bri*.

dat. *airæ* ('temple') .i. *ar aui fri hó anair arfhas* (before an ear, in front of an ear it grows), Corm.

acc. *corici a hou*, LU. 59[a], 40. *fri hó* supra: *únasca óir imma ó* (earrings of gold round his ear), LU. 92[b], 19. *secht*

traigid etir a ó 7 a beolu (seven feet between his ear and his lips), LL. 106[b], 28.

dual nom. *it é a dá n-o imma chend* (they are his two ears round his head), LU. 89[a], 23. *imomm-loiscet mo da n-o prull* (my two ears burn me greatly), Corm. B. s.v. prull. *da auo* ibid. s.v. dabach.

pl. nom. *ni bitis hoe for énaib hi tus* (there were not at first handles on cups), Corm. A., s.v. dabach, = *ni bitis oi for na henaib artus*, Corm. B.

dat. *uas aúib na n-ech* (over the horses' ears), LU. 114[a], 39. *co cetheoraib auaib* (leg. *auib*?), 'with four ears,' LL. 249[a], (where the numeral shows that in Middle Irish *au* became feminine), *ina ouibh, as t'óaibh*, Book of Lismore, 43[b], 1.

This word is exactly in meaning, declension, and gender the Old Slav. *ucho*, gen. *učese*. It is also the Lat. *aus* in *aus-culto*.

4. *delg* N. 'thorn, brooch,' *delc*, Ml. 51[a], 8.

sg. nom. *mani be a ndelg and* (unless the thorn be there). Sg. incant. *delg n-iarind* (a brooch of iron), LU. 96[b].

gen. *bla deilge dae* (exemption of brooch on shoulder), Laws III. 290. *do fuascalad a deilge* (to loosen his brooch), Rawl. B. 512, fo. 35[b].

dat. *dia luirg ros-torna is dia deilg* (with her staff and with her brooch she marked it out), LL. 161[b], 51.

acc. *atchiu delg n-and olladbol de ór* (I see there a huge brooch of gold), LU. 91[a].

pl. nom. *noi ndelce óir* (nine brooches of gold), LU. 94. *delgi* (leg. *delge*) *iairnd a finna* (his hair [like] pins of iron), LB. 202[b].

dat. *de delgib sciách* (of thorns of whitethorn), LU. 89[a].

acc. *im deich ndeilci* (leg. *ndeilce*) *derca diorda* (round ten red gilded brooches), LU. 83[b]. *cen delgæ indib* (without brooches in them), LU. 93.

Of *delg* (=W. *dala, dal*,[1] Corn. *delc*, gl. monile) the only non-Celtic cognates appear to be A.S. *telgan* (gl. virgultum), Nhg. *Zelge*.

[1] *mal dala gel bendoll* (like the fang of a holeheaded leech), R. B. Mabinogion, i. 119; *mal dal cleheren* (like a gadfly's sting), ibid. 118. For these quotations I am indebted to Prof. Rhŷs.

5. *dess* 'god.'

sg. nom. *dess* (.i. deus) *imrtada duib*, .i. *dia do redigud duib, or si* ('may a god make smooth [the way] for you!' saith she), LU. 122[b], 33. A later form *dee*, taken, apparently, from the oblique cases, occurs in the nom. sg. twice in LB. *in tusa dee na pagan* (art thou the god of the pagans?), 193[a], *rocúibriged o aingliu bar ṅdee-si* (your god has been fettered by angels), 176[a]. We also find *dea*; *doruménatar ba dea ín draicc i mboi in demun* (they thought that the dragon wherein the devil dwelt was a god), LB. 72[b].

gen. *ni coir duib adrad donti-sea dar-gabsabar deilb dee* ('it is not meet for you to worship him to whom ye have given a god's form'), LB. 176[b].

pl. nom. *trí dee Donand* .i. *trí meic Bressa meic Elathan* (Donu's three gods, that is, Bress son of Elathu's three sons), LL. 30[d]. *ni hinand fós bes no belra na delb na dee adartha do chined dib recheli* (not the same, moreover, is usage or language or form or worshipt gods of one tribe of them and another), LB. 149[b], 40; *Batar é andee* [leg. *dee*] *in t-æs cumachta 7 andee in t-æs trebaire* (*dee* were the mighty people and *andee* the cultivators), LL. 75[b], 33.

gen. *amail robu máthair dee indi Ánu* sic *Buanand* erat *máthair na fian* (as Ánu was mother of gods, so Buanand was the mother of the champions), Corm. s.v. Buanand. *Bendacht dee 7 andee fort, a ingen* (the blessing of gods and non-gods (be) upon thee, O maiden!), LL. 75[b], 31. *adrad na ndee mbalb mborb* (worship of the dumb, stupid gods), LB. 182[a].

dat. *dena idpairt dár ṅdeeb-ni* (make offering to our gods), LB. 182[a]. *mina derna buden idbairt dom dheib-se* (unless thou thyself make offering to my gods), LB. 4[a]. *Nocon-fhétaim-se sin, or Longinus, fógnum da bar ṅdeeib brece-si*, LB. 182[a] ('I cannot do that,' saith L., 'service unto your false gods').

acc. *robu maith didiu ros-biathad-si na dee* [.i.] deos (it was well, then, she used to nourish the *dee* i.e. deos), Corm. s.v. Ana. *do thungu-sa mo dee dia n-adraim* (I swear by my gods whom I adore), LL. 63[a], 6. *Bentar a fhiacla asa chind, ol in t-errig, . . . o na hadrand na dee*, LB. 182[a] ('let his teeth be struck out of his head,' saith the satrap, 'since he doth not adore the gods').

As Celtic *d* represents both *d* and *dh*, Ir. *dess* may be cognate either with Gr. θες in ἀ-θέσ-φατος or with Old-Latin *las* for **das* in *lases* 'lares,' gen. pl. *larum*. For the vowels compare *leth* and *latus*. The Old-Ir. *dess* may be=*dhes-s* or *des-s*, as Gr. μῦς, μείς from μυς-ς, μήνς-ς. I am uncertain as to its gender. *Dee* and *andee* remind one of the Vedic *deva*, *adeva*.

6. *glenn* N. 'valley.'

gen. *grian gel Glinne Huissen* (white sun of Glenn Uissen), Fél. July 8. *Colman Glinde Delmaic*, Fél. Nov. 5.

dat. *o Glind da lind lethan* (from the valley of two broad lakes, Glendalough), Fél. June 3. *i nglind* Teribinti, LB. 46[b].

acc. *isin nglend ngaibthech* (into the valley perilous), LU. 30[a]. *go glend na samaisce*, LL. 69[a], 29.

pl. nom. Old-Irish doubtless, *glinne*, Mid. Ir. *glenda*.

dat. *dorónta colléce sléibe dona glindib* (*glinnib*, L.B.), (mountains have been made of the valleys), Fél. Prol. 240. Mid. Ir. *glennaib*.

acc. *tar maige, tar midglinni, setid maige midglinne*, LU. 106[a], 106[b].

This word, W. *glyn*, seems peculiar to the Celtic languages.

7. *grúad* N. 'cheek.'

sg. nom. *gruad* (gl. mala), Sg. 14[a]. *a ngrúad n-aile*, LU. 90[a], 1.

gen. *do ind a grúade*, LL. 108[a]: *corcair . . . samail gruádi Labrada*, LU. *sian a grúadi gormchorcrai*, LL., cited by Windisch.

acc. *for a gruad sechtair* (on his cheek outside), LU. 79[b], 39.

dual nom. *dá ngrúad*, LU. 126[b], 23, gen. *i cechtar a da gruád*, LU., cited by Windisch.

pl. nom. *inna gruade* (gl. conuexa), Ml. 96[c], 9.

gen. *innan gruade* (gl. genarum), Ml. 39[c], 14.

dat. *dona gruadib* (gl. genis, gl. maxillis), Gild. Lor. 114, 24, *turgbait ferba fora (g)ruaidib iar cilbrethaib* (blisters arise on his cheeks after wrong judgments), LH. 34[b], 1 (Goid. 164).

acc. *frisna gruade*, Ml. 39[c], 15, *eter forbru 7 gruade* (between eyebrows and cheeks), Ml. 39[c], 12.

The primary meaning of *grúad* seems to have been some-

thing convex. It may be cognate with Eng. *great*, OHG. *grosz*, urdeutsch **grauta*, as Skr. *gaṇḍa* cheek (from **garnda*, **granda*), with Lat. *grandis*; as Lat. *mala*, *maxilla* with *mag-nus*.

8. *hond*, *ond*, N. 'stone.'

sg. nom. *is hé in lia . . . iss-ed hond . . . in cloch is si*, i.e. the *lia* is he (masc.), *hond* is it (neut.), the *cloch* is she (fem.),[1] Corm. s.v. adba othnoe.

gen. *adba uath uinde*, Corm. A, = *adba huath uinne*, Corm. B.

If this word has lost initial *p*, we may equate it with Lat. *pondus*, which may have originally meant 'stone.' Cf. the use in English and German of *stone* and *stein* for a weight. The connexion of *pondus* with *pendo* is not certain.

9. *og* N. 'egg.'

sg. nom. *og*, Sg. 8[b], 10.

gen. *cloch i n-inad ugi*, leg. *uge* (a stone in place of an egg), Cogad Goedel, p. 100. *roiarfacht scéla in uige* (he asked tidings of the egg), Fled Dúin na ngédh, p. 24.

acc. *no šárgind én aith im og* (I used to attack the fierce bird for (its) egg), LL. 154[a].

pl. nom. *in filet uigi no cassi lib*? (have ye eggs or cheese?), LB. 136[a], 17.

dat. *lan di uighib géd* (full of goose-eggs), Fled D.G. 16, 20.

acc. *cechoen no-caithfed na huige* (every one who should consume the eggs), ibid. p. 24.

The connexion of this word with A.S. *ǽg* N., Old-Norse *egg* (whence Eng. *egg* is borrowed), and the Argive *ὤβεα* (where Curtius regards the *β* as = *F*) is by no means clear.

10. *sál* N. 'sea.'

gen. *tonna sáile serbruada* (bitter-strong waves of sea).

acc. *tar sal sairde* (over the eastern sea), Fél. March 5. *co sal sruamach* (unto the streamy sea), Fél. Aug. 25. *co riacht tar sal side*, Fél. Sept. 10.

[1] For the use of the pronouns to denote the gender of nouns compare the A.S. glosses (Wright-Wülcker, col. 320), Ursus *bera*, Ursa *heo*.

This is somewhat doubtful, as the gen. *sáile* may possibly be mis-spelt for *sáili*, gen. sg. of the io-stem *sáile*. If *sál* is really an *s*-stem, it may be compared with Gr. σάλος.

1. *ten* 'fire'; in composition: *ru-then* 'ray'; *ten-chor* 'tongs.'

Sg. nom. *ruthen*, LU. 28ᵃ.

dat. *tein*, *ruthin*, Windisch, Wörterb. 817, 751.

acc. *ar thein*, Sanct. p. 14 (leg. *ar then*?). *ruithin*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5b, 1 (leg. *ruithen*?).

Pl. nom. *ruithni* (leg. *ruithne*), LL. 248ᵃ.

dat. *co ruthnib grene*, LB. 6ᵇ. *ruithnib*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5b, 1.

acc. *ruthni* (leg. *ruthne*), Three Hom. 4.

The declension of these words is still doubtful. The plural forms point to the *s*-declension, but the umlauted forms in the acc. sg. belong to the fem. *a*-declension, and *ruthen* in Early Middle Irish is certainly fem. If *ten* be a stem in *s*, it may stand for **tepnos*, and be identical with Zend *tafnaṅh*.

12. *tóib* N. 'side.'

Sg. nom. *congaibther tóib et airchinn and* (side and front are comprised in it), Wb. 21ᶜ, 6.

gen. *isind achsaill tóibe deiss Isu* (in the armpit of Jesu's right side), LB. 251ᵃ, 68.

dat. *assa thóib*, Wb. 20ᵈ, 13, *ina thoeb liss, ón taib*, Windisch Wörterb. 832; *bale bec sin for táeib slebe Oliuet* (a little stead, that, on the side of Mount Olivet), LB. 40ᵇ.

acc. *la toéb, fri táib*, ibid.

dual nom. *rundgabsat ar ṅ da thoib du ditin ar n-inme donachni*, Ml. 67ᵈ, 14 (our two sides were to protect our internals).

This noun in Middle-Irish went over to the *o*-declension. Thus we have gen. sg. *tóibh*, pl. dat. *toebaib*, LL. 248ᵇ, 3 and Gild. Lor. 79, acc. pl. *toeba* and *toebu*. Its cognate in Welsh is *tu*, pl. *tuoedd*.

Besides these, there are several nouns which were probably *s*-stems, but which, owing to the fewness of ancient examples, cannot be quoted as such with certainty. Such nouns are: *bairenn* 'rock,' pl. *bairne*; *clú* 'fame'=κλέος, Skr. *çravas*;

crú 'blood,' Lat. *cruor*: *ing*, dat. sg. *ing*, Colm. h. 18=Skr. [illegible]r. *aṅhas*, Lat. *angor*, Gr. ἄχος; *lí* 'colour'=Lat. *livor*. Clear ex- [illegible] ex-amples of *weiterbildungen* of *s*-stems are *áis* (age) from **aives-tu* [illegible] *tu*, Skr. *âyus*; *tes* (heat), from **testu*, **tepstu*, **tepes-tu*, Skr. *tapas* [illegible] and *follus* (manifest), from **svolnes-tu*, Zend *qarenaṅh*.

So far we have dealt with *s*-stems in Old and Middle-Irish [illegible] sh Traces of the *s*-declension are visible in modern Gaelic. Thus [illegible] us

gleann M. (valley), gen. *glinne*.
gruaidh F. (cheek), gen. *gruaidhe*.
leath F. (side), gen. *leithe*.
lógh (reward), gen. *lóighe*. Four MM. III. 1920.
magh (plain), gen. *maighe*.
neamh M. (heaven), gen. *neimhe*.
sál M. (sea), gen. *sáile*.
sliabh M. (mountain), gen. *sléibhe*.
tír M. land, gen. *tíre*.

HETEROCLITES.

There is in Modern, and also in Middle, Irish a large number of nouns ending in *-ach* or *-ech*, which in the singular are declined like *o*-stems, but in the plural like *s*-stems. So according to Schleicher the German *grab* is an *a*-stem in the singular, but the pl. *grabir* (now *gräber*) belongs to the *s*-declension. Examples of the nouns referred to are:

airenach (forefront), sg. gen. *airinig*, dat. *airinuch*, pl. *airinigi*, LU. 99[b].

apach (entrails), pl. nom. *abaighe*, gen. *abbaige*, dat. *apaigib*, Togail Troi, p. 127.

aslach (temptation), sg. gen. *in mi-aslaig* (malae persuasionis), Ml. 28[b], 7, dat. *aslug*, *asluch*, Ml. 26[c], 9, pl. dat. *asla*[*i*]*gib*, Patr. h., *cona aslaigib*, LB. 180[a], 253[a], acc. *aslaigi*, Fél. Ep. 198.

aurddrach (phantom), pl. nom. *aurdraige*, Gl. 500, *urtroige* Corm. B. s.v. meisi, gen. *fo chossaib aurddrag*, LU. 60[a], 6, dat. *aurdraigib*, Gl. 50, *urtroighib*, Corm. B. s.v. meisi.

brollach (bosom), sg. dat. *brolluch*, LL. 144[b], 15, acc. *dar brollach*, LL. 87[a], pl. dat. *brollaigib*, Togail Troi, l. 1538.

buarach (cowspansel), pl. dat. *buairgib*, Battle of Moira, 316.

cathach (trespass), pl. *caithche*, Laws iv. 114.

coblach (fleet), sg. gen. *coblaig*, dat. *cobluch*, Trp. 66; pl. dat. *mur-choblaigib*, Trp. 206.

cosrach ( ), pl. dat. *cosraigib*, Tog. Troi, 1721.

crislach (girdle, womb), sg. dat. *crisluch*, Saltair na Rann, 1645; pl. dat. *crislaigib*, Togail Troi, 1659.

cúach (cup), sg. gen. *cúaich*, dat. acc. *cuach*, pl. nom. *cuache*, LU. 113[b].

cumrech, *cuibrech* (bond), sg. dat. *cumriuch*, pl. acc. *cuibrighe*, O'Cl. s.v. *tratrach*, dat. *cuibrigib*, LB. 176[a]. The Old-Ir. nom. pl. is *cuimrecha*, whence we see that in this noun the change in the pl. to the *s*-declension is not older than the Middle-Irish period.

cumtach (covering), sg. dat. *cumtuch*, pl. dat. *cumtaigib*, Windisch, 460, pl. acc. *cumdaige*, LB. 73[a].

domnach (church), sg. gen. *domnaig*, dat. *domnuch*, pl. n. *domnaige*, Trp. 168.

domnach (Sunday), sg. gen. *domnaig*, dat. *domnuch*; pl. n. *domnaige*, LB. 47[a].

écnach (blasphemy), sg. gen. *ecnaig*, LB., pl. acc. *ecnaige*, LB. 1[b].

ertach, *irtach* (refection), pl. nom. *erdaige*, LU. 73[b], 7, acc. *a herddaige-si*, LB. 73[b].

étach (garment), sg. gen. *étaig*, acc. *étach*, pl. nom. *étaige*, gen. *étach*, dat. *étaigib*, Wind. Wört. 531.

fálbach (rampart?), pl. acc. *falbaigi*, LU. 80[b], 12.

fasach (precedent), pl. dat. *fasaigib*, Trp. 566.

fásach (wilderness), sg. dat. *fasach*, Fél. clxxxvii., pl. dat. *asaigib*, LU. 118[b].

fótbach (sods), sg. gen. *fótbaig*, LL. 97[a], 97[b], 120[a], pl. *ótbaige*, LL. 59, 51.

glomrach (bridle? bit?), pl. nom. *glomraige*, LB. 232[b], 21; dat. *glomraigib*, LL. 110[a].

goethlach (marsh), sg. dat. *goithluch*, Ml. 33[c], 3, pl. dat. *goethlaigib*, LB. 227[b], 8.

intech (scabbard), sg. dat. *intiuch*, G.C. 230, LU. 68[b], 82[b]; acc. *intech*, LU. 82[b], pl. dat. *intigib*, Togail Troi, 1716.

lúthrach (bolt, bar), pl. acc. *lúthraigi*, LB. 172[a].

mullach (crown of the head, summit), sg. dat. *mulluch*, pl. n. *mullaighe*, O'Don. Gr. 87.

óenach (assembly, fair), sg. gen. *óenaig*, acc. *óenach*, pl. [illegible]. dat. *óenaigib*, LU. 78[b].

ochtrach (excrement), Ml. 129[c], 2: pl. nom. *octarche* (gl. purgamenta), Wb. 9[a], 7.

ordlach (inch), sg. gen. *or-loigh*, pl. n. *ordlaige*, *orlaigh* [illegible]*hi*, Laws, iii. 334. *tri hordlaige do bhuain do bhod Emainn Moirt*[illegible]*tle* (three inches were struck off Edmond Mortel's penis), Anna[illegible]als of Ulster, A.D. 1498.[1]

otrach (dung), sg. dat. *otruch*, pl. dat. *otraigib*, LB. 202[a].

sídach (elf), pl. n. *sídaige*, Windisch, Wört. 773.

sonnach (palisade), sg. acc. *sondach*, H. 2, 16, col. 379, [illegible]*l.* acc. *sondaighe*, ibid. col. 377.

tenlach, *tellach* (hearth, household), sg. gen. *tellaig*, da[illegible]*t-tenlug*, LU. 19[b], acc. *tellach*, pl. nom. *tellaigi*, Bk. of Fenagh, 158.

timthach (array), pl. dat. *timthaigib*, LL. 58[a].

urtlach (lap), pl. nom. *urtlaige*, Fél. xxxii. 26.

The declension of this class of nouns in the plural seems, as Windisch has suggested, due to the analogy of *teg*, *tech*, and *mag*, *mach*. So the change in Middle-Irish of the fem. *ā*-stem *rún* (secret) from the *a*-declension to the *s*-declension is due to the analogy of *dún* and *glún*.

S-Stems in the British Languages.

The only unadulterated example in the British languages of a stem in simple *s* is Welsh *ti* (=τέγεος), pl. *te* (for *tei*=*tegésa*,[2] which differs in accentuation from τέγεα), now written *ty*, pl. *tai*. All the other substantives, which were originally *s*-stems, form their plurals by adding, either directly to the singular or to the old plurals in *-i*, terminations, like *-oedd*, *-au*, *-on*, properly those of the *i*-declension, the *u*-declension, the *n*-declension. Thus in Welsh *din* (fortress), pl. *dinion*; *dydd* M. (day), pl. *dyddiau*; *glin* M. (knee), pl. *glinyeu*, *gliniau*; *glyn* M. (glen), pl. *glynoedd*; *grudd* M. (cheek), pl. *grudyeu*, *gruddiau*; *ma* F. (place), pl. *maoedd*; *nef* M. (heaven), pl. *nefoedd*; *tan* M. (fire),

[1] See the facsimile in Gilbert's *National MSS.*, part iii. No. lxxvii.
[2] See Rhŷs, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 49 note.

pl. *tanou*; *tir* M. (land), pl. *tiroedd*; *tu* M. (side), pl. *tuoedd*; *wy* M. (egg), pl. *wyau*. So in Cornish *deth* (day), pl. *dezyow*; *tyr* (land), pl. *tyryow*, and in Breton *dez* M. (day), pl. *diziou*; *tân* (fire), pl. *tâniou*.

In *dini-on, glini-au, gruddi-au, tyry-ow, tâni-ou*, compared with the Irish *dúine, glúine, grúaide, tíre, *tine* (in *rui-thne*), we seem to have the old plural *-i* (ex *-esa*), with the addition of *-on* or *-au* (*-ou*). So in *dyddi-au, dezy-ow, dizi-ou*, though the corresponding Irish form is not quotable.

Stems in *NS*.

Besides the stems in simple *s*, the Celtic, like other Indo-European languages, has stems in *ns*. Of these the clearest example is the Old-Irish noun *mi* 'month,' which was thus declined:

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nom.	mí	dá mís	mís
Gen.	mís	dá mís	mís-n
Dat.	mís	(dib misaib)	misaib
Acc.	mís-n	dá mís	mísa

This noun agrees well with the Lat. *mens-* in the gen. pl. *mensum*, and the Ionic *μείς* from **μενς*.

Besides *mi* we have the Ir. comparatives in *-iu* (protoceltic *-iōs*, Lat. *-ior, -ius*) and *-a* (protoceltic *-ās*), which Ebel held to be stems in *ns*. But of these stems no oblique case appears in the oldest MSS., except perhaps in *meitis ri*, LL. 208[a]= *nétither fri* 'as big as,' and the adverb *beius* 'moreover,' LU. 110[a], 36, generally *beus* or *beos*, which seems the petrified comparative of an adjectival stem *beo-* cognate with the Latin verb *beo*, the adverb *be-ne*, and the adjectives *bellus* (for **be-n-lus*), *be-ni-gnus*. In *óser* (the youngest) from **yavias-tero-s*, and *sinser* (the eldest), from **senias-tero-s*, we have traces of an *s*-formation.

The British stems in *ns* are exemplified by *mis* 'month,' which corresponds with one of the oblique cases of the Ir. *mi*, and possibly by the comparatives in *-ach* (Bret. *-och*), which seems to stand either for *-ass, -ans*—the *ch* coming from *ss, ns*, as in the prep. **trach*=*trans*, G.C. 680—or for *oh*—the *ch* coming from *h*, and this from vowel-flanked *s*.

VII.—A SECOND LIST OF ENGLISH WORDS FOUND IN ANGLO-FRENCH. By the Rev. Prof. Skeat.

In the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1882 published a hand-list of some English words borrowed from Anglo-French, together with their forms as actually found in Anglo-French texts; adding just a few native English words which I had observed as being quoted in such texts. My excuse for doing so was the utter absence of any such list with proper references.

The list was not very complete; nevertheless, in attempting to add to it from time to time, I have found it much more complete than might have been expected. In hundreds of instances I have turned to this list, only to find that a word which I thought I had not previously noticed has been sufficiently recorded already. This is so encouraging that I venture to believe that it will not be found at all an easy task to form a long *third* list, supplemental, that is, to the former one and that now offered to the reader. At the same time I admit some imperfection. I have not been able to bestow the time upon the subject which it deserves. I only offered the former list by way of a stop-gap; but as no one else (to my knowledge) has done much to help us in this matter during the past six years, I venture to print some more examples, with references, for the use of students.

As before, I give chiefly Modern English words, with only a small sprinkling of Middle English words of especial interest. I give the Anglo-French forms *as they occur*, with notes of the part of speech where necessary. Thus, s.v. *abash*, the form *esbahis*, marked *pp.*, is the past participle singular, whilst *esbayez*, marked *pp. pl.*, is the plural of the past participle. The abbreviations are the same as before,

pt. s. meaning past tense singular, third person; and *pt. pl.* meaning past tense plural, third person.

Not all of the words in the present tense are now noted for the first time; but such is the case with at least three-fourths of them. In other cases, it seemed desirable to add further references to those given already. The references are new ones in every case. Of the Black Book of the Admiralty, I have only examined the first volume, which gives the more ordinary sea-terms. Of the Roman de Rou, I have only examined a small portion, and I only give a few words; the language, in fact, is *not* Anglo-French, but belongs to the continent. In short, I merely offer the list for what it is worth, and hope that those who could have done the work far better than myself will pardon my presumption.

In the references the following abbreviations occur:

B.—Britton; ed. F. Morgan Nichols, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford, 1865. Cited by the volume and page. Late thirteenth century.

B.B.—Black Book of the Admiralty; edited by Sir Travers Twiss. 6 vols. Record Series. The references are all to volume i. (1871), which is cited by the page.

C.A.—Chasteau d'Amour, by R. Grossteste; ed. M. Cooke. Caxton Society, 1852. Cited by the line (or by the page and line). Thirteenth century.

F.C.—French Chronicle of London; ed. G. J. Aungier. Camden Society, 1844. Cited by the page. Written about 1350.

F.F.—The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin; printed at pp. 277–415 of R. de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum; ed. J. Stevenson. Record Series, 1875. Cited by the page. About A.D. 1300.

Lit.—Literæ Cantuarienses, vol. i.; edited by J. B. Sheppard. Record Series. Cited by the page. The date of the letter is given in each instance.

L.R.—Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie, etc.; ed. J. Glover. Record Series, 1865. Cited by the page.

P.N.—Le Prince Noir; ed. F. Michel, 1883. Cited by the line. About A.D. 1386.

R.—Roman de Rou; by Maistre Wace. Ed. Dr. H. Andersen. 2 vols. Heilbronn, 1877–9. Cited by the line from vol. ii.

R.W.—Royal Wills; ed. J. Nichols, 1780. Cited by the page. The date of the will is noted in each instance.

V.H.—Vows of the Heron; printed in vol. i. of Political Poems, ed. T. Wright. Record Series, 1859. Date, 1338. Cited by the page.

W.W.—William of Wadington's Manuel des Peches; ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1862. Cited by the line; or, when necessary, by the page and line.

Y.*f*.—Year-books of the Reign of Edward I.; years 12 and 13. Ed. Luke Owen Pike. Record Series, 1885. Cited by the page. Date, 1338 and 1339.

Y.*g*.—The same, continued: years 13 and 14. Record Series, 1886. Cited by the page. Date, 1339 and 1340.

ANGLO-FRENCH WORDS.

Abash; esbayez, *pp. pl.* F.C. 76; esbahis, *pp. s.* V.H. 9.
Abatable, *adj.* abatable, B. i. 204; ii. 83.
Abetment, abbettement, *s.* F.C. 48.
Abetting, abet, *s.* L.R. 230.
Able, able, B. ii. 5.
Abstinence, abstinence, *s.* C.A. 736.
Acceleration, acceleraciun, *s.* W.W. 9741.
Accompt, accompte, *s.* (account), P.N. 97.
Accused, acuse, *pp.* W.W. 9892.
Accusers, acusurs, *pl.* W.W. 9889.
Achievement, achievement, V.H. 21.
Acolyte, acolyte, Lit. 398 (1331); accolitz, *pl.* R.W. 123 (1392).
Acquire, acquist, *pt. s.* P.N. 383.
Admiral, admiral, B.B. i. 3.
Adventurous, aventurous, F.F. 292.
Advocate, aduocat, W.W. 4658.
Aery; cf. eyres (=nests of hawks), Lit. 486 (1332).
Affeered, affeure, *pp.* (valued), Y.*f*. 215.
Affiance, affiance, L.R. 142.
Afraid (alarmed), afrae, *pp.* Lit. 126 (1324); esfraez, R. 3679.
Age, eage, *s.* R. 11.
Ague, la fieure ague, W.W. 10299.
Aim, *s.* esme (supposition), R. 2431.
Aim, *v.* esmer (to estimate), R. 1197.
Air, eir, *s.* R. 49.
Alliance, aliaunce, *s.* L.R. 248.
Almoner, aumoner, W.W. 4781; almoner, W.W. 4876.
Amass, *v.* amasser, W.W. 5177; (come together), P.N. 226.
Amerciable, *adj.* amerciable, B. i. 88.
Amerced, amercie, *pp.* Y.*f*. 5.
Amorous, *adj.* (loving), amerus, W.W. 6226; amoureuses, *f. pl.* V.H. 5.
Anchor, ancre, B.B. i. 26.
Angel, *s.* angel, W.W. 10041.
Anise, *s.* anise, W.W. 11311.
Anniversary, anniuersaire, W.W. 1766 (p. 201).
Annual, annuele, *adj.* L.R. 76.
Annuity, *s.* annuite, Y.*f*. 109.
Apostle, lapostle, L.R. 250.

es, apese, *pr. s.* W.W.
9 ; appeyser, *v.* L.R.
ınt, appellant, B.B. i.
enances, apurtenences, *pl.* 244.
ıter (crossbow-man), ar-
er, L.R. 270; arblasters,
.F. 295.
s, juges arbitres, B. i.
acon, erchedeakne, F.C.
archers, *pl.* L.R. 136;
77; F.F. 295.
(in heraldry), argent,
349.
ırmes, *s. pl.* P.N. 313.
sale darras, R.W. 72
6); arras, 132 (1392).
s. array, Y.*g.* 103; R.W.
(1399); arroi, P.N. 109.
l, *pp.* arivez, P.N. 145.
arsoun, F.C. 5, 6.
al, artificiel, B. ii. 133.
y, artillerie, B.B. i. 148.
d, asailerent, *pt. pl.* F.C.
assailler, *v.* W.W. 2243.
v. assartir, B. ii. 68.
, assaut, *s.* F.C. 77; P.N.
F.F. 322.
ıly, assemble, *s.* L.R. 178.
assent, *s.* L.R. 142, 310;
. 244.
ng, *pres. pt.* asentaunt,
58; assente, *pr. s.*
nts), B. i. 114.
ır, assessur, W.W. 4658.
assetz, Y.*g.* 3; *cf.* assetz
ough, P.N. 205.
assoillent, *pr. pl. subj.*
. 49 (1361).
d, assote, *pp.* (= be-
hed), L.R. 138.
ption, asumpcioun, L.R.
s. atirs, *pl.* F.F. 374.
ey, attourne, Y.*f.* 3, 5.

Audience, audience, B. ii. 94.
Auditors, auditours, *s. pl.* F.C. 87; Y.*g.* 41.
Authorized, auctorize, *pp.* B. i. 54.
Aver, averir, *v.* L.R. 98; averer, Y.*f.* 13.
Averment, averement, *s.* Y.*f.* 259.
Award, award, *s.* F.F. 328.
Azure, asur, F.F. 282.

Baboon; *cf.* babewynes, *pl.* (= grotesque figures), R.W. 132 (1392).
Bachelor, bacheler, P.N. 193.
Bacon, bacun, W.W. 2384; bacons, *pl.* F.F. 315.
Badges, bages, *pl.* R.W. 68 (1376).
Bag, bagge, *s.* Y.*f.* 245.
Bales, *s. pl.* balles, B.B. i. 82.
Balingers (ships), balingers, B.B. i. 4; balangers, *ib.*
Banner, baniere, P.N. 317.
Banneret, *s.* baneret, P.N. 193.
Bar; barres, *pl.* B.B. i. 328; (bars of gold), R.W. 183 (1399).
Barbican, barbekane, C.A. 599.
Bargain, *s.* bargeyn, Lit. 462 (1332).
Bargained, bargene, *pp.* Lit. 348 (1331).
Barge, barge, B.B. i. 417; barges, *s. pl.* F.C. 74.
Barony; barunies, *pl.* L.R. 352.
Batelle (small boat), batil, F.F. 376; batels, *pl.* B. ii. 345.
Battery, baterie, *s.* (beating), Y.*f.* 67.
Battle, bataille, P.N. 316.
Bayed, baerent, *pt. pl.* (barked), L.R. 78.
Beadles, bedeaus, *pl.* R. 851.
Beasts, beastes, *s. pl.* L.R. 334.
Beauty, beaute, R. 550.
Benediction, benediction, Lit. 216 (1327).

Benison, benisoun, F.C. 76; benison, R.W. 100 (1381).
Bernars, berners, *pl.* F.F. 386.
Besant, besant, V.H. 21; besantz, *pl.* F.F. 386; besanz, W.W. 5579.
Bever (drink), boivre, *s.* F.C. 46; beiure, R. 3236.
Bible, bible, R.W. 139 (1392).
Bier, biere, R. 294; bere, W.W. 6266.
Bill (in law), bille, *s.* F.C. 58.
Binnacle, habitacle (dwelling), C.A. p. 115, l. 39.
Bise (north wind), bise, R. 2774.
Blasphemed, *pp.* blasfeme, W.W. 11574.
Blasphemy, blasfemie, B. ii. 213.
Blue, blu, *s.* R.W. 36 (1360); blew, 84 (1361).
Board; overboard, outre bord, F.F. 397.
Bobance, bobaunce, *s.* (boasting), F.C. 36.
Boil, *v.* builir, R. 942.
Border, bordure, R.W. 73 (1376); F.F. 331.
Borsholder, borghesaldre (de Birchilton en Thanet), Lit. 428, 436 (1332).
Bowels, boeles, *pl.* F.C. 45.
Braches (dogs), brachez, *pl.* R. 524.
Bran, *s.* bren, B. i. 27.
Branches, *s. pl.* braunches, R. 600; branches, W.W. 11088.
Brand, brand (sword), R. 323.
Brandish, brandir, R. 3947.
Brattice, bretesche, R. 1296.
Bray, *v.* braier (to cry as an infant), W.W. 4458; brait, *pr. s.* (cries as a heron), V.H. 5.
Bream; bremes, *pl.* Y.*g.* 177.
Brooch, broche, B. ii. 11.
Brothel, *cf.* bordel (*id.*), W.W. 2368.
Bruised, bruse, *pp.* B. i. 123.
Buckle, bocle, *s.* R.W. 18[illegible] (1399).
Bugle (horn), bugle, F.F. 337.
Buoy, boye, B.B. i. 45.
Bushel, *s.* bussel, F.C. 45; B. [illegible] 189.
But, *v.*; bute, *pp.* R. 628; bute[illegible] *pp. pl.* (pushed), L.R. 138[illegible] bota, *pt. s.* (pushed), F.F. 39[illegible]
Buttery, botellerye, R.W. 12[illegible] (1392).
Button, botun, W.W. 11668.

Cables, cables, *pl.* B.B. i. 98.
Caldron, *s.* caudrun, W.W. 17[illegible] (p. 201).
Cape, chape, *s.* W.W. 2658; L.R. 208.
Cardinal, cardinales, *s. pl.* L.R. 292.
Cark, carker, *v.* (to load), P.N. 368.
Carol, *s.* karole (dance), L.R. 138.
Carpenter, carpenters, *s. pl.* F.C. 49.
Carry, *v.*; carie, *pp.* L.R. 350.
Cathedral, chathedrales, *adj. pl.* L.R. 206; =eglise cathedrale, R.W. 31 (1360); B. ii. 206.
Cavern, caverne, F.F. 373.
Ceiling, ceel (tester of a bed), R.W. 51 (1361); celure (*id.*) 73 (1376).
Celestial, celestiel, R.W. 177 (1399).
Cemetery, cimeteire, R. 328; cymitere, B. i. 28.
Cendal, cendal, W.W. 10004.
Censer, encenser, R.W. 31 (1360); sensures, *pl.* R.W. 220 (1400); encensers, *pl.* B. i. 214.
Certes, certes, F.F. 357.
Certification, certificacion, Y.*f.* 5; Y.*g.* 314; certificacioun, B. ii. 217.
Certify, *v.* certifier, Y.*f.* 5; certifiez, *pp.* B. ii. 103.

Chafe; se chaufeient (warmed themselves), W.W. 4788.
Chalice, chaliz, R.W. 24; W.W. 7315; B. i. 214.
Challengeable, chalengable, B. ii. 360.
Chamberlain, chamberleyn, L.R. 126; chamburlein, W.W. 5691; chamberlene, *pl.* R. 807.
Chancel, chancel, W.W. 6808; R. 331.
Chancellor, chanceler, L.R. 312.
Channel, chanele, B. i. 218.
Chantry, *s.* chaunterie, B. i. 317; chanterie, Lit. 100 (1323).
Chapel, chapele, L.R. 256.
Chaplain, *s.* chapeleyn, L.R. 148; chapellein, Y.*f.* 139.
Chaplet, chapelet, R.W. 51 (1361); chapelet de rose, F.F. 337.
Chapter-house, chapitle, Lit. 42 (1318).
Chargers (dishes), chargours, R.W. 24.
Charter, chartre, *s.* F.C. 40; Lit. 68 (1322).
Chasubles, chesibles, R.W. 48 (1361).
Cheer, sad, morne chere, F.F. 298.
Chekker (chess-board), eschekker (*printed* eschelker), F.F. 324; eschecker, 374.
Chequered, chekere, *pp.* R.W. 25 (1360).
Chess, echeks, W.W. 1531; esches, W.W. 4106; eschekes, F.F. 324.
Chevalier (knight), *s.* chivaler, P.N. 498.
Chieftain, chiefteyn, L.R. 334; cheuetaigne, R. 672.
Chine, leschine, F.F. 299.
Chivalrous, cheualerus, R. 968.
Chivalry, chevalerie, R. 274, F.F. 333; chivalerie, P.N. 98; L R. 166; Y.*f.* 321.
Choice, *s.* chois, R. 890.
Christianity, crestienete, W.W. 4114; crestiente, R. 1980.
Ciclatoun, siclatun, W.W. 5470.
Circumstance, circumstance, W.W. 10359.
Circumvention, circumuenciun, W.W. 5092.
Claim, *s.*; cleyms, *pl.* B. i. 20.
Clasps, claspes, *pl.* R.W. 181 (1399).
Clergy, clergie (men), R. 615.
Closet, closet, R.W. 182 (1399).
Coasting, costeant, *pres. pt.* F.F. 372.
Coat, cote, *s.* B. i. 64.
Coat of mail, cote de maille, R.W. 221 (1400).
Coffins (baskets), coffins, C.A. 1255.
Cogitation, cogitasiun, W.W. 1139; cogitaciun, 1143.
Cognisance, conissaunce, *s.* Y.*f.* 16, 17.
Collar, coler, R.W. 155 (1397).
Collusion, colusion, F.C. 40; collusion, Lit. 396 (1331).
Combat, *v.*; combatirent, *pt. pl.* P.N. 174.
Comet, commete, L.R. 82; comete, L.R. 130.
Comfort, cunfort, *s.* R. 234.
Command, comand, *s.* C.A. 860; R. 1075.
Commissary; comissaries, *pl.* F.C. 89.
Commodity, comodite (profit), B. ii. 69.
Commons, communes, P.N. 244.
Communion, communion, W.W. 681 (p. 422).
Compass, *s.* compas, C.A. 709.
Compassed, compassez, *pp. pl.* C.A. 641.
Compiled, compilai, 1 *pt. s.* W.W. 12726.
Complain, compleindre, *v.* R.W. 128 (1392).
Conception, conceptiun, W.W. 6450.

Concubinage, concubinage, B. ii. 263.
Concubine, *s.* concubine, B. i. 120, 232; ii. 242; F.C. 3.
Coney; Conies, coniys, *pl.* B. i. 85.
Confederation, confederacioun, B. ii. 42.
Confirmation, confirmaciun, W.W. 7207.
Confused, confus, *pp.* C.A. 730.
Conjunction, conjunctioun, B. ii. 136.
Conjured, cuniure, *pp.* W.W. 3613; I conjure thee, je te conjur, F.F. 283.
Conquer; conquirent, *pt. pl.* P.N. 173.
Conqueror, conquerour, F.C. 35.
Conquest, cunquest, *s.* R. 111.
Consanguinity, consanguinite, W.W. 5230.
Consent, consent, *s.* B. i. 44.
Consistory, consistorie, F.C. 54.
Conspiracy, conspiracie, *sing.* F.C. 40.
Contagion, contagiun, W.W. 7204.
Contec=contest, L.R. 306.
Continuance, continuance, B. ii. 3.
Contrariety, contrariete, B. ii. 142.
Contrarious, contrarious, F.F. 324.
Contribution, contribucioun, L.R. 346.
Contrite, contriz, *adj. pl.* W.W. 10426.
Contrition, contriciun, W.W. 10460.
Copes, copes, *pl.* R.W. 150 (1397).
Copy, copie, *s.* F.C. 51; Lit. 408 (1331).
Coral, corall, *s.* R.W. 180 (1399).
Cord, corde, *s.* R. 991; F.F. 309; cordes, *pl.* F.C. 87.
Cordwainer, cordewaner, F.C. 11.
Couch, couche, *s.* F.F. 382.
Count (earl), counte, F.F. 323; *pl.* countes, P.N. 120.
Counterpane (counterpart of a deed), cuntrepan, W.W. 10645.
Counterpane (quilt), cutepoint, *s.* R.W. 36 (1360); quilt-poynt, 100 (1381).
Countour (accountant?), B. i. 347.
Courageous, coragous, F.F. 321.
Coursers (horses), *pl.* coursers, P.N. 263.
Courteous, curtois, P.N. 85.
Courtiers, curteours, L.R. 168.
Covenant, cuuenant, R. 863.
Covered, coveré, *pp.* R.W. 156 (1397).
Coverlet, coverlet (*sic*), R.W. 100 (1381); coverlitz, *pl.* 181 (1399).
Coverture, coverture, Y.*f.* 73.
Covine=treachery, L.R. 104.
Coward, coward, F.F. 298; V.H. 5.
Cowardice, cuardie, R. 1497.
Cramped (disabled), crampuz, *pp. pl.* B. i. 90.
Cratch (crib), creche, W.W. 259 (p. 417).
Crests, crestes, *pl.* R.W. 32 (1360).
Crime, crime, B. ii. 344; B.B. i. 324.
Crocket (ornament for head), croket, W.W. 3305.
Crooks, *pl.* croks, W.W. 4565.
Crosier (of a bishop), croce, R. 1055.
Cross, croce, L.R. 148; croyz, L.R. 186.
Crucifix, *s.* crucifix, R.W. 134 (1392); L.R. 82.
Cruel, *adj. fem.* cruelle, P.N. 115.
Cruets, cruets, *pl.* R.W. 26 (1360).
Cull (gather); coilli, *pp.* L.R. 218.
Cure=charge, L.R. 150.

Current (price), coraunt, *adj.* B. i. 189.
Curtains, curteyns, *pl.* R.W. 51 (1361).
Cushions, quissyns, *pl.* R.W. 35 (1360).
Custom, custume, *s.* R. 285; costume, L.R. 162.
Cutler; *cf.* cotel (knife). B. i. 37.
Cypress, cypres, R.W. 154 (1397).

Dagger, dague, B.B. i. 316; dages, *pl.* R.W. 157 (1397).
Danegeld, L.R. 180.
Dance, *v.* danser, V.H. 19.
Danger; fors de lur dangier (out of their power to harm), R. 866.
Date, date, *s.* B. i. 271.
Deacon, deakene. W.W. 2179; deknes, *pl.* R.W. 123 (1392).
Dean, *s.* den, L.R. 256.
Debar, debarrer, B. i. 305.
Debate, debat, *s.* Y.*f.* 65; L.R. 174.
Decease, deces, R.W. 23.
Deceive, deceivre, *v.* W.W. 2896.
Decretals, decretals, *pl.* R.W. 31 (1360).
Dedication, dedication, F.F. 302.
Deface, deface, *pr. s. subj.* Lit. 128 (1324).
Defective, defective, *adj. fem.* B. i. 205; ii. 152.
Definition, difinicioun, B. ii. 263.
Deflowered (as meadows), deflouris, *pp. pl.* (despoiled of flowers), V.H. 3.
Degraded, *pp.* degrade, L.R. 146; desgradez, *pl.* B. i. 200.
Delay, delai, L.R. 128.
Delight, *s.* delit, L.R. 150.
Deny, denye, *pr. s.* B. ii. 156.
Deodand, deodande, B. i. 16, 39.
Derein; *cf.* disreyne, *pp.* B. i. 250.
Descants (modes of song), descaunz, F.F. 398.
Descry, *v.* descrire (to describe), W.W. 10320.
Desert, desert, *s.* (wilderness), R.W. 37 (1360).
Desparplia, *pt. s.* = dispersed, L.R. 182, 296.
Despise, despiser, *v.* L.R. 294.
Despiser, despisour, B. ii. 330.
Despoil; despoille, *pp.* L.R. 202.
Detains, *pr. s.* detient, W.W. 2776.
Detractors, *pl.* detracturs, W.W. 3570.
Dialogue, dialoge, *s.* W.W. 1918.
Diapered, diapreez, R.W. 73 (1376).
Dickers (of hides), dikers, B.B. i. 140.
Diete=food, L.R. 116.
Dignity, dignete, *s.* L.R. 146.
Diligence, diligence, *s.* F.C. 77; Lit. 374 (1331).
Diligent, diligentz, *pl.* Lit. 298 (1329).
Diminution, diminuciun, *s.* W.W. 11076.
Disarray, *s.* desarroy, P.N. 433.
Discharge, *s.* descharge, B.B. i. 100.
Discoloured, descoloree, *pp.* F.F. 347.
Discomfited, *pp.* disconfitz, P.N. 496.
Discomfiture, *s.* disconfiture, L.R. 132.
Discontinued, discontinue, *pp.* Y.*f.* 103.
Discord, descord, *s.* L.R. 162; discord, L.R. 164.
Discordant, descordauntz, *pl.* B. i. 2.
Dislodged, *pt. s. refl.* se deslogea, P.N. 372.
Disloyalty, desleaute, L.R. 354.
Disours (story-tellers), disours, F.F. 293.
Displayed, *pp. pl.* desplaez, L.R. 336; *pp. s.* desplae, B. i. 354.

Disseised, disseisi, *pp.* Y.*f.* 201.
Disseisin, *s.* novel disseisine, Y.*f.* 5; B. ii. 156.
Disseisor, disseisour, B. ii. 291.
Dissension, *s.* dissencioun, L.R. 336.
Distinction, destinctiun, W.W. 4598; distinctiun, C.A. 1480.
Distrainable, destreynables, *pl.* B. i. 299.
Distress, *s.* destresse, F.C. 4; distresse (distraint), Lit. 406 (1331); destresce, B. ii. 48.
Disturbance, desturbance, L.R. 292; destourbance, B. ii. 28.
Diversify, diversier, B. ii. 3.
Diversity, *s.* diversite, Y.*f.* 19.
Divine, *s.* deuin, W.W. 2980.
Divorce, divorce, *s.* L.R. 204; B. ii. 264; devorce, B. ii. 237.
Document, document, W.W. 1622.
Dole (grief), duel, F.F. 297.
Dolorous, doleruse, *f.* W.W. 1347; L.R. 168; R. 1120.
Dolour (grief), dolour, *s.* L.R. 194.
Dominical, dominical, L.R. 330.
Donor, donour, *s.* B. i. 220; ii. 136.
Double, *adj.* doble, C.A. 1631; *s.* le double, F.F. 336.
Dowry, dowarie, *s.* R.W. 20; B. ii. 132, 236; douwarrie, B. ii. 76.
Dragon, dragun, *s.* L.R. 224.
Draper, draper, *s.* F.C. 91.
Dredge, *v.*; draggent (*also* dragguent), *pr. pl.* B.B. i. 156.
Dub, *v.* addubber, L.R. 320; adubba, *pt. s.* F.F. 325.
Duchess, duchesse, F.F. 401.
Duchy, *s.* duchee, L.R. 156.
Dungeon, *s.* dongon, C.A. 622.

Eagle, egle, *s.* L.R. 248.
Easement, esement, Lit. 72 (1322).
Eclipse, *s.* eclips, L.R. 190, 324 [illegible] eclipse, 326.
Edifices, edifices, *s. pl.* (build[illegible]ings), B. i. 214.
Edify, edefier, *v.* (to build), B [illegible]. ii. 251.
Effusion, effusioun, B. i. 194.
Eisel, eisel (vinegar), C.A. 1126[illegible]6.
Embezzle; "aussi entieremen[illegible]t sang [sans] rien ent [en [illegible]] *enbesiller* com jeo les avoy d[illegible]e elle;" R.W. 155 (1397).
Embowelled, enbowele, *pp.* L.R[illegible]R. 190.
Emir, amiraud, L.R. 298.
Emperor, emperour, L.R. 180.
Empress, emperice, W.W. 11914; L.R. 170.
Enamelled, enamellez, *pl.* R.W. 69 (1376).
Encline, encliner, *v.* W.W. 11983.
Encumbrance, encumbraunce, W.W. 11544.
Endenture, endenture, F.C. 81.
Endited, enditerunt, *pt. pl.* (indicted), Y.*f.* 19.
Endorsement, endosement, Y.*f.* 241.
Endowed, endowe, *pp.* R.W. 123 (1392).
Endure, endurer, *v.* C.A. 1147.
Engage; engaga, *pt. s.* (put in pledge), L.R. 164.
Engender; engendra, *pt. s.* L.R. 76.
Enlarge, enlarger, *v.* B. i. 254; F.F. 287.
Enquire; enquerant, *pr. pt.* R. 928.
Enrich; enrichist, *pt. s.* L.R. 104.
Enrolment, enroullement, B. i. 166; enrouellement, ii. 96.
Enticement, entichement, R. 821.
Entirety, enterite, Y.*g.* 141; entierteez, *pl.* B. ii. 74.
Entrails, entrailles, L.R. 322; entrayles, F.F. 318.

Entreat; cf. *entreter de*, to treat concerning, F.C. 48.
Entry, entree, *s.* R. 574.
Enveloped, envolupez, *pp. pl.* F.C. 38.
Envenom, envenimer, *v.* R. 112.
Environ; envirounerent, *pt. pl.* L.R. 196; envyrona, *pt. s.* F.F. 280.
Envy, envie, *s.* (malice), P.N. 93.
Epiphany, *s.* Epiphanie, L.R. 130.
Equipment, eskippement, B.B. i. 12.
Equipped, eskippez, *pp. pl.* B.B. i. 20.
Escheater, *s.* eschetour, F.C. 88; B. ii. 21.
Escrow, escrouwe, B. ii. 71.
Escutcheon, escuchon, R.W. 67 (1376).
Esplee; esples, *pl.* Y.*g.* 307.
Espouse; espusa, *pt. s.* R. 622; espose, *pp.* L.R. 164.
Espy; espye, *pp.* F.C. 36.
Esquire, esquier, R. 1418; esquiers, *pl.* L.R. 346.
Establish, establisse, 1 *pr. s.* R.W. 184 (1399).
Estres (inward parts of a house), estres, *pl.* F.C. 85.
Estur=fight, L.R. 182; estour, F.F. 303.
Ewer, *s.* ewer, R.W. 27 (1360); ewers, *pl.* R.W. 24 (1360).
Exaltation, exaltation, L.R. 252.
Excusable, escusable, B. ii. 228.
Exile, *v.*; exilia, *pt. s.* L.R. 104.
Expedient, expedient, R.W. 141 (1392).
Expenses, expensez, *pl.* R.W. 160 (1397).
Exploit, esplait, *s.* L.R. 340.
Exsequies (funeral), exequies, R.W. 145 (1397); L.R. 190.

Face to face, face a face, C.A. 1644.
Fail, without, sanz faille, P.N. 305.
Faint; *cf.* feinte, *f. pp.* (feigned), W.W. 11145.
Famine, famine, W.W. 12268, L.R. 144; famyne, F.C. 79.
Fardel, *s.* fardel, L.A. 549; fardelx, *pl.* B.B. i. 396.
Farmer, fermer, *s.* L.A. 220, 317; B. ii. 138.
Fealty, fealte, R. 964.
Fee simple, fee simple, Y.*f.* 339.
Fee tail, fee tayle, B. i. 310.
Fermented, fermente, *pp.* W.W. 7388.
Fess (in heraldry), fes, F.F. 295.
Fever, fevres, L.R. 156.
Fierce, *adj.* fiers, R. 656; fiere, *fem.* F.F. 322.
Final, final, *adj.* L.R. 98.
Fine, *adj.* fyn, P.N. 318.
Finials, finols, *pl.* R.W. 47 (1361).
Flail; *cf.* flaele, *pp.* (beaten), W.W. 5676.
Flame, *s.* flamme, L.R. 144; flambe, F.F. 383.
Flank, flank (side), F.F. 398; flanc, R. 1883.
Fleur-de-lis, fleur de lis, V.H. 7.
Float, *v.* floter, F.F. 369; flotant, *pres. pt.* L.R. 78.
Florins, *s. pl.* florenes, L.R. 332; florins de or, Lit. 210 (1327).
Flotsam, floteson, B.B. i. 82.

[The quotation is—"ceulx qui on trouve sur la mer tonnel ou pippe de vin, flotants balles de marchandises, ou autre chose quelconque comme *floteson*."]

Foil (leaf of a book); foile, *Cursor Mundi*, pt. v. p. 5; foil, W.W. 4156; foyle (a leaf), F.F. 292; foiles (leaves), B. i. 371.
Foison, fuyson, *s.* P.N. 425.
Folly, folie, *s.* R. 443.
Forage, forage, F.C. 80.
Forcer (box), forcer, W.W. 1746 (p. 201).

Forclose; *pt. subj.* forcloreit, L.R. 258.
Forest, forest, *s.* R. 515; L.R. 162.
Forjudged, forjuge, *pp.* B. ii. 42.
Fork (of a tree), furc, R. 602.
Fortalice, fortelesce, R. 1295.
Fortresses, fortelets, L.R. 352.
Forts, fortz, *pl.* F F. 342.
Foss, fosse, Lit. 62 (1323); F.F. 284; fossez, *pl.* B. ii. 67.
Foundation, fundation, R.W. 71 (1376).
Foundered, enfounda, *pt. s.* L.R. 186; enfoundry, *pp.* (said of a ship), F.F. 372.
Frail (basket), freelle, L.A. [i.e. Liber Albus], 229.
Frailty, freletee, R.W. 66 (1376).
Freight, *s.* fret, frette, B.B. i. 92.
Freight, *v.* freter, fretter, B.B. i. 112.
Frenzy, frenesi, W.W. 11954.
Fret, *s.* (in heraldry), frett, R.W. 151 (1397).
Fry (of fish), fry, B.B. i. 156, 164.

Gallop, *s.*; es galopz, *pl.* (into a gallop), R. 1624.
Gauds (trinkets), gaudes, R.W. 182 (1399).
Gay, *adj. pl.* guais, *also* gais, W.W. 3109; gay, *pl.* V.H. 1.
Glorify, glorifier, C.A. 101.
Glorious, glorious, Lit. 212 (1327).
Gorge (throat), gorge, W.W. 1466; R. 4084.
Gourds, *pl.* gurdes, W.W. 2554.
Grafts, graffes, *pl.* B. i. 217.
Grails (graduals), grayels, R.W. 25 (1360).
Grampus, grampais, B.B. i. 152.
Grandeur, graundur, W.W. 1962.
Grantor, grantour, Y.*f.* 161.
Grave, *adj.* (heavy), grave, B. i. 48.
Grease, gresse, W.W. 5339; grece, F.F. 315.
Grew (Greek), griu, C.A. 18.
Griddle (utensil for cooking), gredil, W.W. 1744.
Grievance, grevaunce, Lit. 68 (1322).
Griffins, griffons, *pl.* R.W. 73 (1376).
Grocer, groser, F.C. 91.
Guildhall, gildhalle, *s.* Y.*g.* 51.
Gules, goules, F.F. 295.
Gutter, goter, L.A. [i.e. Liber Albus], 584.
Gyves, gives, *pl.* F.C. 89.

Habergeon, haubergon, F.F. 376.
Habitations, habitacions, *pl.* F.C. 79.
Hamlet, hamelle, Y.*f.* 17; hameletz, *pl.* B. i. 253.
Hanapers, hanapers, *pl.* R.W. 102 (1381).
Harbingers, *pl.* herberieurs, R. 3001.
Haste, *s.* haste, F.C. 80; R.W. 29 (1360).
Hatches (of a ship), hacches, B.B. i. 30.
Haughty, hauteine, *f.* (high), C.A. 629; hauteyn, F.F. 351.
Hearse (frame over a body), herce, R.W. 45 (1361); 68 (1376).
Heir, heir, R. 657.
Hermitage, hermitage, W.W. 2249.
Heron, heron, V.H. 4; hairon, 5.
Hideous, hisdus, R. 944; hidouse, *fem.* F.F. 379; hidouses, *pl.* L.R. 336.
Hobelers (horsemen), hobelers, *pl.* F.C. 89.
Hoe, howe, W.W. 1451.
Horrible, horrible, F.C. 3; W.W. 1068; orrible, P.N. 305.
Hotchpot, hochepot, B. i. 305; ii. 74, 79.

Housings, houces, *pl.* R.W. 35 (1360).
Humiliation, humiliaciun, W.W. 8627.
Husbandry, hosebondrye, Lit. 356 (1332).
Hypocrisy, ypocrisie, W.W. 3244.
Hypocrite, ypocrite, WW. 3251.
Hyssop, ysope, W.W. 8219 (p. 431).

Idiot, idiot, Y.*g.* 109.
Ignorant, ignorantz, *pl.* R.W. 164 (1397).
Illumines, illumine, *pr. s.* C.A. 680; enluminee, *pp. fem.* F.F. 282.
Impertinent (irrelevant), impertinent, Y.*g.* 281.
Imploring, emplorant, *pres. pt.* W.W. 12569; emploraunt, F F. 393.
Impossible, impossible, B. i. 239.
Impoverished, enpoveriz, *pp. pl.* F.C. 39; empoveretz, Lit. 426 (1332).
Imprisoned, emprisonee, L.R. 324; emprisonne, BB. i. 34.
Incomparable, incomparable, R.W. 164 (1397).
Incontinence, incontinence, W.W. 1307.
Inconvenience, inconvenience, B. i. 205.
Increase, *s.* encrez, B. i. 218; encrees, ii. 238.
Incredulities, incredulitez, *pl.* W.W. 7290.
Indented (in heraldry), endentee, F.F. 349.
Induction, enduccioun, B. i. 228; induction, Lit. 186 (1326).
Infinity, infinite, W.W. 10968.
Inform, enformer, *v.* Lit. 66 (1322).
Inhabit, enhabiter, R.W. 93 (1376).
Iniquity, iniquite, C.A. 1119; W.W. 3989.
Ink, ynk, B.B. i. 404.
Innocence, innocence, W.W. 12274.
Insensed (informed), ensensez, *pl.* B. i. 32.
Inserted, inserteez, *pl.* R.W. 162 (1397).
Institution, institucion, Y.*f.* 271; institution, Lit. 186 (1326).
Intent, entente, W.W. 2127.
Inter, enterrer, Lit. 522 (1332).
Intercessors, intercessurs, *pl.* W.W. 9877.
Interlaced, enterlasce, *pp.* W.W. 8055 (p. 429).
Interment, enterrement, R.W. 23; enterement, L.R. 158.
Interpreted, interpreta, *pt. s.* W.W. 1192.
Intrusion, intrusioun, B. ii. 3.
Inveigled, en-vogly, *pt. s.* (blinded), L.R. 114.
Invention, invencioun (a finding), L.R. 344.
Isle, lisle, Lit. 80 (1322).

Jack, seint iake (St. James), W.W. 7867.
Jangle, iangler (to chatter as a magpie), W.W. 1096.
Jasper, jaspre, R.W. 27 (1360).
Jaundice, iauniz, W.W. 3885.
Jelly; cf. gele (cold), W.W. 5616.
Jeopardy, in, en jupardie, Y.*f.* 171; en jeupartie, B. i. 318.
Jet, *s.* get, R.W. 182 (1399); geet, F.F. 359.
Jetsam, gettesone (casting over of goods), B.B. i. 96; geteson, 170; getteson, 126.
Jew, iu, *s.* W.W. 2841.
Jewel, juel, F.F. 385; ioueles, *pl.* W.W. 11845.
Jollity, joliete (mirth), P.N. 477.
Joust, *v.* iuster, W.W. 4250.

Jousters, iusturs, *pl.* W.W. 4244.
Jousts, joustes, *pl.* F.C. 62; justes, B. i. 125; jostes, F.F. 284.
Juggler, jogelour, F.F. 347; iugelurs, *pl* W.W. 3675.
Jugglery, jogelerie, F.F. 347.
Justifiable, justifiable, R.W. 163 (1397).
Justified, justifia, *pt. s.* Y.*g.* 191.

Kerchief, keverchief, R.W. 100 (1381).

Lace, *v.* lascer, L.R. 170; laciez, *pp. pl.* R. 1521.
Lagan, lagan, B.B. i. 84, 150, 170.
Lantern, lanterne, B.B. i. 16.
Larceny, larcine, F.C. 59.
Largesse, largesce, C.A. 740.
Launch, *v.* launcier (to throw a dart), P.N. 270; cf. lanche, *s.* (a lance), V.H. 9.
Laund (forest), lande, R. 511; launde, F.F. 284.
Lay people, la laye gent, W.W. 7430.
Lecher, lechur, W.W. 2315.
Lectern, leitrun, R. 297.
Legend, legende, R.W. 31 (1360).
Lepers, lepres, *pl.* R.W. 153 (1397).
Lien, lien (bond), B. ii. 41.
Lilies, lilies, *pl.* R.W. 227 (1430).
Limehounds, liemiers, *pl.* R. 525.
Limitation, limitacioun, R.W. 139 (1392).
Limner, lymnour, L.A. [Liber Albus], 715.
Lists (for a tournament), lices, B.B. i. 318.
Litter, littere (bed), L.R. 86; litere (carriage), P.N. 369; R. 3143.
Lizards, lesartes, *pl.* F.F. 378.
Lodmanage, lodmanage (pilo[illegible] age), B.B. i. 104; lodemanag[illegible] 128.
Loveday, jour damour, F.F. 30[illegible]
Luces, luces (pikes, fish), *p*[illegible] Y.*g.* 177.
Lunatics, lunatics, *pl.* B. 159.

Mail-bag, male (a bag), F.[illegible] 347.
Mail, black, maille (piece [illegible] money), W.W. 10780; mayl[illegible] (halfpence), B. i. 29.
Maimed, mahaigneez, *pp. pl.* B. i. 90 (*see also* 98, 100, 105, 122).
Malicious, malicius, *pl.* R. 2523.
Malignity, malignete, W.W. 5085.
Malison, maleicon, C.A. 1361.
Maltalent (ill-will), maltalent, F.F. 351; mal talent, R. 933.
Mangled, demangle, *pp.* W.W. 3602.
Mangonel, mangunel, R. 1467; magnels, *pl.* F.C. 79.
Mansuetude, mansuetude, W.W. 11289.
Manual, *s.* manuel, W.W. 63.
Marsh, mareis (Lat. gen. pl. *mariscorum*), Lit. 140; merreis, F.F. 287; lusage maresche (marsh customs), Lit. 80 (1322).
Master, mestre, W.W. 3471; mestre tour (master-tower), F.F. 380.
Mattras, matrass, R.W. 100 (1381); materas, 181 (1399).
Mazer, maser, R.W. 25 (1360).
Mean time, in the, en le meen temps, B. i. 351.
Memorial, memorial, *s.* R.W. 31 (1360).
Menials, servants meignalx, R.W. 219 (1400).
Mesne, writs of, brefs de meen, B. i. 255.

Mine, *v.* miner (to undermine), L.R. 306.
Miners, miners, *pl.* W.W. 7665.
Minstrel, menestral, F.F. 348; V.H. 9.
Minstrelsy, menestralsie, F.F. 347.
Missal, missal, R.W. 71 (1376).
Mitigation, mitigacioun, B. i. 104; ii. 215.
Moat (eminence), mote, F.F. 287.
Mocked, moka, *pt. s.* F.C. 3; mokant, *pres. pt.* F.F. 340.
Moil; cf. moiller (to wet), L.A. [Liber Albus], 724.
Mortars of wax, mortiers de cire, R.W. 98 (1381); morters de cire, 147 (1397).
Motes (notes on a horn), meotz, F.F. 373.
Movement, meouement, W.W. 3874.
Mule, muyl, Lit. 296 (1329); mule, R. 3069.
Mullets (in heraldry), molets, *pl.* R W. 181 (1399).
Multitude, multitude, F.C. 78; L.R. 132.
Murage, murage, B. i. 75.
Murdered, murdriz, *pp. pl.* R. 1246; murdrirent, *pt. pl.* R. 1196.
Murmur, *s.* murmure, Lit. 410 (1331).
Murrain, murine, L.R. 168; morine, F.C. 39.
Muse, *v.*; musant, *pres. pt.* (looking about), R. 2031.
Muskets (hawks so called), muskez, Lit. 486 (1332).
Myrrh, mirre, W.W. 12054.
Mystery (trade, craft); cf. mester (employment), C.A. 1697.

Nakers (drums), nakaires, F.C. 76.
Necessary, necessarie, Y.*f.* 117.
Non-tenure, nontenure, Y.*g.* 281.
Note; nous fasoms la note (we make the note), Y.*f.* 187; note (note of music), F.F. 310.
Nouch, noche, R.W. 50 (1361).

Obit, obit, R.W. 98 (1381).
Obstinate, obstinat, W.W. 11339.
Octaves, uitaves, L R. 146.
Official, official, *s.* (?), F.C. 54; *s.* Lit. 178 (1326).
Opportunity, oportunite, W.W. 5951.
Orlok; orlokes, *pl.* (rowlocks), L.A. [Liber Albus], 235, 237, 239.
Ostrich, ostruce, R.W. 67 (1376).
Outhees (outcry), huteys, B. i. 179.
Outrage, utrage, L.R. 102; C.A. 149.
Outrageous, outrageus, *pl.* (rash), P.N. 166; utraious, L.R. 108; utrageoses, *pl. fem.* B. i. 94; outrageux, *pl. m.* V.H. 18.
O yes!, oyez, B. ii. 39; B.B. i. 320.
Oysters, oistres, B.B. i. 156.

Packets, pacquetz, *pl.* B.B. i. 277.
Painted, *pp.* pointe, P.N. 318.
Painter, peinteur, C.A. p. 117, l. 107.
Pair, *s.* peire, F.C. 89; paire, R.W. 139 (1392).
Pale (stake), pel, W.W. 2566.
Palsy, paralesi, W.W. 10434.
Pannage, pannage, B. ii. 69.
Paradise, paradis, W.W. 2138; V.H. 13.
Parson, parsone, W.W. 4414.
Parsonage, personage, Y.*f.* 7.
Paste, past, W.W. 7400.
Paten, patyne, R.W. 69 (1376).
Patriarch, patriarc, L.R. 244; patriarch, W.W. 5584.
Patrimony, patrimonie, L.R. 276.

Patronage, patronage, Lit. 42 (1318).
Pause, *s.* pose, R. 1814.
Pavise, pavois, B.B. i. 314.
Paw, powe, F.F. 383.
Peaceable, pesible, B. i. 343.
Peak, the (in Derbyshire), le Peeke, F.F. 288.
Peel (baker's), pael (a frying-pan), Liber Albus, 261; paiel, 675, 719; paele, W.W. 1742 (p. 201).
Penant (penitent), penant, L.R. 226.
Pennon, penon (flag), R.W. 68 (1376); penun, R. 2681.
Pension, enpension, Lit. 100 (1323); pensioun, B. ii. 38.
Perform, performer (to provide), F.C. 71; performir (to perform), R.W. 41 (1360); Lit. 214 (1327).
Perjure, se perjurent, *pr. pl.* W.W. 2917.
Persecution, persecution, F.C. 8.
Physicien, phisicien, B. i. 34; fisicien, W.W. 10301.
Pie (magpie), pie, W.W. 1096.
Pierced, pierca, *pt. s.* F.F. 366.
Pilgrimage, pelrimage, C.A. p. 116, l. 55; pelerinage, L.R. 138; pelrinage, Lit. 200 (1326).
Pill (to rob), piller, *v.* B.B. i. 24.
Pitch, *s.* peiz, W.W. 5416.
Pitcher, picher, W.W. 7580.
Piteous, piteous (kind), W.W. 12376.
Plains, *s. pl.* plaines, C.A. 1534.
Plank, planche, R. 366.
Plant, *v.* planter, B. i. 288.
Plumes, plumes, *pl.* R.W. 67 (1376).
Plunged, ploungee, *pp. f.* F.C. 87; plunga, *pt. s.* (sank), W.W. 569 (p. 421); se plunge, *pr. s.* B. i. 241.
Plurality, pluralite, B. ii. 144.
Poignant, poignant (prickly [illegible] W.W. 7378.
Poison, poysoun, B. i. 34.
Polished, poliz, *pp. pl.* C. [illegible] 598.
Pollards (clipped coins), pollar[illegible] F.C. 27.
Pomps, pompes, *pl.* W.W. 428[illegible]
Pontage, pontage, B. i. 75.
Popinjays, papejayes (parrot [illegible] R.W. 35 (1355).
Porpoise, porpais, B.B. i. 152[illegible]
Portcullis, portecolyz, F.C. 7[illegible]
Porter, portour, Lit. 40 (131[illegible] porter, F.F. 339.
Posnet, pozonet (little pot), L[illegible] R 78.
Possessor, possessour, B. i. 2 [illegible] 9; ii. 275.
Postern, posterne, F.F. 298; [illegible] C. 80.
Potence (staff), potence, F. [illegible] F. 341.
Power, poair, P.N. 145.
Preached, preche, *pp.* L.R. 29[illegible] 6.
Premises, premisses (aforesai[illegible] id things), B.B. i. 6.
Presumptive, presumptive, B. [illegible] 17.
Prey, praye, F.C. 79; preie, R. [illegible] 1108.
Priest; cf. prestre, W.W. 949.
Princess, princesse, R.W. 73[illegible] (1376).
Prioress, prioresse, Y.*f.* 335.
Procuracy, procuracie (power o[illegible] attorney), Lit. 158 (1325).
Procurator, procuratour (agent), [illegible] Lit. 158 (1325).
Procurer, procurour (suborner) [illegible] B. i. 32.
Proffer, *s.* profre, F.F. 304.
Proverbs, proverbes, *pl.* W.W [illegible] 10410.
Prowess, proesce, P.N. 68; pro[illegible] esse, F.F. 367.
Prudence, prudence, C.A. 704.
Psalmist, psalmistre, W.W. 10131.

n, publican, W.W. 10141.
ible, punisables, *pl.* B.

purifier, *v.* W.W. 12237
12166).
sture, purpresture, B. i.

, pursuer, F.C. 76; pur-
B. i. 93; pursiwre, F.F.

ance, apurtenances, *pl.*
244.

ly, queintement (well),
47.
red, quartere, *pp.* F.C.

keye, B.B. i. 126; la
seint Paul (St. Paul's
rf), Lit. 432 (1332);
s, *pl.* Lit. 48 (1321).
quilte, R.W. 74 (1376).
, quaiers, *pl.* R.W. (1360).

ralier, *v.* R. 1518.
ment, ravissement, Y.*f.*
; Y.*g.* 147.
striped cloth), draps de
raye, Lit. 40 (1318).
, *v.* recorder, P.N. 41;
rde, *pp.* Y.*f.* 23; W.W.
.
nt, recreant, F.F. 345.
, rectifier, W.W. 65.
ted, regretoit, *imperf. s.*
. 358; regreta, *pt. s.* F.F.

(bridles), rednes, *pl.* R.
.
ed, relesse, *pp.* L.R.

n, remayne, *pr. s. subj.* B.
.
ly, *v.* remedier, R.W. 146
7).
, *s.* repaire (resort), R.
.
tance, repentance, W.W.
.

Replication, replicacioun, B. i. 142.
Reply, *v.* replier, Y.*f.* 7; replia, *pt. s.* 353.
Rere-suppers, rere-supers, *pl.* W.W. 5785.
Resemblance, resemblance, W.W. 4000.
Reservation, reservacion, Y.*g.* 77.
Residue, *s.* la residue, R.W. 39 (1360).
Resign, resignerai (I will resign), L.R. 148.
Retreat, to sound the, soner la retrete, B.B. i. 427.
Respited, respiterent, *pt. pl.* F.F. 402.
Revels, reveaux, *pl.* P.N. 474.
Reverence, reverence, L.R. 210; C.A. p. 124, l. 311.
Reward, *s.* reward, R.W. 86 (1361).
Reviled, reuilie, *pp.* W.W. 11980.
Ribaldry, ribaudrie, W.W. 3464.
Roast, *v.* rostir, R. 941.
Rolls, rolles, *pl.* Y.*g.* 73.
Ruby, rubie, Lit. 456 (1332); R.W. 37 (1360).

Sacrilege, sacrilege, W.W. 6628, 6630; Y.*f.* 69.
Samite, samyt, R.W. 31 (1360); F.F. 287.
Sandal(?); cf. lit de sandal, R.W. 35 (1360).
Satin, satyn, R.W. 32 (1360).
Saucers, sausers, *pl.* R.W. 24 (1360).
Savour, *s.* sauur, W.W. 1950.
Scorch; escorchie, *pp.* (flayed), R. 567; escorchez, L.R. 272.
Scorned, escharnierent, *pt. pl.* F.F. 348; escharnissant, *pres. pt.* W.W. 3233.
Scribe, scribe, B.B. i. 404.
Scruple, scruple, W.W. 11322.

Scrupulous, scrupulus, W.W. 11345.
Scupper; cf. escopirent, *pr. pl.* (they spit), W.W. 8202 (p. 431); escopirent, *pt. pl.* (spat), C.A. 1123.
Season, seson, R.W. 34 (1360); sesone, F.F. 277.
Sequesterers, sequestrers, *pl.* F.C. 89.
Serviceable, servisable, F.F. 361.
Signet, signet, R.W. 80 (1361).
Skirmish, *s.* escarmuche, P.N. 211.
Slaves, esclaves, *pl.* B. i. 214.
Soiled, suillez, *pp.* (defiled), W.W. 5416.
Sorcerer, sorcier, B. i. 42.
Sorceress, sorceresse, F.C. 3; sorceresce, B. i. 42.
Sot, *s.* soot (idiot), B. i. 243.
Sound, *s.* soun, F.F. 291.
Special, especial, Y.*f.* 55.
Specialty, especialte, Y.*f.* 53.
Spencers (dispensers), *s. pl.* despensier, *pl.* R. 806.
Spicery, especerie, B. i. 96; W.W. 1948.
Spices, especes, *pl.* F.F. 333.
Spite, in, en despit, P.N. 482.
Spoils, espoilles, *s. pl.* C.A. 1327.
Spousals, espusailles, *pl.* W.W. 2222.
Squash, esquacher, B. i. 314.
Stall, estal, L.R. 148; estalles, *pl.* Y.*f.* 211.
Stature, estature, F.F. 368.
Staunch, *v.* estancher, W.W. 825 (p. 424).
Stencil; cf. estencele (a spark), B. ii. 331; estenceler (to sparkle), R. 1584.
Stipends, stipendies, *pl.* R.W. 219 (1400).
Stoutly, estoutement, F.C. 91.
Stray, *s.* estray, B. i. 67; ii. 252; *v.* estrayer, i. 216.
Strife, estrif, F.F. 285.
Strive, *v.* estriuer, W.V L.R. 76.
Stuff, *s.* estuf, R.W. 181
Stuffed (well supplied), *pp. pl.* F.C. 81.
Stunned, estonee, *pp.* E
Sturgeon, estorgon, B. estourgeoun, 66; s B.B. i. 152.
Subtle, sotil, C.A. 1671
Succession, successiour 219.
Succour, *v.* socurer, E socurruz, *pp.* P.N. 466 *pp.* W.W. 1473.
Suffragan, *s.* suffragai 72.
Suit (petition), suete, F
Superfluity, superfluite 19.
Surfeit, sorfet, W.W. 1
Surgeon, surgion, B. i.
Surround, surunder, *v.* (t L.R. 144; soronde, (superabounds), C.A cf. souroundee, *s.* (s L.R. 340; surounde (floods), L.R. 330.
Syllable, sillable, Y.*f* sillabe, B. i. 102.
Synagogue, synagoge, 10870.

Tabards, tabertz, *pl.* F.
Tabernacle, tabernacle, 37 (1360).
Tablet, tablet, R.W. 133
Tabour, tabour, F.F. tabours, *pl.* F.C. 76 291.
Tail; in fee tail, en fe Y.*f.* 123; in tail, en *ibid.*
Tapestry, tapicerie, R. (1397).
Targe, tarche, C.A. 666 B.B. i. 314.
Taste, *s.* tast (feel), B. i

Tawny, tanne, R.W. 25 (1360).
Temperance, temperance, W.W. 12247.
Tenour (meaning), tenour, F.F. 364.
Termagant, tervagant, W.W. 4112.
Testers (of a bed), testers, R.W. 181 (1399).
Tierce, houre de tierce, F.C. 77.
Tinkle, *v.* tincler, W.W. 4084.
Throne, throne, C.A. 638.
Torches, torchez, *pl.* F.C. 84.
Touch, toukier, *v.* V.H. 11.
Tournaments, turneimenz, W.W. 4207; tournementz, B. i. 125.
Towel, towaill, R.W. 71 (1376).
Trailbaston, traylebaston, F.C. 29. [Note.—It seems to have been applied to the offence (stick-carrying) by certain outlaws; see Rot. Pat. 33 Edw. I.] *Also* traillebaston, Lit. 374 (1331).
Trance, traunce, F.C. 4.
Transcript, transcript, Y.*g.* 255.
Transactions, transaccions, R.W. 162 (1397).
Transfigured himself, se transfigura, W.W. 6769.
Translation (removal), translacion, F.C. 33; translacioun, B. i. 259.
Traversable, *adj.* traversable, Y.*g.* 31.
Treacherous, tricherus, W.W. 5151.
Treasury, tresorie, Y.*g.* 255.
Treaty, traitie, P.N. 416.
Trips, *s. pl.* trippes (dances), W.W. 4305.
Truce, les truwes, *pl.* F.C. 92; le truwe, *s.* F.C. 46; treu, *s.* V.H. 7.
Trunk (a box), trunk, Liber Albus, iii. 415; (of a tree), trunk, W.W. 11090.

Tunicles, tunicles, *pl.* R.W. 150 (1393).
Turrets, turettes, *pl.* F.C. 49.

Utility, vtilite, W.W. 1314, 7870.

Vagrant (?), wakerant (wandering), L.R. 126; (*and see* wakerours, B. i. 181).
Vainglory, vaineglorie, L.R. 150.
Valley, ualee, R. 513; valeys, *pl.* F.F. 277.
Vanguard, avantgarde, P.N. 253 (cf. *vandites*=aforesaid, L.R. 308); la vant garde, F.F. 317.
Variable, variable, R.W. 177 (1399).
Veil, veyl (a sail), F.F. 371.
Velvet, velvet, R.W. 48 (1361); 69 (1376); velwet, 130 (1392).
Venge, uengier, *v.* R. 1709.
Verified, verifie, *pp.* W.W. 3396.
Verdict, verdit, B. ii. 44.
Vernicle, vernicle, R.W. 152 (1397).
Vessel (ship), B. i. 16; B.B. i. 418.
Viand, la viande, Lit. 72 (1322).
Vice-Admiral, vis admirail, B.B. i. 428.
Vicious, vicious, B. ii. 83.
Victualled, vitaillee, *pp. fem.* F.F. 371.
Vigorous, vigerous, F.C. 52.
Villenage, vilenage, Y.*g.* 219; B. ii. 13.
Vines, vignes, *pl.* V.H. 1.
Viol, viele, F.F. 359; fioles, *pl.* F.C. 76.
Virginity, virginite, W.W. 3054; C.A. 673.
Visors, visers, *pl.* W.W. 4258; cf. vysureez, *pp. pl.* (masked), F.F. 344.

Vivers (fish-ponds), vivers, B. ii. 67.
Volume, volum, R.W. 25 (1360).
Voyages, voiages, *pl.* B.B. i. 12.

Wages, wages, *pl.* F.C. 83.
Waits (watchmen), gueites, F.C. 60.
Waiver, *s.* weyver, B. ii. 39.
Warrener, garrennier, Lit. 406 (1331).
Warrior, guerreour, F.F. 278.
Wassail-cup, un hanap darge[illegible] appellez wassail, R.W. 1[illegible] (1382).
Wayment, *v.* waymenter (lamen[illegible] F.C. 5; weymente, *pr. s.* F[illegible] 393.
Wimples, wimples, *pl.*; [illegible] gympeus, *pl.* W.W. 1494.
Wivern, wyvre, Roll of Ar[illegible]s ed. Sir H. Nicolas, 1828, p. 51.
Wreck, wrek de mer, Lit. [illegible] 10 (1331); wrek, B. ii. 252.

VIII.—ON THE TERM 'BEETLE-BROWED,' AND THE WORD 'BEHAVIOUR.' By Dr. J. A. [illegible] MURRAY.

Beetle-browed.—This curious expression is purely o[illegible]f English formation. There is nothing similar in any Teutonic language. The first known instance is in Piers Plowman [illegible] 1362, and from c. 1400 onward, it is very common. Much later, in 1532, we find *beetle brows*, with *beetle* treated as a separate word, attributive or adjective. Finally Shaks., apparently having a passage of Sidney in his eye, made out of this a verb for the nonce in the well-known passage in Hamlet. Frequent quotation and allusive use of Shakspere's word has in modern times established his nonce word as a recognized verb, whence a ppl. adj. '*beetling crags*,' etc.

The etymology is difficult. No valid *phonetic* objection can be taken to the view of Prof. Skeat, that in Langland's *bitel-browed* we have the adj. *bitel* applied by Layamon and Ormin to 'cutting, sharp-edged' weapons, which undoubtedly represents an O.E. *bitol* (not *bitol*) biting, *mordax*. To attribute 'biting' to swords is a common and obvious metaphor. But it is a long way from this to the idea of 'projecting or overhanging' or even to 'sharp-ridged,' where

there is no evidence of any such transition of sense, nothing whatever but the two extremes in 'bitel swords' and *bitel-brouwed.* And there is the historical difficulty that no instance of *bitel,* in any sense, occurs during the 160 years that intervene: the word is apparently gone; it has even disappeared from the later text of Layamon, in the passages parallel to the two in which it occurs in the earlier.

For these reasons I give up *bītel* 'biting,' and turn to the two words now spelt *beetle* meaning respectively 'mallet' and 'coleopterous insect,' both of them also spelt *bitel, bytel* in 14th c., and both forming later parasynthetic compounds, like *beetle-browed* in the form of *beetle-headed, beetle-eyed* (=beetle-blind), etc. The choice between these depends much on the original sense of *beetle-browed.* I do not know the modern meaning of the word; I never used it; and I have not been able to meet with any person who does attach any definite living sense to it. Most people tell me 'Johnson says so and so,' or 'Ogilvie explains it so and so.' Johnson explains it as 'Having prominent brows,' where one would like to ask what 'brow' means. In M.E. *brow* is only 'eye-brow'; there is no such sense as the modern 'forehead, *frons,*' which appears not long before Shakspere's time, and first in Scotch. *Beetle-browed* thus expressed some peculiarity of the *eyebrows:* but with one exception to which I will revert anon, the instances from 1362 to about 1500 afford no help as to its sense, except that it was a term of reproach: 'bitel-brouwed and baber-lipped,' 'say, bittle-browed bribour!' 'these betyll browyd bycheys,' 'a crooked hooked nose, beetyll browde,' illustrate the common run of quotations. But when we come to PERCIVALL'S *Spanish Dict.* 1591, we find some light: *Cejunto,* beetle-browed, *torvus,* which MINSHEU 1623 expands into '*Cejunto,* that hath bushy eie-brows, beetle-browed, or the hairs of the eye-brows meeting.' The latter point now illuminates a passage in the *Troy-book* of 1400, which I have just excepted from the common run: viii. 3824—

> Grete Ene and gray, with a grym loke . . . .
> Bytell-browet was the buerne, *þat aboue met;*

where we now see that the last three words mean 'his eye-brows met above.'

Cotgr. in 1611 has 'Beetle-browed *sourcilleux*'; and '*Sourcilleux*, having very great eye brows; frowning, or looking sowrely; surlie or proud of countenance.' Thus, we gather that the meaning of *beetle browed* was 'having large shaggy eyebrows.' In these circumstances, one does not see how the reference could be to the mallet 'beetle,' which might have given the idea of a heavy projecting or bumpy forehead; and I had concluded that it was to some real or fancied peculiarity of the insect 'beetle' that we must look. Incidentally mentioning these conclusions to Dr. F. Chance, he at once gave them his adhesion, and furnished me with strong corroboration of them, in the fact that in Fr. the *bushy antennae* of some beetles are called their *sourcils* or EYEBROWS, and that *sourcils de hanneton* 'cock-chafers' eye-brows' is actually the name given in mod. Fr. to a kind of fringe made in imitation of the antennae of these insects. (See Littré.) If this is possible in French, of course it was also in Eng.; and makes it probable that 'beetle-browed' meant simply 'having eye-brows which in their roughness, bushiness, or projection of their hairs' were compared to the short tufted antennae or 'sourcils' of certain beetles.

I have said that from *beetle-browed*, 'beetle' was taken as a distinct word still qualifying 'brows.' It occurs first in Sir T. More *Confut. Tindale*, 1532, 'Tindall . . . hath so narowly and so long pryed vpon them with betle brows and his bruttle spectacles of pride and malice, that,' etc.; and a good instance is (1562) Heywood's Prov. and Epigr. 115—

> 'I rather would a husband wed, With a beetell brow, than with a beetell head.'

By Sir P. Sidney *beetle brows* were attributed to a mountain: *Arcadia* (ed. 1622) p. 35—'A pleasant valley, of either side of which high hills lifted up their beetle brows, as if they would over looke the pleasantnesse of their under prospect.' Jo. WEEVER in the *Mirror of Martyrs* (1601) has 'tree-garnisht Cambriaes loftie mountains, Did over-shade me with

their beetle browes.' In the latter of these the *tree-fringed* or shaggy ridge overhanging the valley, seems to be meant. In Sidney there is a direct reference to *eye-brows* in the 'over-looke' of the context. But it is to be remembered that in Lat. *supercilium* 'eye-brow' is also 'a brow or projecting ridge of a mountain,' and it is possible that there is an idea of *superciliousness* in the high hills lifting up their beetle brows as if they would overlook the scene below. From one or other of these I think Shaks. took his passage (of 1602) in Hamlet I. iv. 71—

> The dreadful summit of the cliffe
> That beetles o're his base into the sea,

i.e. (in Sidney's phrase) 'lifts up his beetle brows,' where I think there is more than the mere idea of projecting or overhanging; i.e. possibly either an allusion to the vegetation which fringes the margin of the cliff like a shaggy eyebrow, or a fig. sense, like 'lookes supercilious,' or perhaps, as in Cotgrave, 'looks grim or sullen,' *frowns* or *scowls*. *Scowling* is a frequent sense of *beetle-browed* in 17th c.

In the first appropriation I know of Shakspere's phrase, in Joseph Hucks' *Poems*, 1798,

> Oh! hie thee to the bleak cliffs shaggy steep
> That beetles o'er the hoarse resounding deep,

I think that the *shaggy steep* catches the right idea of 'beetling,' which is not so clear in Scott's appropriation in Lady of the Lake, II. xxxi.

> On the verge which beetled o'er the ocean;

or in Byron's (Corsair I. vi.)—

> Where his watch-tower beetles o'er the bay;

nor with subsequent writers, to whom *beetle* is simply 'to project,' 'tower aloft over a valley,' etc. If *beetle-browed* referred, as now seems evident, to the antennae of a beetle, 'beetling crags' have got far enough away from this.

I need hardly add that *Beetle* is itself ultimately identical with *bitel* 'biting, *mordax*.' In occurs in the Oldest Glosses (in Sweet O. E. T.) as '*bitula* blatta,' or rather in dative

'*bitulum* blattis,' and in later ones as '*bitela*, mordiculus,' where *mordiculus* is given as a specific insect's name in a list of such, and *bitula, bitela* is thus at once fixed in sense, and etymology. It is doubtless the def. form *se bitula, bitola, bitela* of *bītol* (not *bītol*) biting, *mordax*, which survived as the name of the insect, while the adjective sense 'biting' perished soon after 1200. The lengthening of the vowel in later times may be due to confusion with the two forms of *beetle* 'mallet,' in O.E. *bietl, býtl*, with long vowel, which was sometimes shortened in M.E. before the two consonants. Hence, as the mallet was both *beetle* and *bittle* (still dialectal), it was natural to make the insect both *bittle* and *beetle* (where also *bittle* is still dialectal). But the vowel might be lengthened independently: cf. *weevil*:—O.E. *wibil, wifel* (Sievers), *ēvil*, O.E. *yfel*; and the still more pertinent *leetle* for *little*, and Scotch *meikle (meekle)* for *mickle*.

Behaviour.—The suffix is not etymological, but analogical. If we had reason to suppose that the earliest forms *behavour, behaver*, represented an earlier *behavure* (as phonetically they might, for *-our* is quite common for *-ure* in 16th c.), it would be easy to believe that the analogy was *press*: *pressure* (or *seize*: *seizure*) : : *behave*: *behavure*. But there is no example of *behavure*; and a much stronger analogy offers itself. The M.E. word AVER, *aveyr*,=O.N.F. *aver, aveir*, for which Caxton substituted *avoir*=Parisian *avoir*, was used in sense of 'having, possession.' It was very naturally associated by Englishmen with their native HAVE, and written *haver, havoir, havour, havor, havyoure*. (See Dict. Pt. II. s.v.). Hence, as *have* had its *haver, havour, havyoure, behave* received its *behaver, behavour, behavyour*. By a curious coincidence this corresponded to, and could only be strengthened by the pair of synonyms, *demean, demeanour*. *Demeanour* is how you *demean* yourself, and *behavour* how you *behave* yourself. But *demeanour* itself is curious, and only of the same age (Caxton) as *behavour*. Here we have an early spelling *demenure*, so that the word may represent an O.F. *demeneüre*, but as there is also *demener, demesner*, it is possibly one of the infinitive nouns like *dinner, supper*,

refresher, *trover*, of which there are so many examples in legal language: I think *mis-demeanour* (**mesdemener*) is probably one of these, but I have not at present materials to decide the point. In any case the spelling *-our* in *demeanour*, and *mis-demeanour*, is not etymological, but of the same class as that in *behavour*. *Behaviour(e* did not entirely supplant *behaver*, *behavour* till near 1600; the origin of the *-i-* which began in the simple *haviour*, is not clear, for if we have words like *saviour*, on one side which might have influenced it, we have others like *favour*, *savour*, which one would have thought would have been felt more analogous to *havour*.

IX.—THE LANGUAGE OF MEXICO; AND WORDS OF WEST-INDIAN ORIGIN. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, November* 2, 1888.]

IT is difficult to get accurate information about the ancient language of Mexico, but I find that a book was published at Paris in 1885 which is much more satisfactory than anything I have previously met with.

The title is, Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, par Rémi Siméon; and it is a handsome quarto volume.

The sounds are not very well explained; the usual vagueness comes over the author when he attempts to deal with phonetics. Still, the following seem to be some of the more interesting facts about this curious language.

The word *nahuatl* or *nauatl* is properly an adjective, meaning well-sounding, sensible, suitable, neat. Used substantively, it means the harmonious language, *i.e.* Mexican. It is from the root *naua*, to move in cadence.

The language came to be written in the Roman alphabet borrowed from the Old Spanish. The letters used were the following: *a, c, ç, e, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, qu, t, u, x, y, z.* The number of these letters is only 17, and even of these symbols, some are superfluous. *C* and *qu* both had the sound of *k* before *a, o,* and *u*; whilst *ç* and *z* meant the same thing. *C* before *e* and *i* had the sound of Eng. *s* in *sin*, just as in the French *ce, ci.* There was also no particular difference between *e* and *i*, nor between *o* and *u*. Where some people said *ocelotl*, others said *ucelutl.*[1]

Diphthongs are: *auh, ei,* or *ey, uei, ia* and *ya, yo* or *yu, ue, ui.* The old texts follow the rules of the Spanish alphabet.

The number of consonants is surprisingly small. There are no such letters as *b, d, f, g, j, r,* or *v*. There is but *one* labial, viz. *p*, which had to do duty, in words taken from Spanish, for *b* and *f* as well. Thus the name *Felix* became *Pelix*.

[1] So Olmos, p. 198.

There is but *one* dental, viz. *t*; hence the Spanish *Di*[illegible] became *Tiaz* in Mexican.

We should notice that Mexican adopted the three voicele[illegible] checks, *k*, *t*, and *p*, but rejected all the related voiced sound[illegible], viz. *g*, *d*, and *b*. This peculiarity is very striking.

There is no *r*; hence *l* had to take its place, and the Spani[illegible] *Martin* became, in Mexican, *Maltin*. We find, however, t[illegible] Spanish name *Pedro*.

The most surprising thing is the treatment of *l*, *m*, and [illegible]. *L*, though one of the commonest sounds in the langua[illegible], especially in the curious combination *tl*, could not be use[illegible] *initially*. Hence the Spanish *Lorenzo* became, in Mexica[illegible], *Olenzo*. The double *l*, or *ll*, was sounded as two distinct *l*'s, much as in the Ital. *cabal-lo*; never as in modern Spanish.

Initial *m* became so weak that it practically disappeared in[illegible] pronunciation; hence the word *milli*, a field, was often pro[illegible]nounced *il-li*. Hence, to our astonishment, we learn that [illegible] *Mexico* was often pronounced without the initial *m*, viz. as[illegible] *Exico*. We shall see presently that this peculiarity was[illegible] mainly confined to the city of Mexico itself.

Similarly, the final *n* was frequently suppressed; just as[illegible] in modern English, our infinitive mood *sing* is from the M.E. [illegible] *sing-en*. *N* was always suppressed before a following *c*, *x*, [illegible] (or *y*), *tz*, or *u*.

I have also found another book which gives much further [illegible] help. This is the 'Grammaire de la Langue Nahuatl, ou [illegible] Mexicaine,' composed by a Franciscan named Olmos in 1547[illegible], and edited at Paris by the same editor as before, viz. Rém[illegible] Siméon, in 1875. This book is written in Spanish, and [illegible] forms a Mexican Grammar; the Introduction and Notes ar[illegible] in French, by the editor. There is an account of th[illegible] orthography in ch. 6, p. 196, but it says very little about the pronunciation. However, Olmos explains that the pronunciation varied in different parts of the empire. Hence it was that the people of the city of Mexico dropped the initial *m* of *Mexico*, which was pronounced in other places. Again, he notes that, though there is properly no *v*-sound in the language, the women often used this sound in place of *u* in

some combinations, but it was considered bad. I strongly suspect that the symbol *u* sometimes stood for E. *w*, and that it was this sound of *w* which the women turned into *v*; reminding us of the Cockney *vine* for *wine*. A larger number of words begin with *ua*, *ue*, or *ui*; the *u* was here probably a *w*. He is quite explicit as to the sound of *x*, viz. that it was precisely the E. *x*; his example is the Lat. *dixi*, and he says that $x=c+s$. In the Mexican Dict. this is left vague.[1]

The explanations in the Dictionary are sometimes doubtful; but, if we compare them with the excellent account of Spanish pronunciation in Förster's Spanische Sprachlehre (Berlin, 1880), we can make out that the symbols ç and *z* both represented the sound of the French and English *z* in *zone*. The choice of which symbol was to be used depended, apparently, upon the position of the sound in the word; the ç being mostly initial, and the *z* final.

There were three compound consonantal symbols, viz. *tl*, *ch*, and *tz*. The *tl* seems to have been the common E. *tl* in *battle*. The *ch* is the E. *ch* in *much*, or the equivalent mod. Span. *ch*. The sound of *tz* is unintelligibly described; it is said to have an affinity with *ch*. If it was the voiced *ch*, it was just our English *j*; for which Spanish has no symbol.

The aspirate *h*, only used before or after *u*, had the pronunciation of 'the guttural *g*,' whatever that may mean. It was also used as equivalent to the Span. *j*. This statement, compared with remarks in Förster, indicates that *h* resembled the mod. Span. *j* or the G. *ch*.

Examples of *tl* occur in *atl*, water; *tletl*, fire; *tlalli*, earth; *tepetl*, a mountain; *tetl*, a stone. The E. *ch* occurs in *chantli*, a house, etc. The Mexican spelling of Montezuma is given as *Moteuhçoma*.

Compound words are very common, and may be of considerable length. In forming compounds, part of the termination

[1] The author of the Dictionary says it is like the Portuguese *x* in *Alexandro* (*Alexandre*?). He probably means the E. *sh* in *shall*. This was certainly a common sound of the Span. *x* (cf. *Xeres* with E. *sherris*); but Olmos is so explicit, that I think we are bound to believe that he means what he says. Probably the pronunciation varied, or the Spaniards could not give the sounds accurately.

of the initial word is dropped; especially final *tl*. Thus from *teotl*, a god, and *calli*, a house, was formed *teocalli*, a temple; a word used several times by Prescott. From *atl*, water, and *otli*, a road, was formed *aotl*, a canal. From *quauitl*, a tree, *necutli*, honey, and *çayolli*, a fly, was formed *quauhnecuçayolli*, a bee that lives on trees; much as if we put the words *tree*, *honey*, and *fly* together, and should thence evolve the compound *trunfly*. However, Mexican was not content with merely shortening the component words. The shortened form was sometimes modified as well. Thus the word *totoli*, a hen, joined with *tetl*, a stone, produced the compound *totolh-tetl*, not *totol-tetl*; in accordance with the rule that final *l* (except in *tl*) becomes *lh* unless a vowel follows (Olmos, p. 200). *Ltl* becomes *ll*. Verbal roots end in vowels, and are not truncated. A 'hen-stone,' by the way, means 'an egg.'

Of course, it is interesting to see what light is thrown upon the pronunciation of Spanish by Mexican. I think we may safely conclude that, at the time when Mexican was first written down by Spaniards, especially by the Franciscan Olmos between the years 1528 and 1547, the Spanish *ç* and *z* both had the sound of our *s* in *zone*. *C* and *qu* were both like *k* in *king*. *C* before *e* and *i* had the sound of *s* in *sin*. *Ll* had the mod. Italian, not the mod. Spanish sound. *X* was still like our *x* in *mix*; but probably soon became *sh* in the Spanish pronunciation of Mexican words. *Ch* was our *ch* in *much*, as it is still. *H* and *j* both resembled the mod. Spanish *j*.

It is not necessary to say anything of the grammar; the student has only to consult Olmos. But I note just a few things of interest.

Plurals may be formed in several ways. The Spanish word *angelo*, an angel, was borrowed, with a plural in *-tin* or *-me*; *i.e.* either *angelo-tin* or *angelo-me*. But the most interesting point is the formation of plurals by reduplication. Thus the plural of *tlatolli*, a discourse, was *tlatlatolli*, discourses (Olmos, pp. 32, 33).

Some descriptive adjectives end in *-atl*. Thus from *Mexico* was formed *Mexicatl*, a Mexican (pl. *Mexica*, by dropping

the *tl*); id. p. 35. The E. agential suffix *-er* answers to Mexican *-ni*; thus from *tlaqua*, he eats, was formed *tlaqua-ni*, an eater, p. 43. A favourite diminutive is *-tzin*; as *Pedro*, Peter, *Pedrotzin*, Peterkin, p. 59.

The verbal conjugations are intricate. The standard form is the third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, to which *ni* (I) is prefixed for the first person, and *ti* (thou) for the second. Thus we have *tlaqua*, he eats; *ni-tlaqua*, I eat; *ti-tlaqua*, thou eatest. All verbal bases end in one of the vowels *a*, *i*, or *o*; p. 78.

There are numerous prefixes and suffixes; and compound words are often of great length.

A few Mexican words.

It has been already noted that, in forming compound words, such a sound as *tl* is dropped, medially. Thus *teo-calli*, a temple, is for *teotl-calli*, lit. god-house. I see no way of accounting for our *cacao* except by help of this principle.

Cacao is merely the Spanish spelling of the Mexican word; and there is not, exactly, any such word in Mexican. The right word is *cacahuatl* or *cacauatl*, the name of the cacao-tree. Now when this word is compounded with *atl*, water, the compound becomes *cacaua-atl*, i.e. *cacauatl*-water, a drink made from cacao. Perhaps the Spaniards analysed this, in their *own* way, as representing *cacaua* followed by *atl*, and thus evolved a form *cacaua* (Span. *cacao*), which had no existence in the original language. Indeed the peculiar form *cacao* suggests that they probably did even worse, and got their *cacao* out of the original word *cacauatl* itself, by assuming that *atl* meant water, and so might be dropped. Either way, they dropped an essential part of the word, and adopted only a *part* of it.

It thus appears that the right word for *cacao*, in Mexican, is *cacauatl*, which is a simple original word, according to the above-named Dictionary. In Murray's Dictionary it is resolved into *caca-uatl*, explained by '*caca*-tree.' The Mexican

latrans; but is properly the Mexican wolf, *Canis ochropus*. The Mexican name is *coyotl*.

Popocatepetl is the well-known name of a volcano in Mexico, which usually amuses people by its odd look. Yet its etymology is simplicity itself. It merely means 'smoking mountain,' and is compounded of the verb *popoca*, he smokes, hence, to smoke, and *tepetl*, a mountain; the compounded words being unaltered in composition.

Prescott mentions the *maguey*, and the *pulque*, or drink made from it. The Mexican word for the *maguey* is *metl*. Pineda, in his Spanish Dictionary, refers us to Acosta, Nat. Hist. W. Ind. lib. 4, ch. 23. In the index to Oviedo, the name *maguey* is said to be Cuban. Neither *maguey* nor *pulque* appear in the Mexican dictionary. Of course *maguey* cannot be Mexican, since Mexican has neither *g* nor *gu*.

Azteca is a plural substantive, meaning the people called by us *Aztecs*. It is derived from *Aztlan*, the name of the place which they at first occupied.

Anahuac is the name of the province in which Mexico was situated. It means the country of lakes, lit. 'beside the water'; from *atl*, water, and *nauac* near.

The Spanish word *petate* denotes a kind of mat. It is borrowed from the Mexican *petlatl*, a mat on which the Indians used to sit or recline.

English Words Borrowed from the West Indies.

The following is an attempt to group some of the West-Indian words according to the countries or islands to which they belong. I give the references to R. Eden's Book on America (ed. Arber), and to other sources.

I may here mention that the fullest English account I can find of Columbus's First Voyage is one printed in vol. v. p. 591, of an excellent Collection of Voyages, printed in London in 1732, and known as 'Churchill's Collection.' This is a translation from the original Spanish account by 'Antony de Herrera,' who died in 1625. We thus learn that, on his first voyage, Colombus discovered (1) San Salvador, on Friday,

Oct. 12, 1492; (2) Conception Island, on Oct. 15; (3) Fernandina Island, on Oct. 17; (4) Isabela Island, and eight small islands, which he called *del Arena*; (5) Juana Island, now Cuba, on Oct. 28; (6) Hispaniola, i.e. Hayti or St. Domingo, on Dec. 6; all in less than two months. In Hayti he built a small fort, and thence set sail for Spain, Jan. 4, 1493.

The Spaniards first became acquainted with Cuba and Hayti, and thence drew several words.

HAYTI and CUBA.—According to Eden, p. 166, *Haiti* signifies 'roughe, sharpe, or craggie.' Among the first words learnt was *canoa*, a canoe, a Hayti word (id. 66, 94, 119, 140). Garcilasso says, in his Hist. of Florida, that *canoa* was the name in Hayti and the neighbouring islands (Monlau). It was also the name at Cartagena, on the coast of New Granada (Eden, 226). There were in Hayti several languages or dialects (id. 169). The next Hayti word mentioned by Eden is *Yucca*, spelt *Iucca* (p. 67, 168); and the next *maize*, which he calls *maizium* (67, 116, 118, 159). *Cacique* belongs here also; Eden gives a Latinized form *cacicus* (72), pl. *cacici* (89, 128); also *cazicus* (76); and *cacique* (223, 237). Here also belongs the word *hurricane*; the plural is spelt by Eden *furacanes* (p. 81); and in another place *furacanas* and *haurachanas* (216). The Hayti name for the *iguana* is given as *iuanna* (85, 167); elsewhere it is spelt *yuana* (220). The Hayti name for 'potato' is given as *botata* (131); also *battata* (159). Another word is *manati*, the name of a fish (171); also spelt *manate* (231, 232). The Hayti name of *cassava* is given as *cazabbi* (159, 168, 175, 215); see *Cassava* in Murray. Another word which is certainly Haytian is *guaiacum*; this we are told by Monardes, as translated by Frampton, in his *Joyfull Newes*, fol. 10, back. This agrees with the fact that *gua* is an article, or common prefix in that language (Eden, p. 168). As regards *guava*, Span. *guayaba*, *guayava*, I suppose it is what is meant by "the fruite cauled *guannaba*, somewhat lyke vnto a quynse," in Eden, p. 100, in speaking of Hayti. Again, at p. 131, we come across a Darien fruit called *guaiana*, clearly an error for *guaiaua*. There was

also in Hayti a tree called *copeia* (Eden, p. 174); this the mod. Span. *copey*. Our *barbecue* is from Hayti *barbaco* according to Tylor, as quoted by Murray. It is give as *barbacoa* in Pineda's Spanish Dictionary; and, in tl glossarial index to Oviedo (not very accurately compile and without references), we are told that *barbacoa* belon to the language of Cuba and Hayti. It may be observ here that, whilst there were both in Hayti and Cul several different languages, or perhaps dialects (Eden, pp. 7 169), we learn, on the other hand, that the language of Cul resembled that of Hayti. The Spaniards made Hayti the head-quarters, and the usual starting-point of their exped tions; hence it may easily have happened that a word whi they picked up there was transplanted by them to oth countries, even at a great distance. For example, the nan of the plant called the *maguey* is often said to be Mexica but this is impossible, since Mexican has neither *g* nor *g* and, in fact, the Mexican name of it is *metl*. The index Oviedo says that *maguey* is Cuban, which is much mo likely. I suspect it was also the Hayti name, as it is sa to be common over America within the tropics, and t Spaniards must have known it long before they found Mexi To these we must add the word *hammock*. Webster sho that it became known to Columbus on his first voyage, a it is therefore probably a Hayti word. The index to Ovie says it belongs to Cuba and Hayti. Herrera mentions it connection with Columbus' discovery of the island which named Fernandina, near Cuba. It seems to have be known also in Cuba, and perhaps in the island of Coz mella (Eden, p. 192; cf. p. 230).

I conclude that the following words, being all the b known among the West-Indian words, are from some one of t languages of Hayti: *barbecue, cacique, canoe, cassava, guaiacu guava* (?), *hammock* (?), *hurricane, iguana, maize, manati, pota tobacco, yucca*; also the Span. *copey*, and perhaps *maguey*. these, *maguey* is said to be Cuban; and so are *barbecue* a *manati*. According to the index to Oviedo, the Span. *papa* is also Cuban; in English, this is the *papaw-tree*. This

uncertain; in Webster's Dict. it is said to be Malay; Ogilvie says the name came from Malabar; whilst Pineda says it is 'a fruit in India,' and refers us to Gemelli, vol. iii. lib. 1, cap. 8. How can we decide? (See *Papayer* in Littré.)

Under *anatta* (also commonly *annotto*, the name of a dye), Murray says it is 'perhaps from the native American name.' This can hardly be doubted. It gave its name to *Annotta* or *Annotto Bay*, which is on the N. coast of Jamaica. I find in Churchill's Collection of Travels, v. 561, the statement concerning the dye called *rocou* at Cayenne, that this is an Indian name, "and it is called *anotto* in the *Spanish American* countries." It may safely be located in Jamaica.

Whether *tobacco* is Haytian or Caribbean, I cannot as yet discover. It seem to be one or the other.

Caribbean.—The next language of which the Spaniards had some experience was Caribbean. From this they obtained the word which we spell *cannibal*; which see in Murray. Another Caribbean word is Span. *piragua*, E. *pirogue* (Littré). *Colibri*, now used in French as the name for a humming-bird, is said to be Caribbean. This seems to be confirmed by the remark in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, v. 650, ed. 1732, where we find, in a description of Martinique, one of the French Caribbean Islands, the following: "Another diverting object is the vast number of those very little birds, by the French called *colibris*, but by the English *humming-birds*, flying about from tree to tree." Perhaps also *macaw*, said to be the native name in the Antilles. Hence, my list of Caribbean words includes *cannibal*, *colibri*, *macaw*, *pirogue*. These words, when added to those of Mexican origin, give all the principal words that I can find, derived from North American languages, excepting words borrowed from the N. American Indians. Perhaps we may add *mahogany*. I can nowhere find any locality for this word, beyond the note in Webster that *mahogany* is the South American name. We should rather expect the name to belong, like the wood, to Honduras and Campeachy.

South America.—The principal S. American words are Brazilian and Peruvian, of which I have given a list in

a former paper.[1] The Spaniards also took a few words from the N. coast of S. America, where the languages, or some of the languages, were much the same as the Caribbean. One such word is the Span. *cayman*, an alligator; Frampton, in his tr. of Monardes, fol. 73, back, mentions it in connection with Cartagena. Littré (s.v. *caiman*) gives *acayouman* as the true Caribbean form, on good authority. There are three islands all called *Cayman* to the S. of Cuba. The locality of the quadruped *agouti* seems to be Guiana; but it was also very common in the Bahamas and Antilles islands. In an account of Quito, there is mention of a kind of rabbit which the natives call *cuyes*; Gent. Mag. 1752, pp. 447–450. In Peruvian, it is called *coy*; see Garcilasso de la Vega, Hist. Peru, bk. 8, c. 17.

Caoutchouc is said by Littré to be Caribbean; I have been informed that it is a Quito word, which perhaps agrees. At any rate it is not Brazilian, though imported thence. It is certain that *curare* or *wourali* is a Guiana word; see my Supplement. *Cayenne* is a place in F. Guiana, and *Tolu* is in New Granada. As to *sapajou*, a monkey, it belongs to F. Guiana. "Guiana has vast numbers of monkeys, of divers sorts, among which is that sort called by the Indians, and after them the French, *sapajous*;" Churchill's Collection of Voyages, v. 549. I therefore propose, as a list of words belonging to the north coast of South America, the following: *agouti*, *caoutchouc*, *cayenne*, *cayman*, *cuye* (Peruv. *coy*), *sapajou*, *tolu*, *wourali*. Some of these words may have been in wider use; probably *cayman* was a general word in the W. Indies. It may be particularly noted that, though many different words are mentioned in Eden as having the signification of 'boat' and 'king,' the Spaniards kept to the names *canoa* and *cacique*, which they had learnt in Hayti.

[1] Add the Brazilian *capivara* (see Murray); and *manioc*; also *cashew-nut*, see *acajou* in Littré. Also *petunia*, from the Brazilian *petun*, tobacco; see *petun* in Littré, and *petunia* in Ogilvie. *Copaiba*, a balsam, is also said to be Brazilian. And see *buccaneer* in Murray, and *couguar* in Littré; both are Brazilian.

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Metl, maguey, 143.
Mexico, *Mexicatl*, 138, 140.
Milli, field, 138.
Moteuhçoma, Montezuma, 139.
Nahuatl, Mexican, 137.
Naua, to move in cadence, 137.
Nauac, near, 144.
Necutli, honey, 140.
Olenzo, Lorenzo, 138.
Otli, road, 140.
Pedro, *Pedrotzin*, 141.
Felix, Felix, 137.
petlatl, mat, 144.
popoca, to smoke, 144.
Popocatepetl, volcano, 144.
quauitl, tree, 140, 142.
quauhnecuçayolli, 140.
teocalli, temple, 140, 141.
teotl, God, 140.
tepetl, mountain, 139, 144.
tetl, stone, 139, 140.
Tiaz, Diaz, 138.
tlalli, earth, 139.
tlaqua, to eat, 141.
tlatolli, discourse, 140.
tletl, fire, 139.
totoli, hen, 140.
totolhtetl, egg, 140.
xolotl, slave, 143.

ENGLISH WORDS DERIVED FROM MEXICAN:—axolotl, 143; cacao, 141; chilli, 142; chinampa, 143; chocolate, 142; copal, 142; coyote, 143; jalap, 142; ocelot, 137, 142; tomato, 143. (Span. *petate*, a mat, 144. *Not* Mexican: maguey, 144; pulque, 144.)

ENGLISH WORDS DERIVED FROM WEST-INDIAN.—HAYTI: barbecue, cacique, canoe, cassava, guiacum, guava (?), hammock (?), hurricane, iguana, maize, manati, potato, tobacco (?), yucca; also Span. *copey*, 145–7. CUBA: barbecue, maguey, manati, papaw-tree (?), 146. JAMAICA: anatta, annotto, 147. CARIBBEAN: cannibal, colibri, macaw, pirogue, 147. HONDURAS: mahogany (?), 147. NORTH COAST OF S. AMERICA: agouti, caoutchouc, cayenne, cayman, cuye, sapajou, tolu, wourali, 148. BRAZILIAN: acajou, buccaneer, capivara, cashew-nut, copaiba, couguar, manioc, petunia, 148 (note).

X.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, November* 2, 1888.]

CORRECTION IN "NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY," *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1888–90, p. 1.

Cozier. Ll. 8–11. *Delete the sentence*—"The nearest form I can find . . . adduces no authority." *And substitute*—"The nearest form I can find in Godefroy is the O.F. *couser*, given under its oblique (and also *later* nominative) case *couseor*, of which he happens to have no instance."

As the sentence stood, it might suggest that Godefroy had entered the word under a wrong heading; which, however, I did not mean to imply. He has put it in its right place though he does not always do so.—W.W.S.

Blet, to become sleepy, as a pear. Given by Murray, with the etymology from F. *blet*, sleepy as a pear; without any further account. Littré discusses it, and gives various etymologies. That from Icel. *bleyta*, to become soft, from *blautr*, soft, seems worth notice. Cf. Swed. *blöt*, which Widegren explains by 'soft, yielding, pulpous, pulpy, mollient.' The sense 'pulpous' is to the point. Aasen notes that the Norse *blaut*, soft, is used of fruit that is not dried.

Buggy, a light vehicle. I cannot throw much light on this word, but I wish to note that it appears in French. Littré gives E. *boghei*, a light vehicle, without derivation; but it is probably the E. word borrowed. In Moisy's Dict. of Norman Patois I find: '*Boc*, petit cabriolet découvert, boghei.' I suggest that it may be related to the prov. E. *buck*, the body of a cart or waggon, given in Murray.

Chevron. I have omitted to give the exact Low Lat. form. The theoretical Low Lat. accus. is **caprionem*; the nom. forms actually found are *cabrio* and *cabiro* (see Ducange); also

capro. The Span. forms are helpful. We find Span. *cabrio*, a rafter, a beam, a chevron (in heraldry); closely allied to *cabriol*, a beam, rafter, whilst the adj. *cabrio* means goatlike. The Low Lat. *capriolus* means both 'kid' and 'rafter.' Hence the usual account of *chevron* is made clear.

Cockney. I have shown, in the Supplement to my Dict., that the M.E. *cokenay* should answer to a F. **coquiné*, Low Lat. **coquinatus*. The only difficulty is that these forms do not occur. But we can get over this by supposing that an initial *a* has been dropped, as in so many other cases; and then we get the O.F. equivalent **acoquiné*. This, spelt with two *c*'s, is in Cotgrave, and precisely fits. Cotgrave has: "*accoquiné*, made tame, inward, familiar; also, grown as lazy, sloathfull, idle, as a beggar." Lit. 'adapted to the kitchen.'

Cresset, an open lamp, placed on a beacon or carried on a pole. I regret to say my etymology of this word is wrong. I have followed Roquefort and Mätzner, and have mixed up two different names of lamps. The M.E. *cresset* is from the O.F. *cresset* with the same sense; and the O.F. *cresset* is a less correct form of *crasset* or *craisset*. Godefroy gives *craisset*, with examples, showing that it is precisely the Eng. *cresset*. Other spellings are *craicet*, *craichet*, *grasset*, *graset*; and the fact that it sometimes begins with *g* is of some importance. The right etymology is given by Ducange, under the Low Lat. *crassa*, fat, grease; which is the origin of our word *grease*. The *craisset* was so called because it was supplied with *grease*. It was an out-of-door lamp, without a wick. Grease and oil, and sometimes pitch, were poured into a cup, usually hoisted on the top of a pole; and the grease was then set on fire. The Low Lat. *crassa* is merely the fem. of Lat. *crassus*, whence also the F. *gras*. This etymology of *cresset* is also given by Scheler, who takes occasion to say, s.v. *creuset*, that *cresset* has nothing to do with E. *cruse*. It is also given by H. Moisy, Dict. de Patois Normand, 1887. The word which Roquefort confuses with *cresset* is the O.F. *croissol*, given by Godefroy under the spelling *croiseul*. This is rightly explained by Scheler, s.v. *creuset*, as being (like E.

cruse) derived from the M.H.G. *krúse* (G. *krause*), a kind (pot. In this case the lamp was named from the cup int which the grease was poured.

Daker-hen, a corncrake. According to Halliwell, it occu in Elyot's Dictionary, s.v. *Crex*, A.D. 1559. I find it i Cooper's Thesaurus, s.v. *Crex*, A.D. 1565. Cf. Lincolnshi *dacker*, to waver, stagger, totter, hesitate. Koolman thinl it is connected with the E. Friesic *dakkern*, to splash abou to move quickly and with noise. He quotes, from Kilia M.Du. *daeckeren*, to fly or flutter about. *Dack-er* seems t be a frequentative verb, formed with the usual suffix *-er* fro a base DAK, expressive of quick motion. Cf. Cumb. *dakerin* walking carelessly, North *daker*, a dispute. See further i Koolman.

Day. I have omitted, in my Dictionary, to give th cognate words in Lithuanian and Sanskrit. The Goth. *da* represents a primitive Teut. **daga-z*; this corresponds t Lith. *dagas*, a hot season, *dagà*, harvest; Old Pruss. *dagi* summer; Skt. *ni-dāgha*, the hot season, *dāha*, a burning, hea The form of the Aryan root is √DHEGH, appearing in th Lith. *dèg-ti*, to burn, Skt. *dah*, to burn. Thus the sense wa originally, 'the hot time,' and probably originated in a war climate. See Brugmann's Comparative Grammar, tr. b Wright, § 77, p. 67; Fick's Dict. i. 115, 631, ii. 578. Th corresponding verb in Russian is *jeche*, to burn; whence *je avitsa*, a burning fever.

Despot. The origin of the syllable *des-* is, according Curtius, doubtful. Brugmann regards the first syllable the Gk. δεσπότης as representing an Indo-Germanic **dem* meaning 'of a house.' This is practically the same solutio as in Benfey, who compares *despot* with the Skt. *dampa* 'master of the house.' Cf. Lat. *domus*, and Gk. δέμειν. this be right, it reminds us of E. *hus-band*. See Brugman Comp. Gram. tr. by Wright, §§ 191, 198, 204.

Drain. Besides the A.S. form *drehnian*, cited in my Dict there is an A.S. *dreahnian*, in Cockayne's Leechdoms, iii. 72 23; see Bosworth. Kluge (Eng. Studien, xi. 511) hold that the diphthong was long; and derives *dréah-n-ian* fro

a form **dréag-e*, an adverb corresponding to the adj. *drýge*, dry. He notices also the North Friesic *druugh*, a milk-strainer; for which he refers us to Johansen, 28. 101; and this is also from a Teut. base DRAUG. Another related word is the G. *trocken*, dry; see Kluge.

Dream. Kluge separates M.E. *dreem*, *dream*, in the sense of 'vision,' from the A.S. *drêam*, music, glee. See his Etym. Dict., s.v. *Traum*.

Drivel, a drudge, servant. In the last line of sc. 2 of Act IV. of Twelfth Night, the first folio has *diuell*. It has been proposed to alter the line to—"Adieu! goodman *Drivel*;" but there is no sufficient reason for this. It is only a guess. It is, however, worth while to say that the sense of *drivel*, also spelt *drevil*, was a drudge, a servant, a low fellow; see Halliwell. It is one of the loan-words from Dutch. Hexham has: "*Drevelen*, to Trudg up and downe;" and he also has the phrase "Drevel, a Scullion, or a Turne-spit," which occurs under "*Dreve*, a Boxe on the year, a blow," apparently by a misprint. It is probable that he meant to give the M. Du. form for "scullion" as *drevel*; at any rate, such is the form in Kilian. Koolman gives the E. Friesic form as *dräfel* (entered under *drêfel*, an iron tool, which may be a different word). The Bremen Wörterbuch has *dravaljen*, to run up and down, formed from *draven*, to trot. I would not therefore derive this M. Du. *drevel*, as Koolman does, from the verb "drive," but from M. Du. *draven*, to trot, cognate with the G. *traben*, which see in Kluge. The Mod. Du. *drevel* is explained as 'driver,' but that may be due to popular etymology; for Du. still uses *draven* in the sense of 'trot.' If this be right, a *drevil* is a 'trotter up and down.'

Duck. The A.S. form has not been registered. But it occurs as *dúca*, in the phrase *dúcan séaðe*, i.e. duck's pool, duck-pool; see Cartularium Saxon. ed. Birch, ii. 162, l. 3. The *u* was long; see Stratmann. We infer the existence of an original strong verb **dûcan* (M.E. *douken*), pt. t. **déac*, pp. **docen*. Perhaps the pp. *docen* accounts for the occasional M.E. *doke*, in which the *o* may have been originally short. Cf. the O.H.G. strong verb *túhhan* (in Schade); E. Fries.

dūk-ānte, a duck (Koolman). Hexham gives M. Du. *docken* to dive, as well as *duycken*.

Dusk. In the Academy for Aug. 11, 1888, p. 89, Dr Logeman tells us that the A.S. *dohx* occurs as a gloss to the Lat. *furva*. There is a related verb *doxian* in the Vercelli Codex, fol. 23, back; according to Kluge, in Engl. Studien xi. 511. These seem to point to an A.S. **dosc* as the origins of M.E. *dosk*, Mod. E. *dusk*. Kluge assumes the A.S. form to be **dusc*, which he connects with Lat. *fuscus*; from an Aryan **dhuskus*.

Dye. Kluge (Engl. Studien, xi. 511) acutely remarks that the A.S. *déag*, fem., dye, answers to Teut. **daugō-* and Aryan **dhoukā́*; whilst the Lat. *fucus* answers to Aryan **dhouko-*. So also the A.S. verb *déag-ian*, to dye, is cognate with the Lat. *fucare*.

Engle, Ingle, a favourite. (Du.) The account of this word by Nares sufficiently explains it. He shows that *engle* (also spelt *enghle*, to denote that the *g* was hard, not like *g* in *angel*) is used in the Prol. to Cynthia's Revels by Ben Jonson, with reference to the children who spoke that prologue. It was also used of a favourite boy; as in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman i. 1. Nares is obviously right in supposing that *engle* is the same word as *ingle*, but he does not tell us which was the older form. We know, however, that *en* in English often becomes *in*; that M.E. *enke* is now *ink*, etc. The word seems to be no older than Ben Jonson, and I have no doubt that like similar cant terms, it was merely borrowed from Dutch, viz. from Du. *engel*, an angel, applied, first to singing boys, and then to favourites. The M.E. *engel*, an angel, seems to have died out long before the sixteenth century, though it was common at the beginning of the thirteenth century; see *angel* in Mätzner. The forms *angel*, *aungel*, in the fourteenth century were borrowed from French; whereas the A.S. and Du. forms were borrowed from Latin. See *Angel* in Murray.

Esquimaux. I quote the following: "The native tribes of New England were struck by this habit [of eating raw meat] among the roving race of the far north, whom they called

accordingly *Eskimantsic* or 'raw-flesh-eaters,' a name which they still bear in its French form *Esquimaux*."—Tylor, Anthropology (1881), p. 265.

Fallow (2). I have followed the usual account, that *fallow*, as applied to land, is the same word as *fallow* (A.S. *fealu*) as applied to deer. But they are rather to be separated. Cf. E. Friesic *falge*, fallow-land, *falgen*, to break up the surface of land. The O.H.G. *felgâ* means a kind of harrow, and is the same word as A.S. *fealh*, a harrow, only found in the acc. pl. in the Epinal gloss, l. 713: "occas, *fealga*"; cf. A.S. Vocab. 463. 20. Hence 'naualia [error for *noualia*], *fælging*;' Wright's Voc. 34. 22; cf. 35. 24. Thus the original sense of fallow-land was land broken up (on the surface) with the harrow. The O.H.G. *felge*, a harrow, is distinct from G. *felge*, a felloe of a wheel; see Kluge (s.v. *felge*).

Filbert. I have suggested that *filbert* stands for 'Philibert's nut.' In Moisy's Dict. of the Normandy patois I find that the actual name there is *noix de filbert*.

Flip. Defined in Ogilvie's Dict. as 'a mixed liquor consisting of beer and spirit sweetened, and heated with a hot iron.' *Egg-flip* is much the same, with the addition of eggs. In the Dict. of the Norman patois by Moisy occurs the curious assertion that this is a Normandy word. I translate the article. *Flip*, s.m. warm cider, with brandy and spices. In English *flip*. The Eng. *flip* is a word of Norman origin. The way to make this drink is indicated in the following passage from the Jersey Rimes (*Rimes jersiaises*), p. 54. (This book, ed. M. A. Mourant, was published in Jersey in 1865.) 'But drink then, master Philippe. Don't you find this cider good? Would you like our dame to warm it up and put in it a pinch of all-spice?' Another quotation is given from *Le Lexovien*, March 2, 1870: 'Some individuals entered the shop and asked for *phlippe*, a drink which is only known in our country, and is made of sweet cider, and brandy, and spices, the whole heated together over the fire.' The spelling *phlippe* here given suggests an etymology from the Norman *Phlippe*, i.e. Philip. See the same work, s.v. *Phlipot*.

Funk. The older sense of *funk* is a spark of fire, or the

first kindling of a fire. The Prompt. Parv. has: "*Funke*, or lytylle fyyr, *Igniculus, foculus.*" The word occurs as *fonk* in P. Plowman, C. 7. 335. In the phrase 'not a *fonk*,' i.e. not a spark, not a bit, it occurs in Rob. of Brunne; see Mätzner. It is not found in A.S., but it may be a native word. Or it may be of Scand. origin, as we find Dan. *funke*, a spark; and *funkle*, to sparkle. The E. Friesic is *funke* or *funk*, a spark; cf. Du. *vonk*, a spark; *vonk-doek*, tinder, lit. spark-cloth. The M. Du. *fonck*, later *vonck*, signified a spark; and Hexham gives "*Vonck, ofte Vyer-doeck*, burnt linnen for a tinder-box." He probably means the compound word *Vonck-doeck*. However, in the Suffolk dialect *funk* means 'touch-wood'; and I have no doubt that the phrase 'in a *funk*' meant, originally, in a glow, in a smouldering state, smoking like a bit of linen in the old-fashioned tinder-box, with which our ancestors were only too familiar. This explains how *funk* also meant, as Phillips says in 1706, "a strong rank smell, particularly that of stinking tobacco;" the reference being to the glowing tobacco, not to the same when unlighted. Hence also, in the Gazophylacium Anglicanum (1689), we find "*funk*, an offensive smell;" and Halliwell has the verb "*to funk* (1) to smoke, (2) to cause a bad smell." He also gives the sb. with the sense of "great fear," which is now the commonest and almost the only meaning. The G. *funke*, a spark, is the O.H.G. *funcho*; and the suggestion in Schade, that it is derived from the stem *fun-* in Icel. *fun-i*, Goth. *fon* (gen. *fun-ins*), fire, is reasonable. Cf. Goth. *fun-isks*, fiery.

Gang. Brugmann (tr. by Wright), § 197, p. 166, connects Goth. *gaggan*, to go, with the Lith. *żengiu* or *żingiu*, I stride, I go; and the Skt. *jañghā*, the leg. Cf. Skt. *jañghāla*, a rapid walker.

Ghazul. Amongst Thackeray's Poems, we find three with the general title of 'The *Ghazul*, or oriental love-song.' This is the Arabic *ghazal*, an ode; lit. a thing spun, from the root *ghazala*, he span. See Richardson's Arab. Dict. p. 1050; and Devic's Supplement to Littré, s.v. *Ghazel*.

Gooseberry. The earliest quotations I have yet found are

the following, both from the O.F. grammar by Du Wes, pr. by T. Godfray; and reprinted at Paris, along with Palsgrave's Dict. I quote from the reprint. "*Gose-berrys*, groiselles," p. 912, col. 2; "*Gowsbery tre*, groiselier," p. 914, col. 3. The date seems to be ab. 1530.

Graze. It is remarkable that no satisfactory etymology of the verb to *graze*, in the sense of 'to glance off with little injury,' has ever been offered. The fact is that the word has suffered a rather violent alteration; the *r* was originally *l*. The M.E. word is *glacen*, or *glasen*, and is given by Mätzner in his Dict. ii. 273. It can hardly be doubted that the change from *glaze* to *graze* has been brought about by confusion, or association, with the verb to *rase*, which is sometimes used in the same sense precisely. Cotgrave quotes the F. *raser*, 'to shave, sheere, *raze*, or lay leuell, to touch or grate on a thing in passing by it.' Johnson gives a quotation from South's Sermons—'might not the bullet that *rased* his cheek, have gone into his head?' To return to the M.E. *glasen*. It occurs in the sense of 'glide' in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, i. 170—'Her fygure fyn quen I had font, Suche gladande glory con to me *glace*,' i.e. glided towards me. But it also occurs in the sense 'to glance aside.' Thus in Guy of Warwick, ed. Zupitza, part i. 5067—'Anodur he thoght to smyte ryght: But hys swerde *glasedde* lowe, and stroke upon the sadull-bowe.' Halliwell quotes this passage under the word *glasedd*. Still more clearly, in the Sowdone of Babylon, l. 1208, we have: 'He smote as doth the dinte of thondir: It *glased* down by his sheelde And carfe his stedes neke asonder.' Yet again, I have a note that, in the Lyfe of St. Edmund, Harl. MS. 2278, fol. 113, the following lines occur: 'Aboff the flood o litell wheel gan *glace*, the tother wheel *glod* on the boord aloffte.' We thus have examples of a M.E. *glacen* or *glasen*, to glide, to glance aside, coming close to the meaning of the French *raser*; and I think it clear that our modern *graze*, which has no exact equivalent in any known language, is simply the outcome of a confusion between these two words. Both words are, fortunately, quite easy to trace. The F.

before the wind, but betwixt both, when she sails with the sheat veered out; which is also termed quartering.'

Leet. The difficulty of this word is well known. It is not found earlier than the time of Edw. I.; it is spelt *lete* in the Anglo-French of that period; see Year-books, i. 297; ii. 399, etc. Prof. Maitland thinks its use arose in East Anglia, and it was probably a prov. E. word taken up into legal use. It certainly is not French; and cannot be the Fr. *lit*, as strangely suggested in Stratmann. My own belief is that it is a different use or sense of the word which is still in use as *leet* in East Anglia. Halliwell, s.v. *releet* (which is the wrong place to enter it), gives '*releet*, a crossing of roads.' There is no such word. The East Anglian phrase is *three-releet*, or *four-releet*, according to the number of ways. Now *three-releet* is a popular misdivision of *threere-leet* (A.S. *þrēora gelǣtu*), lit. 'exits of three,' i.e. three ways departing from a common point. Here *leet* answers to A.S. *gelǣte*, pl. *gelǣtu*, a derivative of *lǣtan*, to let go, dismiss, let depart. We have closely related words in E. *in-let*, *out-let*, properly *in-leet*, *out-leet*; in the Icel. *i-lát*, an inlet, the vowel is long to the present day. I think it is quite certain, etymologically, that *leet* is a derivative of *lǣtan*, to let, the senses of which are so very variable; as it means 'to let go, to let a house, to cause to be done,' etc. Perhaps the sense of *leet* was 'a thing appointed.' I feel sure that it is merely the sense of the word, and not its form, that is difficult to trace. The A.S. form is clearly *lǣte*, neut. sb.; pl. *lǣtu*.

Lingo. "I have thoughts to tarry a small matter in town, to learn somewhat of your *lingo* first, before I cross the seas." —(1700) W. Congreve, *Way of the World*, Act 3, sc. 3. Clearly a sailor's word; and not from the Ital. *lingua*, but from the Port. *lingoa*, occasional form of *lingua*, a language. So in Johnson.

Manito, a spirit, or fetish. In Cuoq, Lexique de la langue Algonquine (Montreal, 1886), I find: "*Manito*, sometimes pronounced *Manitou*, spirit, 'génie.' *Kije Manito*, Great Spirit; *Matci Manito*, evil spirit, demon." The original is in French; I give a translation.

Marabout, Marabou. The name *Marabout* is given to certain saints or religious persons among the Berbers of North Africa. It answers to the Arab. *marābit*, quiet, still; see Richardson's Arab. Dict. p. 1382, and Devic's Supplement to Littré. In French the final *t* is not sounded, and the same name is given to the *marabou-stork*, the bird whence we obtain *marabou* feathers. It is said that the bird is so called because some hold it sacred as 'a saint.' See the Supplement to Dozy's Span. Etymologies. The habitat of the bird is tropical Africa.

Marcasite, a kind of iron pyrites. F. *marcassite*, a word of Persian origin. In Richardson's Arab. and Pers. Dict. p. 1395, it is spelt *markashīshā*, explained by 'the marcasite-stone,' and is marked as Persian; it is also given as Persian by Vüllers. See *marcassite* in Devic's Supp. to Littré.

Merelles, a game originally played with counters. Also spelt *merils*; and in Shak. *nine-men's morris*, Mids. N.D. ii. 1. 98. Of F. origin. Cotgrave has: '*Le Jeu des Merelles*, the boyish game called *Merils*, or five-penny *Morris*; plaied here most commonly with stones, but in France with pawns, or men made of purpose, and tearmed *Merelles*.' The Mod. F. has *marelle*, which is explained to be the game played with counters called in Mod. French *méreau*, and in O.F. *merel*. There are thus two forms; O.F. *merelle*, fem., and O.F. *merel*, masc. The latter appears to be the original, and appears also as *marel*, meaning a counter, a medal, orig. a bit of common metal, usually lead, which was used as a counter or ticket for various purposes, especially of calculation or as vouchers. The masc. form *marel* would make the pl. as *mareaux*, and this is the particular form which appears in Eng. as *morris*. For information, see *merel*, s.m., and *merele* or *merelle*, s.f., in Godefroy; and *merallus*, *merellus*, in Ducange. The O.F. *merelier* meant the board on which the game was played. The ultimate etymology is doubtful; but, as the Lat. *merallus* sometimes meant 'a piece of money of small value,' and Ducange gives a verb *merare*, to distribute alms, I think it is highly probable that these words are from Lat. *merere*, *mereri*, to earn, deserve. It appears that these

counters were actually given to chaplains as vouchers for the masses they had said. They could, of course, claim payment accordingly.

Moccassin. Said to be an Algonquin word. This I have verified. In the Lexique de la langue Algonquine, by an author named Cuoq, published at Montréal in 1886, at p. 199, I find: '*Makisin*, chaussure (dont les Anglais ont fait *moccassin*).' Capt. Smith (ed. Arber), p. 44, gives: '*Mockasins*, Shooes,' in his list of Indian words; see also p. 381.

Moose. The Algonquin name is *mons* (with *n*, not *u*). See Cuoq, Lexique de la Langue Algonquine, Montreal, 1886.

Mulatto. Our *mulatto* is borrowed from Span. *mulato*. The usual etymology is from Lat. *mulus*, a mule; though the proper derivative of *mulus* is Span. *muleto*, explained in Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) as meaning 'a he-colt of a horse and an asse.' But it is not at all clear that there is any connection. Minsheu gives *mulato* separately, and explains it to mean 'the sonne of a black Moore, and one of another nation.' I think the etymology given in Devic's Supplement to Littré is far better; it is closer both in form and sense. He follows Engelmann in deriving it from the Arab. *muwallad*, explained in Richardson's Dict., p. 1528, as 'procreated, begotten; also a foreigner, not a true Arabian.' Devic says it is found with the sense of 'one born of an Arabian father and a strange mother,' or 'one whose father is a slave and whose mother is free.' This agrees so exactly with Minsheu's definition that it can hardly fail to be right. The Arab. word is a participial form, allied to *walad*, a son; Rich. Dict., p. 1656.

Nenuphar, Nuphar. The yellow water-lily is botanically called *nuphar*, and the white one sometimes *nenuphar*. The account of *nenuphar* in Devic's Supp. to Littré should be consulted, but is not satisfactory. According to Vüllers, the Pers. *nūfar*, meaning a water-lily, is simply a contracted form of the older *nīlūpar*, also spelt *nīlūpal*, *nīlūfar*, *nīlūfal*; see Richardson's Pers. Dict., p. 1620. The E. *nenuphar* is clearly an adaptation of the Pers. *nīlūfar*, with the substitution of *n* for *l*; and Devic notes that the form *nīnūfar* is

found even in Persian. The Pers. word is unoriginal, being borrowed from the Skt. *nīlōtpala*, a blue lotus, this being the common kind of lotus. The Skt. word is compounded of *nīla*, blue, and *utpala*, a lotus; see Benfey, p. 113. *Utpala* is also a compound, the former element being the prep. *ud*, out; whilst the origin of *pala* is doubtful. Benfey suggests the root *pat*, to move. I am indebted to Prof. Cowell for his help as regards this word.

Nest. I have given the old derivation of this word from a root NAS, to go to, to visit, as in Fick and Curtius. But it is now usual to follow that given by Benfey for the Skt. *nīḍa*, which is explained as being a contraction from *ni-sad-a*, a place to sit down in; according to which view, *ni*, i.e. down, is a prefix, to be compared with E. *ne-ther*, the comparative form from the same base; and the real root is SED, to sit. For the full explanation see Kluge, s.v. *Nest*; and Douse, Introd. to Gothic, p. 45.

Numbles, inward parts of a deer. Cotgrave has: '*Nombles d'en cerf*, the *numbles* of a stag.' The M.E. form is *noumbles*, Gawain and the Grene Knight, 1347; also *nombles*, Wright's Vocab. 569. 20; see also Prompt. Parv. p. 360; and Way's note. From O.F. *nombles*, the same; from Low Lat. *numbulus*, allied to Low Lat. *numbile* or *numbilis*, the loin, esp. a loin of pork. *Numbulus* is a curious corruption of *lumbulus*, a loin of pork; from Lat. *lumbus*, loin. It follows that *numble* is the dimin. form corresponding to *loin*. See Littré and Scheler; also Ducange. *Numbles* also appears as *umbles*; hence our 'humble pie.'

Parasang, a measure of long distance. The Gk. παρασάγγης, so familiar to readers of Xenophon, is well known to be an adaptation of an older form of the Pers. *farsang*, explained by 'a parasang, a league,' in Richardson's Dict., p. 1081. Vüllers suggests that the etymology is from Pers. *far*, put for *fará*, over against, and *sang*, a stone; so that it meant 'up to the stone' which was used to mark the distance, see the same Dict., pp. 1075, 854. The initial *p* is due to the Zend form (*para*) of the prefix, for which later Persian substituted *f*. There is, however, a difficulty about this

derivation. There is nothing to show that Pers. *sang* is ai Old Persian word. The Aryan *s* becomes *h* in Persian; th Pers. *s* is represented by Zend *ç*, Skt. *ç*, Aryan *k*; and thi must be the guide to a discovery of the true etymology.

Pile. *Pile*, in the sense of 'stake,' is the A.S. *pīl*, borrowe from Lat. *pīlum*, a pestle, a javelin, a stake. Lewis an Short tell us it stands for *pis-lum*, from *pisere*, occasional forn of *pinsere*, to pound. The fact is rather that it stands fo **pins-lom*, as noted in Brugmann, Comp. Gram., § 208.

Pinfold. I have already given this word as being fo *pynd-fold*. A variant, without the mutated vowel, is th M.E. *poundfold*. I now find that the A.S. form is *pund-fal* though not given in the dictionaries. In some boundaries in charter dated 961 we find: "of þam putte on hacan *pund-fol* of hacan *pund-falde*," etc.—Cartul. Saxon. ed. Birch, iii. 30

Plack, a small Scotch coin; a third of a penny. This rather an old word. It occurs in A. Montgomery's Cherr and Slae, l. 1153; pr. in 1597. Jamieson shows that it w struck in the reign of James III., ab. A.D. 1483. It is som times derived from F. *plaque*, but this can hardly be right; fo although this is the same word, we see from Cotgrave that t F. *plaque* never had this sense. The fact is that both E. *pla* and F. *plaque* were borrowed from M. Dutch. Hexham giv M. Du. *placke*, 'a French sous.' The Mod. Du. *plak* only kee the senses of 'slice' or 'round,' or 'schoolmaster's ferula See *placard* in my Dict., which is from the same source.

Quip. I have given this as of Celtic origin; but this hardly probable. I now believe it to be simply a shortene form of Lat. *quippe*; cf. *quillet* (for *quidlibet*) and *quiddit* This is rendered almost certain by the use of the dissyllabi form *quippy*. "Why? Lucill lyude, who ever vsde A fayners to detect With satyres sharpe, and *quippies* round; Drant, tr. of Horace, Bk. 2, Sat. 1: sign. F 1 (1566).

Rail. I know of no example older than that which have given from Gower. I give the etymology from t O. Low G. *regel*, Swed. *regel*, a bar, rail. But it can hardl have been borrowed directly. There must have been a intermediate O.F. form; and then the order of things woul

be clear. The E. word would be borrowed from F., and the F. word from O. Low G. Now in Moisy's Dict. of Norman patois, he not only gives *railes*, s.pl., a set of railings, but he also quotes the O.F. *reille*, a rail, bar, as occurring in a Compte de 1334, cited by M. Delisle in the Actes Norm. de la Ch. des Comptes, p. 69. Here is the missing link.

Recheat, a recall, or signal of recall (in hunting). See *recheat* in Nares, who derives it from the O.F. *recept* or *recet*. I believe he is practically right, and that it answers to an O.F. *rechet*, variant of *recet*. But I suspect that this particular use is from the verb *to recheat*, to play the notes signifying recall on a horn, orig. simply 'to recall.' Roquefort has *rechaiter*, *recheter*, to conceal, receive, draw back, hide; and Ducange, s.v. *rechatare*, has the note that O.F. *rechaiter* meant to receive secretly or hide. The receiver, who was said to be as bad as the thief, was called 'Cil qui *rechaite* cose emblé.' This verb *recheter*, variant of *receter* (for which see Bartsch), is derived from O.F. *recet*, a place of refuge, which is the original of the somewhat common M.E. *recet*, in the same sense. *Receter* answers to Lat. *receptare*; which is therefore the original of *recheat*. For the change of *c* to *ch*, cf. Low Lat. *recheptor* for *receptor*; and the F. *acheter* from Low Lat. *accaptare*.

Reel. The A.S. is *hreol* or *hréol*. See Kluge, in Eng. Studien, xi. 512. He suggests an original **hrœhil*, *hrēhil*, (from *hrōh-il*), from an older **hronh-il*, **hranh-il*; and compares the North Fries. *raial*, a reel (Johansen, 13). If this be right, it may be allied to *ring* (G. *Ring* in Kluge).

Reest, Rest, a part of a plough. Sometimes spelt *wreest*. 'On the side [of the plough] is a piece of timber, which they call a *wreest*' [in the isle of Thanet]; see Britten's Farming Words (E.D.S.), p. 113. Halliwell has: '*wreest*, a piece of timber on the side of a plough, made to take on and off (Kent)'; also '*rest*, the wood on which the coulter of a plough is fixed (MS. Lansd. 560, fol. 45).' There is a plough called 'the Kentish turn-wrest plough'; Engl. Cycl. s.v. *Plough*. I once thought this word was connected with the verb *to wrest*; but the initial *w* is due, I fear, to popular

etymology. The A.S. word is *réost*, occurring in '*Dentali* sules réost' in the Corpus Glossary, l. 656; '*Dentale*, sul réost,' Wright's Gl., ed. Wülker, 219, 5; '*Dentalia*, sul réost,' ibid. 384, 43. The *éo* is long, as shewn both by Pro E. *reest* (see *wreest* above), and by the cognate O.H.(*riostar* (Schade). Schade proposes to derive it from the ro seen in O.H.G. *riutan*, to grub up, Icel. *ryðja*, to clear or r the ground; cf. O.H.G. *riuti*, cleared ground. See *Rid*.

Rid, to clear ground (Scand.). It is worth noting th there are two verbs to *rid* in English. We have *rid*, deliver from an enemy, A.S. *hreddan*, cognate with G. *rette* and the Prov. E. *rid*, to clear ground, whence *ridding*, clearing (Swaledale Gloss., E.D.S.). The latter *rid* is Scand. origin, from Icel. *ryðja*, to clear, Dan. *rydde*, to grub land; cf. G. *reuten*, to grub up. Vigfusson thinks this wo should also have an initial *h*, and that it is from the stro verb *hrjóða*, to strip, to unload, etc., which seems probab Cf. also the Yks. *royd*, a clearing, in the Huddersfield Glossa E.D.S. No. 39; Icel. *rjóðr*, a clearing, O.H.G. *riuti*, a clearin

Rill, a streamlet. I have given this word as Celtic; b this is too risky. I do not find it in M.E.; my earli quotation is from Drayton. It may have been borrow from abroad. The corresponding E. Friesic is *rille* (Ko man); and Wedgwood compares the Low G. *rille* (Bren Wörterbuch). According to Koolman, it occurs in M. Du as *ril*. It seems to be a contraction for *ridel*, the diminutive E. Fries. *ride*, *ride*, a stream. For the loss of *d*, cf. E. Fri *rillen*, contracted form of *riddeln*, to shiver with fever. T A.S. word for 'stream' is *rīðe* or *rīð*, preserved in *Shotte* (Warwickshire), orig. *Scotta-rīð* (see Kemble); Child-re orig. *Cilla-rīð* (see Earle's A.S. Charters); also, perhaps, the name of the river *Rye* (North Riding of Yorkshire). (O.Sax. *rīth*, a stream (Heine's Gloss. to Kleinere altnieder Denkmäle). The N. Friesic *ride* is also *rie* (with loss of *d* see Outzen. The A.S. word is common; see Grein a Toller. As to the vowel, it was probably long, because I (A.S. Names, p. 86) points out that "there are numer streams in North Germany, bearing *Reide* as a *nomen p*

rivum." Halliwell gives "*rithe*, a small stream, usually one occasioned by heavy rain; *South*." The A.S. *rīðe* probably stands for **rin-ðe* (Ettmüller), i.e. the running or flowing stream; from *rinnan*, to run, flow; cf. *run*, a small stream, as in 'Bull's Run,' and A.S. *ryn-el*, or runnel. I conclude that *rill* and *runnel* may be derived from the same root-verb, and mean the same thing. If this be so, *rill* is short for **rith-el*, if we keep to the E. form. There is an interesting passage in Ælfred's Metres, v. 20, where *ryne* and *rīðe* (there spelt *ryðe*) occur in the same line: 'bróc bið onwended of his riht-ryne ryðum tóflówen,' the brook is turned aside, diverted in its rills from the right run or channel.

Rother, an ox. M.E. *ruðeren*, pl., in Layamon; A.S. *hrýðer*, *hrīðer*. Hence *Rother-ham* (York), *Rother-field* (Sussex); and *Ruther-ford*. The M.E. forms *rother*, *ruther*, answer to A.S. *hryðer*, with short *y*; so that the vowel must have been shortened. The base *hrýð-* probably stands for *hrynð-*, with the usual loss of *n* before ð, derived by mutation from the stem **hrunth-* of the strong verb **hrinth-an*, A.S. *hrīnd-an*, to push, thrust; see Fick, iii. 83; and cf. Goth. *finthan*, *hinthan*, with A.S. *findan*, **hindan*. The word *runt* (q.v.) can be derived from the same stem, and the O.H.G. *hrind* from the stem *hrinth-* of the same verb.

In Toller's Dict. the A.S. word is entered under *hrīðer* (with *ī*), and such is also the Kentish form in Sweet's O.E. Texts; but nearly all the examples shew the spelling with *ý*, which occurs, e.g. in the Blickling Homilies. Sievers gives the forms as '*hrýðer*, *hrīðer*, subsequently also *hrúðer*.' In Layamon we find *ruðeren* (pl.), later text *roþere*. The spelling with *o* may have been due to French scribes, as in the case of M.E. *sone* for A.S. *sunu*. We should expect rather a Mod. E. form *ruther*, and this is, in fact, preserved in the name of *Ruther-ford*, answering to an A.S. *Hrýðera-ford* in Kemble. This name of *Ruther-ford* affords a parallel to *Ox-ford*; cf. also *Hors-ford* (Norfolk), *Swin-ford* (Leicester), and *Cat-ford* (Kent), besides the shallow river called the *Raven's-bourne*.

Another theory sees in the initial *hr* a relationship to the Gk. κέρ-ας, E. *horn*; see Schade.

Runt, a bullock; sometimes, a heifer. (Du.) We find ii Florio's Ital. Dict., ed. 1598, "*Giouenco*, a steere, a *runt*, ; bullocke;" and "*Giouenca*, a heyfer, a *runt*." It is borrowe from Dutch. Hexham has: "*een Rund, Runde, ofte Os* a Runt, a Bullock, or an Oxe." Also "*Rundt-vleesch* Bullock-flesh, or Beefe." It is closely allied to G. *Rind*, ox bullock; which see in Kluge. The O.H.G. form had a initial *h*, and took the form *hrind*. The E. Friesic word i *rind* or *ründ*; see Koolman. And see *Rother* (above).

Rust. Dr. J. Wright informs us that the Yksh. dial. form of *rust* is *rāst*, and in the same dialect a *mouse* is *mās*. Henc in the A.S. *rūst*, the *u* was long. In my Etym. Dict. I hav already suggested that *rūst* is a contracted form of **ruda* the suffix *-st* being added to the base *rud-*. The loss of would cause the short *u* to become long *ū*; which is ju what happened. Kluge also refers the G. *Rost* to the sam base *rud-*; cf. A.S. *rud-u*, ruddiness, and E. *ruddy*. Th base agrees with the 3rd or past-plural stem of the strom verb *réod-an*, to become red.

Scabious. An early mention of this plant occurs Wülker's Vocabularies, p. 609, l. 36: "*Scabiosa*, angli *scabiose*." The etymology is obvious.

Sequin. I have given the usual derivation, which takes th word back to the Arab. *sikkah*, a die for coins. It is worth jus noting that this is the very word which occurs in the phrase *sicc rupee*, i.e. 'coined rupee'; which see in Yule's Hobson-Jobson

Sere, withered. The account in my Dict. is fairly correct For further information see Brugmann's Comp. Gramm., t by Wright, pp. 95, 161; §§ 100, 185. The A.S. *séar* answer to a common Teut. **sauso-*, which is cognate with Lith. *sausa* O.Bulg. *suchu*, dry (Russ. *sykhoi*); allied to Skt. sere, dry *çosha*, a drying up, *çush*, to become dry or withered. Th form of the root is SAWS. The Lith. form, which I ha not mentioned, is important.

Sophy, a title of the Shah of Persia. This word occurs i Shakespeare thrice; see Wright's note to Twelfth Nt. ii. 164 (Globe ed. 197), which is correct. A common explana tion, found in Webster, is, that it is the same as the wor

also spelt *sufi*, from the Arab. *sūfī* or *sūfiy*, which in Richardson's Dict., p. 946, is explained by 'wise, intelligent, pious, devout, spiritual; a religious man of the order of the Sufi;' though Mr. Robertson Smith tells me it is best to explain it only as 'the term used to designate adherents to a peculiar mystic philosophy.' Richardson adds: 'hence the surname of the kings of Persia.' But Devic points out that *sophy*, as applied to the Shah, has nothing whatever to do with the order of the Sufi, or the Arab. and Pers. *sūfī*; though the words were easily and early confused. As applied to the Shah, the right word is *sefewī*, an adjective formed from the proper name *Sefī*, or *Safī*, who was the founder of the dynasty to which the kings called *sophy* belonged. This is clearly given also in Richardson's Dict., p. 938, who on that page distinguishes between this word and *sūfī*, quite plainly, and gives the correct account; showing that his other statement refers to an incorrect usage. His account is: '*Safī*, the surname of a dynasty of Persian kings (1500–1736), so named from Ismael Safi, the first monarch of this house. The origin of the elevation of this family however must be traced to a private ancestor of that prince, called *Safīyu'd'dīn* (the purity of religion), who was cotemporary with Tamerlane.' He then gives the whole story about this man. Hence the term *sophy* in Shakespeare is clearly from the Arab. *safīy*, pure; and this is quite a distinct word from *sūfī* above. In one word the former vowel is short; and in the other long. Both begin with the same kind of *s*, viz. *sād*. A more exact date for the dynasty of *Sophies* is 1505-1725; see Stokvis, Man. d'Histoire, Leyden, 1888, p. 140.

Theorbo, a large lute. Used by Drayton (1612) in Polyolbion, song 4. Better spelt *theorba*, as in Blount (1681) and in Torriano's translation of the Ital. word (1688). Phillips again has *theorbo* (1706). The *th* was originally sounded as *t*, and was due to the F. spelling *théorbe*. Both F. and E. words are from Ital. *tiorba*, 'a kinde of musicall instrument vsed among countrie people'; Florio. Stappers, in his F. Etym. Dict., says that *Tiorba* was the name of the inventor; which seems probable.

Thistle. If Fick be right in giving the orig. Teut. form as **thinstila* from the Teut. root THINS, to tear, then the *i* in the A.S. *þistel* must have been originally long. Kluge (Eng Studien, xi. 512) points out that this fact is proved by the Somersetshire form, which Mr. Elworthy spells *duy·sl* (Dial of W. Somersetshire, p. 74, l. 4). The author explains tha this *uy* answers to the literary Eng. long *i*, as in *mind* (p 28). See also *dashle* [glossic daash·l, dús·l, duy·shl, duy·sl] a thistle, in Mr. Elworthy's Somersetsh. Glossary, p. 184.

Tutty. According to Webster's Dictionary, this is a nam given to an impure protoxide of zinc, said to be found nativ in Persia. It is in Johnson, and occurs in No. 266 of th Tatler: "near it a phial of rose-water and powder of *tutty*." It was used by ladies, and was thought to be good for th eyes. It is the F. *tutie*, which, according to Devic, is fron the Arab. *tūtiyā*, with the same sense. But it is reall Persian; Richardson's Dict. gives Pers. *tūtiyā*, tutty, whenc are derivatives meaning 'a collyrium or medicine for th eyes,' and 'green vitriol' respectively. The native Arab lexicons recognise it as a foreign word, and say that the bes species came from India. Its Aryan origin is seen by compar ing it with Skt. *tuttha*, 'blue vitriol,' in Benfey's Dictionary Cotgrave has F. *tuthie*, explained by 'tutie,' which h describes, so that the word is old in English. It is spelt botl as *tuty* and *tutty* in Phillips (1706).

Wave. The A.S. for 'to wave' is supposed to be *wafian* but no example is given in which *wafian* has this precise sense It occurs, however, in Ælfric's Lives of the Saints, ed. Skeat § xxvii. l. 151: 'þeah þe man *wafige* wundorlice mid hands ne biȝ hit þeah bletsung buta he wyrce tacn þære halga rode,' i.e. though a man wave about wonderfully with hi hand, it is not a (real) blessing (of himself) unless he forn the sign of the holy cross.

Wayfaring. Not a derivative from the verb to *fare*, A.S *faran*; but from the secondary verb *féran*, to travel. Thi *féran* is derived, by vowel-change of *ó* to *é*, from *fór*, journey; and *fór*, sb., is from *fór*, the stem of the pt. tens of *faran*. This is proved by the occurrence of the A.S. pre

part. *weg-férende*, Matt. xxvii. 39, Mark xv. 21 (Bosworth). The verb *wegféran* is derived from the sb. *wegfór*. This sb. occurs in Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, 423. 33: "*In prouectione*, on wegfore." (I forget where I found this note.)

Wigwam. Said to be an Algonquin word. I have copied the account given in Webster; but I find a simpler explanation in the Lexique de la langue Algonquine, by Cuoq, published at Montréal in 1886. At p. 438 I find: '*Wikiwam*, maison;' with a note that it is the same word as *mikiwam*. At p. 221 I find: '*Mikiwam*, logis, habitation, cabane, maison.'

Yam. I have had a great deal of trouble in trying to locate this word. It occurs in 1689; in Arber's Eng. Garner, vii. 367, and in Cook's Voyages, ed. 1777, i. p. 146. I have quoted the account in Littré, that it was an African word, borrowed by the Portuguese, who spelt it *inhame*. I find it spelt *ñames* in Minsheu's Span. Dict. 1623, who defines it 'a kinde of fruit in the kingdome of China.' The fact is that the name originally came from Benin, on the W. African coast. This is settled by a passage in Hackluyt's Voyages (1599), vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 129. In a description of a voyage made to Benin in 1588, we there find: "Their bread is a kind of roots; they call it *inamia*; and when it is well sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it; it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion; the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme." It is said that the Portuguese carried the name to Malacca. This is why we find mention of "the fruite called *inani*, like to our turneps, but very sweet and good to eat," in connection with an account of a voyage to Malacca in Hackluyt's Voyages (1599), vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 227. And this is why Minsheu talks of its coming from China, which he confuses with Malacca, unless the Portuguese also gave the name to a fruit from thence.

LIST OF WORDS DISCUSSED.—Blet, buggy, chevron, cockney, cresset, daker-hen, day, despot, drain, dream, drivel, duck, dusk, dye, engle (ingle), Esquimaux, fallow (2), filbert, flip, funk, gang, ghazul, gooseberry, graze, griddle, hastelets, hone, hurlyburly, laveer, leet, lingo, manito, marabout (marabou), marcasite, merelles (morris), moccassin, moose, mulatto, nenuphar (nuphar), nest, numbles, parasang, pile, pinfold, plack, quip, rail, recheat, reel, reest (rest), rid, rill, rother, runt, rust, scabious, sequin, sere, sophy, theorbo, thistle, tutty, wave, wayfaring, wigwam, yam.

XI.—LOAN-WORDS IN LATIN. By E. R. WHARTON, M.A.

(*Read at the Society's Meeting, Dec.* 21, 1888.)

(1) The percentage of borrowed words in English is about 75, in Persian 62, in Latin 14, in Greek 2½. English is probably the most composite of all languages: to judge by the lists at the end of Skeat's dictionary, half our vocabulary comes from Latin, and a quarter from other foreign sources. Next in order comes Persian, in which about five-eighths of the words are Arabic. In classical Greek, down to 300 B.C., there are 41,100 words, of which perhaps 1000 are foreign: in classical Latin, down to A.D. 117, there are 26,300 words, of which about 3500 are from Greek and perhaps 300 from other languages.[1] In all these figures Proper Names are excluded. These proportions of course refer only to the words as given in a dictionary, not to their actual use in literature: a page of Demosthenes or Cicero taken at random will probably show no borrowed words at all, a page of modern English novel will contain only about 20 per cent. of Latin words.

For our present purpose it may suffice to consider only the Latin authors of the first rank (excluding in each case fragments): viz., in chronological order, Plautus, Terence, Cicero Caesar Catullus Lucretius Sallust, Vergil Horace Livy Tibullus Propertius Ovid, Persius, Tacitus, Juvenal. These sixteen authors use 16,900 words, of which 1080 are from Greek and perhaps 200 from other languages, making a proportion of about 8 per cent. of loan-words.

The Greek loan-words in Latin have been catalogued by

[1] The figures given in this essay I have arrived at by simple counting, a task which, so far as I know, no one of my predecessors has attempted: as Douse says in his "Grimm's Law," it is much easier to use statistics than to make them.

Tuchhändler ('De vocabulis Graecis in linguam Latinam translatis,' 1876), F. O. Weise ('Die Griechischen Wörter im Latein,' 1882), and Saalfeld ('Tensaurus Italograecus,' 1884). For Plautine words the late Professor Key's admirable dictionary is often useful. Some of the un-Greek loan-words in Latin are treated by Vaniček ('Fremdwörter im Griechischen und Lateinischen,' 1878). Of the Greek loan-words 320 were introduced by Plautus, 200 by Cicero.

(2) I have not attempted to define what a loan-word is; and the following sections will show that we may at will narrow or enlarge our boundaries. A purist might exclude all *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, of which 130 fall within our province. In any case we must leave a considerable 'margin of transition,' as a logician would call it, between genuinely foreign and genuinely native words: a margin embracing three classes of words—those which are really Greek, those which are really Latin, and those which are partly Greek and partly Latin.

As really Greek, and not loan-words at all, we may count words directly quoted by Latin authors from Greek sources: viz.,

Cicero's *apoproēgmenon arctophylax auloedus būleutērium cordāx coryphaeus exaeresimus gymnasiarchus logica melancholicus *monogrammus mystagōgus philītia physiognōmōn proāgorus proēgmenon prytanēum rhō sōtēr:*

Lucretius' *homoeomerīa prēstēr:*

Livy's *agēma *aglaspides argyraspides *cestrosphendonē dromas hēmerodromus heptērēs hexērēs hippagōgus monērēs peltasta phalangīta prytanis sarīsophorus synedrus:*

Ovid's *ai:* Persius' *chaere:* Juvenal's *chīronomūnta.*

(The asterisk here denotes that the original is not found in extant Greek literature.)

(3) Our second class consists of words which are really Latin and not Greek. Such are the following, cognate with, but not borrowed from, the corresponding Greek words:

attāt or *ātāt*, *ἀτταταῖ*.

bardus 'stupid,' **βραθύς* (seen in *βράσσων* 'slower') a by-form of *βραδύς*.

cēra, κηρός. The Doric κᾱρός seems a figment: in Aulularia 510 *cārĭnārii* is a corrupt reading (like *murobathārii* in the next line, for which *myrobrecharii* is a mere modern conjecture).

cincinnus 'curl,' κίκιννος (which stand to each other as *tintinō* to τιτανισμός).

circus, κρίκος.

dolus, δόλος.

domus, δόμος.

feretrum, φέρετρον in Polybius.

lībra 'pound,' λίτρα (Sicilian, for *λίθρα): for the want of aspiration cf. Sicilian κιτών for χιτών.

līnum, λίνον, cf. λῑν-οπτάομαι.

mutilus, μύτιλος μίτυλος.

nemus, νέμος.

pānnus, πῆνος.

pappus, πάππος.

pīleus 'felt,' πῖλος.

propitius, προπετής.

scīpiō 'staff,' σκίπων.

scūtum 'shield,' σκῦτος 'hide.'

sīmus 'snubnosed,' σῑμός for *σϝῑμός.

squilla 'prawn,' σκίλλα.

stūpa 'tow,' στύπη.

turba, τύρβη.

The following, some of them of doubtful or foreign origin, are at any rate unconnected with the Greek word appended in each case:

aclys 'javelin'—ἀγκυλίς 'hook.'

ālūcinor 'prate'—ἀλυκτάζω 'am in distress.'

alūta 'soft leather'—ἀλειπτή 'smeared': *alūta*, I would suggest, =**ad-ūta* 'put on,' cf. *ind-ūta ex-ūta*, *ad* becoming *al* as in *al-acer* 'lively' beside *acer-bus* 'sharp,' and *al-upo* 'blow' beside *apiscor* 'reach.'

calx 'small stone, lime'—χάλιξ 'pebble, gravel.'

clūra 'ape'—κόλουρος 'dock-tailed.'

crāpula 'intoxication'—κραιπάλη: ā could not represent a[illegible].

crĕpĭda 'slipper'—κρηπίς 'military boot.'

crēta 'chalk'—Κρήτη.

fenestra 'window'—*φαίνω*.

fidēs 'lyre'—*σφίδη* 'gut.'

funda 'sling'—*σφενδόνη*.

inula 'elecampane'—*ἐλένιον*.

lympha 'water'—*Νύμφη*: to which however *lympha* owes its spelling, for **lūmpa* from **dūmpa*, cf. Oscan *Diumpais* 'Nymphis.'

nōrma—*γνώριμος* 'well known': *nōrma* was a carpenter's square, shaped like L and (I would suggest) taking its name from that letter, the *ninth* in the Faliscan and Etruscan alphabets, so that *nōrma*=**nōn-ma* **nōni-ma* as *carmen germen*=**canimen* **genimen* respectively, cf. Havet in Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique VI. p. 31.

pessulus 'bolt'—*πάσσαλος* 'peg': *pessulus*, I would suggest, from **ped-tus* 'provided with a foot,' as if the bolt were the 'foot' of the door.[1]

rogus 'pyre'—*ῥογός* 'silo' (to use a term of scientific agriculture), see Foy in Bezzenberger's Beiträge XIV. p. 41 sq.

sōrex 'shrew-mouse'—*ὕραξ*: in Poenulus 1313 Goetz writes *saurex*.

stilus 'pen'—*στῦλος* 'pillar.'

tipūla 'water-spider'—*τίφη*.

So *κόρυλος πλυντήρ πιτυΐτης*, the pretended originals of *corulus linter pituita*, are mere figments.—The following are rather Latin than Greek:

[1] Other instances of Roman wit, besides *nōrma*, are:
blaesus 'lisping' from *βλαισός* 'bandylegged';
redi-vīvus 'alive again,' *i.e.* used again;
runcina 'plane' from *runcō* 'deprive of hair' (twigs planed off being compared to hairs cut off);
lancinō 'tear to pieces' (quasi 'weigh out') from *lanx* 'scale of a balance';
sūgillō 'beat black and blue' from *sūgō* 'suck' i.e. draw blood;
and, I would suggest,
cōtrix 'scar' from *cic-ur* 'tame' (quasi 'subduing,' i.e. being the end of, the hurt);
ūrca 'fork' as an instrument for punishing thieves (*fūrēs*);
prum 'leek' as a slang term for 'head,' whence *porrīgō* 'scurf': cf. Moretum 74 capiti nomen debentia porra;
mda 'frame of a bed' quasi the place of 'libation' (*σπονδή*) preliminary to going to sleep;
berō 'tear to pieces' quasi 'lick up' (*lambō*);
ō 'stop up' from *taurus* (a stopper compared to a bull, cf. *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ*).
also below on Popular Etymology.

ador 'spelt,' cf. Gothic *atisk* 'cornfield': not from [illegible] *ἄλευρον* 'wheaten flour' (and *d* from λ quasi *ad*, 'addition').—[illegible]

clāssis 'class': not from **κλᾶσις* Doric for *κλῆσις*.

crepīdō 'foundation': not from *κρηπίς* 'basement' (o[illegible] why *crĕ-*?).

flēmina (Neut. Plur.) 'congestion of blood,' cf. Gothi[illegible] *blōth* 'blood': not from *φλεγμονή* 'inflammation.'

lītterae, cf. *littus* 'shore,' from the idea of 'cutting': no[illegible] o[illegible] from *διφθέραι* 'skins.'

pōsca 'vinegar and water' from *pō-tó* as *ē-sca* from *ē*[illegible], *edō*: not from *ἔποξυς* 'sharpish,' with *ε-* dropt through [illegible] a popular connexion with *pōtó*.

In the following cases the Greek word is borrowed fro[illegible]m the Latin:

brassica 'cabbage,' *βράσκη* in Hesychius.

būcina 'trumpet,' *βυκάνη* in Polybius.

centō 'patchwork,' *κέντρων* in Eustathius, as though fr[illegible]m *κέντρον* 'point of a needle.'

dolō 'pike' (and hence, I would suggest, 'foretopsail,' [illegible] as being triangular, like the head of a pike), *δόλων* 'stilet[illegible]' (the meaning derived from *δόλος*) in Plutarch.

horreum 'granary,' *ὡρεῖον* (quasi from *ὥρα* 'season') [illegible] in Achmes.

perperam 'wrongly' (*i.e.*, I would suggest, 'unsatisfactoril[illegible],' from *per-*+*parum*), *πέρπερος* 'vainglorious' in Polybius.

taxus 'yew,' *τάξος* in Galen.

Cf. Athenaeus 85e *τελλίναν*. . . '*Ρωμαῖοι μίτλον* (*mītulum*[illegible]*m*) *ὀνομάζουσι*. So the Latin *patina* 'dish' appears in Sophro[illegible]on as *πατάνη*, *sūdārium* 'napkin' in his contemporary Hermippu[illegible]us (both of the age of Pericles) as *σωδάριον*: *lepus* was borrowe[illegible]ed into Sicilian as *λέπορις* after the commencement of rhotacism, [illegible]m, about 350 B.C., and so other Sicilian words, *κάλτιος κάρκαρο*[illegible]*ον κάτῖνον κύβιτον νοῦμμος οὐγκία*, were probably borrowed [illegible]ed from the Latin *calceus carcer catīnus cubitum nūmmus ūncia*, [illegible]*ia*, not conversely.

In the following cases the Romans and Greeks borrowe[illegible]d independently from foreign sources (see also sec. 12):

bālaena 'whale,' *φάλαινα*.

chara 'horse-radish,' κεραΐς Theophrastus Hist. Plant. IX. 5 (with a reference to κέρας).

crŭmēna 'purse,' γρῡμέα 'bag.'

fungus 'mushroom,' σφόγγος 'sponge.'

hinnuleus 'fawn,' ἔνελος (Hesychius).

plumbum 'lead,' μόλυβδος.

tōphus 'tufa,' τοφιών 'tuffstone quarry' (Heraclean).

vīnum, οἶνος.

(4) Our third class consists of words partly Greek and partly Latin. Plautus is fond of coining 'hybrid' words, made up of Greek + Latin:

manti-cinor 'prophesy,' formed after *vāti-cinor;*

sambūcina 'harpist,' i.e. **sambūci-cina*, formed after *tībī-cina:* or, more often, of Latin + Greek:

ante-logium 'prologue,' *ē-logium* 'inscription' (which latter passed into general use), and (from a Proper Name) *dē-Sarmidō;*

bi-clīnium (after *triclīnium*), **sēmi-zōna* (whence *sēmizō-ārius*);

ferri-trīb-āx 'iron-rubbing,' from τρίβω;

hām-iōtae 'anglers,' from *hāmus* 'hook,' with the termination of στρατ-ιῶται;

plāgipatida 'buffet-bearer,' a quasi patronymic like Lucretius' *Scīpiadās.* So Cicero invents the quasi Verbal *facteon* 'to be done.'

Compounds and Derivatives of Greek loan-words—and we have within our province 30 such Compounds and 140 such Derivatives—cannot properly be called hybrid words: each contains an element which, though originally Greek, had been naturalised in Latin. Some of them are formed from loan-words which must once have existed in Latin but are not found in extant Latin literature:

abol-la 'cloak' from **abola* (sec. 8 fin.):

aplustrum (i.e. **aplust-trum*) 'stern' from **aplustum*, *ἄφλοστον (sec. 5):

arāneus 'spider' from **arānus*, ἄραχνος (sec. 7), as *arānea* from **arāna*, ἀράχνη:

condālium 'ring' (the *a*, I would suggest, must be long,

and the word a trisyllable) from **condus, κόνδος* 'knob' (Hesychius):

diōbolāris 'worth two obols' from **diōbolum, διώβολον*:

lanterna 'lantern' (with termination of *lucerna*) from **lantēr* λαμπτήρ (sec. 7):

lēnunculus 'skiff' (cf. *avunculus* from *avus*) from **lēnus* ληνός 'trough.'

mirmillō 'a kind of gladiator' for **murmurlō* from **murmurulus, *murmurus, μορμύρος* 'a fish' (as his crest):

planguncula 'doll' from **plangō, πλαγγών*:

sandali-gerula 'sandal-bearer' from **sandalum, σάνδαλον*:

spinturnīx (sec. 6) from **spintēr, σπινθήρ*:

spondālium 'hymn' from **sponda, σπονδή* (see p. 4 note).

So

balatrō 'jester' ('devourer') from **balatrum* for **baratrum* i.e. *barathrum, βάραθρον* (sec. 7):

baxea 'shoe' from **bax, *βάξ* a byform (sec. 10) of *πάξ* in Hesychius (as Sicilian *βατάνη* of *πατάνη*):

canālis 'pipe' from **cana, *κάνη* a byform of *κάννη* 'reed.'

So the Adverbs *dūlicē euschēmē pancraticē prothȳmē* presuppose Adjectives **dūlicus *euschēmus *pancraticus *prothȳmus* (*δουλικός εὔσχημος παγκρατικός πρόθῡμος*), and the Adverb *sȳcophantiōsē* an Adj. **sȳcophantiōsus* from *sȳcophantia* (*σῡκοφαντία*); the Verb *paedicō* presupposes an Adj. **paedicus* (corresponding to *amīca*) from **paes* (*παῖς*), *splendeō* an Adj. **splendus* from *splēn* (*σπλήν*: no Latin word begins with *spl-*), and the Compound *in-cīlō* 'reproach' a Verb **cīlō* 'point the lip at' (*χειλόω*, sec. 11γ).

The following Derivatives have no Greek equivalents, and may most safely be assumed to be pure Latin words, though the termination does not decide the point:

Substantives: *columba, barbaria, gerrō gōbiō pērō scorpiō*:

Adjectives: *bliteus carbaseus citreus cupresseus galbaneus myrrheus myrteus* (and probably *marmoreus*), *bombȳcinus cērōmaticus cinaedicus collȳricus*:

Verbs: *cachinnō corōnō fūcō hamaxō hilarō triumphō ampullor architector bacchor graecor moechor scurror* (and probably *parasitor philosophor stomachor*).

(5) We now leave the Land Debateable, and enter our proper territory. In the transliteration of Greek words some peculiarities may be noticed. Vowels are occasionally modified, as in pure Latin, by the influence of dialect, accent, adjoining letters, or analogy. First for the short vowels:

(*a*) In some Latin words (see 'Latin Vocalism,' sec. 2) *o* becomes *u*; and so in the loan-words *amurca* (ἀμόργη), *bulbus* (βολβός), *cunīla* (κονῖλη), *cothurnus* (κόθορνος), *lautumiae* (cf. λατομίαι), *murra* 'porcelain' (cf. μορρία), *purpura* (πορφύρα), *tribulus* (τρίβολος). So *fungus* corresponds to σφόγγος: *aplustrum triumphus* are from by-forms (sec. 10) *ἄφλοστον *τρίομφος. This *u* was really *ü*, written *i* in *mirmillo*, sec. 4.—Till the time of Cicero *v* was represented not by *y*, as later, but by *u*, *astu columbus cupressus obrussa scutula serpullum sisura spēlunca trutina* (and so *tūs* for **tuus*, θύος); i.e. *ü*, written also *i*, *mirmillo serpillum sināpis*, σίνηπυς, sec. 10.—The 'plebeian' preference of *e* to *i* before a vowel in terminations appears in *cādūceum* (κηρύκιον), *nausea* (ναυτία), *pasceolus* sec. 9.

(β) Unaccented *a* in some few loan-words follows the Latin rule and becomes *ü*, written *u* in *scutula* (σκυτάλη) *stranguló* (στραγγαλάω), *i* in *paelicem* (*πήλακα sec. 10) *trutina* (τρυτάνη), which before *r* becomes *e* in *camera* (καμάρα) *phalerae* (φάλαρα) *tessera* (τέσσαρα), as in a close syllable (*i.e.* before two consonants) in *paelex* (*πῆλαξ) *talentum* (ταλάντον). So unaccented *e* becomes *u* in *scopulus* (σκόπελος).—Final *i* becomes *e*, *gausape tapēte* (sec. 10 fin.). As **agros*, it is not quite clear why, became *ager*, so *κόγγρος (sec. 10) gave *conger;* Varro has *onagrus* (ὄναγρος), Martial *onager*.—Unaccented *i* is dropt before a liquid in *balneum* beside *balineum* (βαλανεῖον), and *troclea* (τροχιλία). In some polysyllables a whole unaccented syllable is dropt (as in *dōdrans* for **dō-quādrans*, *fastīdium* for **fasti-tīdium*): *caltha* for **calcantha* = χαλκάνθη (sec. 11 γ), *castēria* for **catastatēria* = *καταστατηρία (sec. 9).

(γ) *e* before *lt* becomes *u* ('Latin Vocalism,' sec. 8 β) in Plautus' *catapulta*, καταπέλτης (as opposed to Vergil's *pelta*, πέλτη).

(δ) 'Popular Etymology' sometimes influences vowels. Thus *e* becomes *o* in *olīvum* (ἔλαιϝον) through a popular connexion with *olens* 'fragrant,' and *i* in *indusium* (*ἐνδύσιον) and *exinterō* (*ἐξεντερέω sec. 9) as though from *in*: it is omitted (I would suggest) in *puppis* for **pūpis* or **pōpis* from *ἐπωπίς ('look-out place,' ἐπωπή) as though from *pūpus* 'boy' (*i.e.* the steersman). The lengthening of the *y* in *conchȳlia* (κογχύλια) is due (I would suggest) to *edūlia*, of the first *o* in *prōlogus prōpīnō prōpōla* (and therefore doubtless in *proscaenium prothȳmē prothȳmia*) to *prō*: the diphthong in *aurichalcum* (*ὀρίχαλκος sec. 9) is due to *aurum*.

(6) Long vowels: The prae-Ciceronian *ū* (i.e *ȳ*) for *ȳ* from *ū* appears in *phū* (Plautus: in Terence spelt *phȳ*) *trūgonus tūnnus* and the Compound *dē-pūgis*, spelt *ī* in *cōlīphia* (κωλύφια) *trīgonus*: from *λαγύνη (which will be an Aeolic form of *λαγώνη, *lagōna*, as χελύνη of χελώνη) came, I would suggest, **lagūna*, i.e. *lagoena* or *lagēna* ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 10 fin.)—To show the length of the vowel, *ē* was sometimes (as in *laevis vaenum*) written *ae*: so in *caepe* (sec. 8 β) *paelex* (sec. 10: spelt also *pellex*, as though from *pelliciō*) *scaena scaeptrum*. The vowel *ō* changes to *ū* ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 13) in *glaucūma* (sec. 8 fin.) *pūppis* (sec. ō fin.) *scūrra* (sec. 9): *ē* never changes to *ī* in loan-words, in Poenulus 137 *liroe* (λῆροι) is a worthless conjecture (Goetz reads *collyrae*). In *ēōus* (ἠῷος) we have the proper Latin shortening of vowel before vowel.—Popular Etymology changes *ū* to *e* in *placenta* 'cake' (πλακοῦντα) as though from *placens*, *polenta* 'pearl barley' (*παλυντή sec. 9) as though from *pollen*, and *ē* to *u* in *spinturnīx* ('a bird which carries charcoal off altars,' Pliny x. 36, from σπινθήρ 'spark') with termination from *cōturnīx*. So *ū* is shortened to *e* in *remulcum* 'tow-rope' (ῥῦμουλκοῦν 'towing') as though from *remulceō* 'droop,' to *o* in *ancora* (ἄγκῦρα) on the analogy (as I have suggested) of *remora* 'hindrance': *ī* (from ει) is shortened in *adip-* Nom. *adeps* (ἄλειφα 'fat)' as though from *adipiscor* 'acquire.'

Diphthongs:

ει before a consonant=*ī*, *alīptēs pīrāta*, before a vowel=*ē*,

gynaecēum: Ovid's *elegeia* is a purism. Some words follow the Latin rule and shorten the *ē* before another vowel to *i*, *cōnōpium graphium*, or *e* (the 'plebeian' form, sec. 5 *a* fin.), *balneum chorea platea.*

οι=*oe*, *poena:* ῳ in early words=*oe*, *cōmoedus tragoedus*, later *ō*, *ēous hērōus prōra.*

αι=*ae*, *diaeta;* dialectically ('Latin Vocalism' sec. 11) *ē*, *mēna mūrēna pēnula.* This when unaccented becomes *ī* (as in *exquīrō* etc.) in *olīvum* (ἔλαιϝον) and *Achīvī* (Ἀχαιϝοί).—ᾱ=*ā*, *clātri* (*κλᾱθροι beside κλῆθρα, sec. 10 fin.).

ευ and αυ=*eu* and *au* respectively, *eunūchus aula.*

ου=*ū*, *dūrateus:* according to the Latin rule this is shortened before final *m*, *hēdychrum*=ἡδύχρουν, *ostrum*=*ὀστροῦν from ὄστρεον, *remulcum* see above.

Onomatopoeic words sometimes keep the diphthongs unchanged: *eia, oiei,* but *attatae babae eugepae papae.*

(7) Consonants in our loan-words are sometimes affected by dialect, adjoining letters, or analogy.

(*a*) The dialectic *l* for *d* appears in *laurus* from *δαῦρος (the Latin form would be **darvos*), Old-Irish *daur* 'oak' (Stokes in Bezzenberger's Beiträge ix. p. 88); and, I have suggested, in Cicero's *lanīsta* beside Plautus' *danīsta* from δανειστής 'money-lender,' as a slang term applied by gladiators to their trainer.—The Sabine assibilation of *di*, as in *Clausus* for *Claudius*, appears in *rosa* for **rodia* (*ῥοδία), the rose-growing district of Paestum being in Lucania, whose inhabitants the Samnites were an offshoot of the Sabines.—In Oscan *ks* or *x* became *ss*, *meddīx-meddiss*, cf. Latin *acsula-assula* (Ellis on Catullus xvii. 3), *axiculus-assiculus coaxô-coassô, naxa-nassa*, and *Xerxēs-Xersēs* in Cicero: so ἄμυξιν (Acc.) 'tearing' gave *amussim* 'carpenter's rule,' named from the scoring of a straight line.—In Umbrian and Oscan *kt* became *ht* (*rehte*= Lat. *rectē*, *saahtùm*=Lat. *sanctum*), which in some Latin dialect was written *tt*, *bractea-brattea*, *nacta-natta* (=*νάκτης), *salpicta-salpitta* (=σαλπικτής), *strictivella-strittivilla* (cf. Pliny xxvii. 135 *thalictrum* or *thalitrum* 'meadow-rue'), or, after a long vowel or diphthong, *t*, *virēctum-virētum*, *auctor-autor*, cf. *nīxus* (i.e. **nīct-tus*) beside *nīsus* (i.e. **nīt-tus*): so *cocturnīx* 'quail'

(Old High German *wahtala*, Havet in Mém. Soc. Ling. v. p. 234 sq.) became **cotturnīx*, written *cōturnīx*, and from th came Ovid's *cŏturnīx* through a popular connexion wit *cothurnus* (*κόθορνος*) 'buskin,' quails being, I would sugges artificially booted for fighting.

Shortly before Cicero's time the Greek aspirates came be represented in Latin by a Tenuis+*h*, and two new lette were added to the end of the alphabet to represent *υ* and But some words still retained the older transliteration (o that of *ὑ* see sec. 5 *a* and 6):

χ=*c* in *caltha* sec. 5 *β* fin., *coclea* (*κοχλίας*), *corōna* (*χορωνός* Simonides 174, from *χορός* 'dance'), *in-cālŏ* sec. 4 fin., *soccus* (*σύκχος*).

θ=*t* in *balatrō* sec. 4, *clātrī* sec. 6 fin., *menta* (*μίνθα*), *tūnnus*, *tūs*.

φ=*p* in *ampul-la* i.e. **ampor-la* from **ampora* (*ἀμφορεύς*), *aplustrum* sec. 4, *paenula* (*φαινόλης*), *pasceolus* (*φάσκωλος*), *purpura* (*πορφύρα*), *spintēr* (see below), *spinturnīx* sec. 6.

ζ=*ss* in *māssa* (*μᾶζα*), *purpurissum* (*πορφυρίζον*), and the Verbs *atticissŏ cōmissor cyathissŏ graecissŏ malacissŏ moechissŏ mussŏ patrissŏ pĭtissŏ sicelissŏ* (*ἀττικίζω* etc.). So in Plautus modern editors write *badissŏ* (*βαδίζω*) *tarpessīta* (MSS. *trapezīta*, *τραπεζίτης*), and, for initial *ζ*, *s*, *sāmia sōna* (*ζᾶμία ζώνη*).

In earlier Latin initial *ῥ* was represented by *r*, *raphanus rēsīna riscus rosa rūta*; later by *rh* (as in a Corcyraean inscription PHOFAIΣI = *ῥοαῖσι*), *rhētōr rhīnocerōs rhombus rhomphaea rhythmicus*.

The slang dialect sometimes distorted words almost beyond recognition:

caliendrum 'wig' for **callintrum* from *κάλλυντρον* 'ornament':

sandapila 'bier,' I would suggest, for **sancaliba* from **ἀγχαλίβης* **ἀχαλίβης*, cf. Laconian *ἀκχαλίβαρ* 'bed' (on the 'Affrication' see sec. 10.) in Hesychius.

(*β*) In pure Latin *c* cannot stand before a nasal: so in some borrowed words (1) in early times we have in such cases either *ἀνάπτυξις*, *drachuma* (better written *dracuma*) *δραχμή*, *lucinus*=*λύχνος*, *techina* (better *tecina*)=*τέχνη*; or

in the unaccented third syllable, loss of *c* with vowel-lengthening, *arānea*=*ἀράχνη*: (2) later, *c* before *n* becomes *g*, *cygnus*=*κύκνος* as *Prognē*=*Πρόκνη*.—In Latin *t* before *l* becomes *c*, and so in *exanclō* (*ἐξαντλέω*): *d* before *r* becomes *t*, *citrus* is older than *cedrus* (*κέδρος*). Between a nasal and a dental, *c* and *p* are sometimes dropt, e.g. in *quinctus-quintus*, *temptō-tentō*: so *spintēr*=*σφιγκτήρ*, *lanter-na*=*λαμπτήρ*.—The Latins sometimes object to *r* in two syllables of the same word, compare *gurguliō* with *γαργαρεών*: so *balatrō* beside *βάραθρον* sec. 4, *ergastulum*=**ἔργαστρον* sec. 9.

(*γ*) Popular Etymology changes

c to *g* in *plagūsia* 'a fish' (**πλακουσία* sec. 9), as though from *plaga* 'net':

g to *c* in *amurca* (*ἀμόργη*), *spēlunca* (*σπήλυγγα* sec. 8 fin.), because Latin had an ending *-ca* (*fabrica juvenca pedica*), but no ending *-ga*:

t to *c* in *scriblīta* 'cheesecake' (**στρεβλίτης* sec. 9), as though from *scrībō*, 'marked, notched':

p to *b* in *absinthium* (*ἀψίνθιον*), *obsōnium* (*ὀψώνιον*), as though from *ab* and *ob*:

l to *d* in *adeps* (*ἄλειφα* sec. 6): *r* to *d* in *cādūceum* (*κηρύκιον*) apparently (as I have suggested) as though from *cādūcum*, a stick of 'fallen' wood:

h to *s* in *serpyllum* (*ἕρπυλλον*) through the etymological connexion of *serpō* and *ἕρπω*.

A consonant is omitted, I would suggest, in *laena* for **claena* (*χλαῖνα*) as though from *lāna* 'wool,' and in *lāterna* beside *lanterna* as though from *lāta* 'carried': Metathesis in *pistrix* 'sea-monster' (beside *pristis*, *πρίστις*) as though from *pīsō* 'pound, crush.'

(8) Analogy affects especially the terminations of borrowed words: for the ordinary changes see Roby's Grammar sec. 471–507.

Nouns show three favourite terminations:

(*a*) *-a*: *caepa* (beside *caepe*) and *cērintha* (*κήρινθον*) are formed after *herba*, *pausa* (*παῦσις*) after *causa*; we have *argilla* (*ἄργιλλος*) sc. *terra*, *corōna* (*χορωνός*) sc. *taenia*, *crocōta* (*κροκωτός*) sc. *vestis*.

(β) *-i-*: *conchis* (κόγχος) and *pānis* (Messapian πᾶνός) formed after Adjectives in *-is*; *hilaris* (beside *hilarus*, ἵλα and *dapsilis* (δαψιλής) after *facilis*; *caepe* for **caepium* (*κήπ from κῆπος, cf. Hesychius' κάπια 'garlic'), and *sirpe* **sirpium* (*σίρφιον sec. 10), after Neuters like *turpe vīle*.

(γ) *-r*, Neuter: *marmor* (μάρμαρος) is formed after *aeq baccar* (*βάκκαρι sec. 10) and *piper* (πέπερι) have lost a f vowel and follow the analogy of *cicer papāver*, and so on analogy of *mel* Gen. *mellis* Vergil forms from μέλι a Gen. *melis* and uses 'melis phylla' as=μελίφυλλα 'ba Similarly *celōx* 'yacht' (κέλης) takes the termination of *vēl eugē* (εὖγε) that of *pulcrē*: *dracōnem leōnem* beside δράκο λέοντα are formed from the Nominatives *dracō leō*.

All loan Verbs from the Greek[1] are of the first conju tion, not only when the Greek form corresponds with Latin, *boô gubernô harpagô* (*ἁρπαγάω) *stranguló subô* (*συβ *comans* (from κομάω), but also from Verbs in

-έω: *exanclô exinterô* (*ἐξεντερέω) *obsōnō paratragoedô ti mopotô* (*θερμοποτέω):

-ζω: *atticissô* etc., *badissô*, see sec. 7:

-νω: *prōpīnô* (προπίνω).

Sometimes the meaning of the Greek ending was n understood:

(*a*) the Neuter κῆτος was taken for Masculine (Plaut. *cē* Acc.), the Neuters γλαύκωμα σχῆμα for Feminine (Pl *glaucūmam schēmam* Acc.), the Neuters Plural ὄστρεα βαλα γέρρα φάλαρα for Fem. Sing. (whence *ostrea* Sing., *bali gerrae phalerae* Plur.):

(β) the Accusatives γύψον κόκκον κόστον μέδιμνον μί (see note) ξυστόν *ὀρίχαλκον (sec. 9) πέπλον σάλον σπάρ σώρακον were turned into Nominatives Neuter, *gypsum* etc.; Accusatives κρᾱτῆρα πάνθηρα πλακοῦντα (sec. 6) σπήλυ στατῆρα φάλαγγα into Nominatives Feminine, *crātēra* Sing., *phalangae* Plur.; *ἀβολῆ *ἀμφορᾶ, Acc. of ἀβο ἀμφορεύς, into the Nominatives **abola* (sec. 4) *amphora*.

[1] Except *apage*, an Imperative, *psallō* with its purely Greek beginning, *purpurissum* wrongly formed from the Participle πορφυρίζον: *mūttiō* from μῦ (μῦθον, Havet in Mém. Soc. Ling. vi. p. 240 sq.) and *pūniō* from (ποινή) are pure Latin, as also *depsō*.

(9) Our loan-words prove that the following 93 words, though found in no extant Greek author, were once living Greek words:

Substantives:

ἁλαγορά 'salt market' *halagora* (Plaut.).

ἁλοφάντης 'salt informer' *halophanta* (Plaut.).

ἁμαξαγώγης 'carter' *hamaxagōga* (Plaut.).

ἀρετᾱλόγος 'boaster' *aretālogus* (Juv.).

ἁρπαγών 'grappling-hook' *harpagō* (Plaut.).

ἀρτόκρεας 'distribution of meat' *artocreas* (Persius).

αὔστρος 'south wind' *auster*, from αὔω 'kindle.'

βαλλιστής 'catapult' *ballista*, from βαλλίζω (Sicilian) 'jump about.'

βούκερος βουκέριος 'of oxen' *būcerus būcerius*, cf. βούκερως.

βωλητός 'mushroom' *bōlētus*, cf. βωλίτης (Galen).

δαῦρος 'tree' *laurus*, sec. 7.

ἐπι-ρήδιον 'trace' *epirēdium*, from *ῥήδη (below).

ἐπωπίς *puppis*, sec. 5 δ.

ἔργαστρον 'workhouse' *ergastulum*, sec. 7 β.

ἡμίκιλλος 'mule' *hēmicillus* (Cic.), from κίλλος 'ass.'

θερμοπώλιον 'tavern' *thermopōlium* (Plaut.).

καταστατηρία 'cuddy' *castēria* (Plaut.), sec. 5 β.

καταστή 'stage' *catasta*.

καχῖνος 'laugh' *cachinnus*, from καχάζω 'to laugh' as γελασῖνος 'dimple' from γελάω.

κίκκος 'doit' *cīccus* (Plaut.), cf. κίκκαβος.

κίνναμον 'cinnamon' *cinnamum*, cf. κιννάμωμον.

κολύτια 'ripe figs' *cŏlŭtea* Persa 88, cf. κόλυτρα (Athenaeus).

κορίανδρον 'coriander' *coriandrum*, cf. κορίαννον (in Varro L. v. 103 Spengel reads κολίανδρον).

κροταλίστρια 'castanet-dancer' *crotalistria* (Propertius).

κυβαία 'transport' *cybaea* (Cic.), from κύβη as a by-form of κύμβη 'boat.'

κύπρεσσος 'cypress' *cupressus*, from Hebrew *kōpher*, cf. κυπάρισσος.

λαγωίς 'grouse' *lagōis* (Hor.).

λάτρων 'hireling' *latrō*, cf. λάτρις, from Hebrew *noter* 'guardian' (as λίτρον 'natrum' from Hebrew *nether*).

λαυτομίαι 'stone-quarries' *lautumiae*, from *λᾱοτομίαι, cf. λᾱτομίαι.

μεφῖτις 'miasma' *mephītis* (Verg.): derivation unknown.

μονοπόδιον 'table with one leg' *monopodium* (Livy).

μόρρα 'porcelain' *murra*, cf. μορρία (Pausanias).

μῶρος (Fem.) 'mulberry-tree' *mōrus*, cf. μόρον 'mulberry,' foreign.

νηνία 'dirge' *nēnia*, cf. νηνίατον (Hipponax), Phrygian.

ὀρίχαλκος 'copper ore' *orichalcum*, cf. ὀρείχαλκος.

παταγεῖον 'gold edging' *patagium*, foreign.

πλακουσία 'a fish' *plagūsia* (Plaut.), from πλακόεις 'flat.'

πόππυσμα 'clucking' *poppysma* (Juv.).

πρῳρήτης 'look-out man' *prōrēta* (Plaut.), cf. πρῳρᾶτης: formed after πρυμνήτης 'steersman.'

πύτισμα 'tasting' *pȳtisma* (Juv.).

ῥήδη 'chariot' *raeda*: Gaulish, sec. 12.

ῥοδία 'rosetree' *rosa*, from ῥόδον.

σακκοπήριον 'pocket' *saccipērium* (Plaut.), from σάκκος + πήρα.

σάννη 'grimace' *sanna*, and σαννίων 'buffoon' *sanniō*, cf. σάνναις.

σκωρᾶς 'buffoon' *scurra* i.e. **scūra* sec. 6, from *σκωρ-φάγος (our 'toadeater') as Ἑρμᾶς (a slave's name) from Ἑρμόδωρος.

σταλάγμιον 'ear-drop' *stalagmium* (Plaut.), from σταλαγμός 'dropping.'

στορία 'mat' *storea*, from στόρνυμι 'spread.'

στρεβλίτης 'cheesecake' *scriblīta* sec. 7 γ, from στρεβλός: 'twisted.'

σφικτρίας *spintria*, from σφίγγω 'press.'

τοκυλλίων 'usurer' *tocullio* (Cic.), from *τοκύλλιον Diminutive of τόκος 'interest' (as ξενυλλιον of ξένος).

τόπια 'ornamental gardening' *topia*, from τόπος 'place.'

τραγοκωμῳδία 'tragicomedy' *tragicōmoedia* (Plaut.).

τρύγονος 'sting-ray' *trūgonus* (Plaut.), cf. τρυγών.

τυμπανοτρίβης 'timbrel-player' *tympanotriba* (Plaut.).

φασκίολος 'purse' *pasceolus* (Plaut.), cf. φάσκωλος: so Dioscorides has φασίολος (Columella's *phaseolus*) for φάσηλος 'bean.'

φρυγίων 'embroiderer' *phyrgiō* (Plaut.), sec. 10, from φρυγία.

φυλακιστής 'jailer' *phylacista* (Plaut.), from φυλακίζω 'imprison.'

χαρίστια 'family banquet' *charistia*, from χαρίζομαι 'indulge.'

χεράγρα 'gout' *cheragra*, from χερ- + ἄγρα, cf. χειράγρα (late Greek.)[1]

Diminutives:

ἐλεγείδιον *elegīdium* (Persius) from ἔλεγος 'elegy.'

ἐνδύσιον 'smock' *indusium* sec. 5 fin., from ἔνδυσις 'dress' (Septuagint).

μυροθήκιον *myrothēcium* (Cic.) from μυροθήκη 'unguent-case.'

νάβλιον *nablium* (Ovid) from νάβλα 'harp,' Hebrew *nebhel* 'flute.'

Adjectives:

ἀδαμάντειος 'of steel' *adamantēus* (Ovid).

ἀκοινονόητος 'without common sense' *acoenonoētus* Juv. VIII. 218.

βούμαστος 'with large breasts' *būmastus* (Verg.).

εὐρῷος 'eastern' *eurōus* (Verg.).

θαλασσικός 'of the sea' *thalassicus* (Plaut.).

κηρόεις 'like wax,' Fem. κηροῦσσα *cērūssa* 'white lead.'

κομητός 'leafy' *comātus*, from κόμη 'hair, foliage.'

λαβυρίνθειος 'of the labyrinth' *labyrinthēus* (Catullus).

μουσαῖος 'of the Muses' *mūsaeus* (Lucr.), cf. μούσειος.

ὀκτώφορος 'carried by eight men' *octōphorus* (Cic.).

παθικός *pathicus* from πάθος 'passion.'

παλυντός 'sprinkled,' whence *polenta* sec. 6; from παλύνω.

πλαταλέος 'broad,' whence *platalea* 'spoonbill' (Cic.); from πλατύς.

[1] Words are so seldom coined absolutely de novo (Plautus' *titivillītium* is the only indubitable instance in Latin) that the seven spice-names in Pseudolus 831-836 must have had an origin, though we cannot fully trace it. Thus, ἀπαλοψις *hepalopsis* is from ἀπαλῶς ὀπτᾶν 'roast moderately,' καταράκτρια *catarractria* from καταράκτης 'rushing down' as it is sprinkled: *cēpolendrum* (the first element = κῆπος) *cicilendrum cicimandrum* draw their termination from *coriandrum*: μάκις *maccis* (cf. Dioscorides' μάκερ) and σαύκαπτις *saucaptis* must be of un-Greek origin.

πολτοφάγος 'pulse-eating' *pultiphagus* (Plaut.).

πτηνοθηρικός 'of birds and beasts' (if Goetz is right in conjecturing 'pugna ptenotherica' in Poenulus 471: MSS. *pentethronica*).

συμφωνιακός 'singing' *symphōniacus* (Cic.), from συμφωνία.

τῡροτάρῑχος 'of cheese and salt fish' *tyrotarīchos* (Cic.).

χαλυβήιος 'of steel' *chalybēius* (Ovid), from χάλυψ.

Interjections:

εὖαξ *euax* (Plaut.) from εὖοῖ, as πόπαξ from πόποι.

εὐγεπαῖ *eugepae* (Plaut.) from εὖγε + (πα)παῖ.

οἰεῖ *oiei* Miles Gloriosus 1406, cf. οἰοῖ.

Verbs:

ἁρπαγάω 'steal' *harpagô* (Plaut.) from ἁρπαγή 'plunder.'

ἐξεντερέω 'eviscerate' *exinterô* (Plaut.), cf. ἐξεντερίζω (Dioscorides).

εὐάω 'shout,' *euans* Participle (pure Latin *ovans*).

θερμοποτέω 'drink warm drink' (cf. ψυχροποτέω 'drink cold water') *thermopotô* 'warm with drink' (Plaut.), from θερμοπότης (Athenaeus).

κωμίζω *cōmissor*, from κῶμος 'revel,' as κωμάζω from κώμη 'village.'

πατρίζω 'take after the father' *patrissô* (Plaut.), cf. πατριάζω (Pollux).

συβάω *subô*, from σύβας 'lewd' (Hesychius).

(10) Dialectic variations proved by our loan-words to have once existed in Greek are the following, 57 in number:[1]

(*a*) *a* for *o* (cf. μαλάχη-μολόχη): *κάλιξ *calix* for *κόλιξ (whence κύλιξ, cf. μύλη from *μόλη, Lat. *mola*):

(*b*) *o* for *οι* before a vowel (cf. ποιέω-ποέω): *πόημα *poēma* *ποητής *poēta*:

(*c*) Ionic *η* for *ᾱ*: *πῆλαξ *paelex* sec. 5 *β* (seen in προ-πηλακίζω 'insult')=Doric πάλλαξ 'boy' (cf. Doric καλλά for Ionic κᾱλά or, as it should be written, κηλά):

(*d*) Doric original *ᾱ*: *κᾱρύκιον *cādūceum* sec. 7 fin., *κλᾱθροι *clātrī* sec. 6, *Σειλᾱνός *sīlānus* sec. 11 fin., *σίνᾱπις *sināpis* sec. 5 *a*:

[1] The forms so substantiated are here, to avoid confusion, marked with an asterisk; which in sec. 9 was not necessary.

(*e*) Doric ω=Ionic ου: *κωράλιον *cōralium*:

(*f*) κχ for χ ('Affrication,' cf. βρόκχος for βρόχος): *βράκχῖον *bracchĭum* (vowel shortened before vowel), beside βρᾰχίων:

(*g*) Ionic ς for τ before ι: *ναυσία *nausea*, *ῥησίνη *rēsīna*, *φρένησις *phrenēsis* (beside φρενῖτις). So *ἄσινος *asinus* (cf. ἄσιλλα 'yoke' Simonides 163) presupposes a Doric *ἄτινος from Hebrew *athon* 'she-ass,' while ὄνος must be a different word:

(*h*) ν preserved before ς (cf. Cretan πάνσᾱς=πᾱσᾱς): *θηνσαυρός *thēnsaurus*:

(*i*) Metathesis with ρ (cf. καρδία-κραδίη): *ταρπεζῖτης *tarpessīta* sec. 7 (in Plautus the metre sometimes requires *tarp-*, and never excludes it). So in the un-Greek words *κορκωτός *corcōta* (a more original form than κροκωτός, from Hebrew *karkōm* 'saffron'), *φυργίων *phyrgiō* (*φρυγίων sec. 9, Wagner's Aulularia p. lxii):

(*j*) ζμ for σμ: *ζμάραγδος *smaragdus*, Ellis' Catullus p. 345:

(*k*) Medial aspiration preserved: *εὐοῖ *euhoe* (εὐοῖ), *εὔιος *euhaius* (εὔιος):

(*l*) Medial *F* preserved: *ἔλαιϝον *olīvum*, *βοϝάω *boō* (Ennius), cf. *Ἀργεῖϝοι *Argīvī*, *Ἀχαιϝοί *Achīvī*.

So especially in words which in Greek itself were foreign:

(*a*) ο for α, *ἄφλοστον *aplustrum* (ἄφλαστον) *τρίομφος *triumphus* (θρίαμβος, see below) sec. 5*a*, or for υ, *σόκχος *soccus* (σύκχος) sec. 7:

(*b*) ε for ι, *μένθα *menta* (μίνθα).—ι for ε, *πίπερι *piper* (πέπερι: Sanskrit *pippalī*):

(*c*) κ for γ, *κόγγρος *conger* (γόγγρος) *κωρῦτός *cōrȳtus* (γωρῦτός):

(*d*) γ for κ, *γράβᾱτος *grābatus* (κράβᾱτος) *γυβερνάω *gubernō* (κυβερνάω) *γωβιός *gōbius* (κωβιός). So β for π, *βύξος *buxus* (πύξος) *κάρβασος *carbasus* (κάρπασος):

(*e*) ρ for λ (cf. κρίβανος-κλίβανος στεργίς-στελγίς): *κανθήριος *cantherius* (κανθήλιος) *σίρφιον *sirpe* (σίλφιον, sec. 8): conversely *λείλιον *lilium* (λείριον):

(*f*) Initial aspiration preserved, **ἔβενος hebenus* (ἔβενος: from Hebrew *hobnīm*).—Aspiration transposed (cf. *πάθνη-φάτνη*): **τρίομφος triumphus* (see above).

Sometimes the suggested and the extant Greek form differ in termination; we infer from Latin the existence of

(*a*) stems in *-o-* beside consonant stems: **ἄβακος abacus *ἀρχίτεκτος architectus *βράχῖον bracchium *δέλφῖνος delphinus *ἐλέφαντος elephantus* beside *ἄβαξ ἀρχιτέκτων βραχίων δελφίν ἐλέφᾱς*:

(*b*) Masc. beside Neut., **κλῇθροι clātrī* beside *κλῇθρα*; Fem. beside Masc., **λαγώνη lagōna *λαγύνη lagoena* sec. 6 beside *λάγῡνος*; Neut. beside Masc., **μαργάρῖτον margarītum* beside *μαργαρίτης*, or Fem., **ἀρτήριον artērium *αὐλαῖον aulaeum *οἴσυπον oesypum* beside *ἀρτηρίᾱ αὐλαίᾱ οἰσύπη*:

(*c*) Neuter stems in *-ι-* beside others: **βάκκαρι baccar* sec. 8 *γ *γαύσαπι gausape *τάπητι tapēte* sec. 5 *β* beside *βάκκαρις γαύσαπος τάπης*.

(11) Many of our loan-words prove that the Greek equivalents had once a larger meaning than appears in extant Greek literature:

(*a*) the following, Adjectives in Greek, are used in Latin as Substantives:

Masc.:

κογχίτης shelly, *conchīta* catcher of shellfish.
πάροχος supplying, *parochus* purveyor.
πυρωπός fiery, *pyrōpus* bronze.
σαρκοφάγος carnivorous, *sarcophagus* coffin.
τραπητός newly pressed, *trapētus* oil mill.

Fem.:

δίβαφος double-dyed, *dibaphus* purple robe.
δίωτος two-eared, *diōta* jar.
ἐνδρομίς for the footrace, *endromis* wrap.
κυκλάς lying around, *cyclas* robe.
μυρρίνη of myrrh, *murrina* spiced wine.
ὀβρύζη pure, *obrussa* test.
θερμαί warm, *thermae* baths.
ξηραμπέλιναι scarlet, *xērampelinae* scarlet robes.

Neut.:

ἀναγκαῖον necessary, *anancaeum* cup drained on a wager.

δίκροτον double-oared, *dicrotum* bireme.

μακρόκωλον long-legged, *macrocōlum* a kind of paper.

μήλινον yellow, *mēlinum* yellow robe.

νάρδινον of nard, *nardinum* spiced wine.

πλάγιον crooked, *plagium* kidnapping.

σητάνιον of this year, *sētanium* medlar.

ἀμεθύστινα of amethyst, *amethystina* purple robes.

κήρινα wax-coloured, *cērina* yellow robes.

τέσσαρα four, *tessera* tally, each side being a square.

τρεχέδειπνα running to dinner, *trechedīpna* light robes.

Conversely the following, Substantives in Greek, are used in Latin as Adjectives:

ἐπίκροκον a garment, *epicrocum* transparent.

σπάδιξ palm branch, *spādīx* brown.

(β) the following, abstract in meaning in Greek, are in Latin concrete:

ἄμυξιν, *amussim* sec. 7 *a*.

γένεσις birth, *genesis* birth-star.

ἔλεγχος refutation, *elenchus* ear-pendant (why?).

σπονδή, *sponda* sec. 3 note.

Conversely the following, concrete in meaning in Greek, are in Latin abstract:

γέρρα wickerwork, *gerrae* nonsense.

στόμαχος stomach, *stomachus* displeasure.

χορήγιον dancing-school, *chorēgium* preparing a chorus.

(γ) the etymologically possible meaning comes out differently:

ἐμβόλιον 'thrown in'=javelin, *embolium* interlude (Aristotle's ἐμβόλιμον).

ἐξόδιον 'exit'=finale of a tragedy, *exodium* farce.

κόλυμβος 'ducking'=grebe, *columbus* pigeon.

λογεῖον 'place of words'=stage, *logēum* archives.

μαλακία 'softness'=effeminacy, *malacia* dead calm.

ναυτία 'of sailors'=seasickness, *nautea* bilgewater.

ὀφθαλμίας 'quicksighted'=eagle, *ophthalmias* a kind of fish.

πῆγμα 'fixture'=framework, *pēgma* bookcase, stage.

χαλκάνθη 'bronze-flower'=sulphate of copper, *caltha* pot-marigold.

χειλόω 'use a lip'=surround with a rim, *in-cīlō* grin (sec. 4 fin.).

(δ) the Latin meaning is extended from the Greek (o[illegible] *βλαισός blæsus* see sec. 3 note):

γραφικός picturesque, *graphicus* exquisite.

θρίαμβος hymn to Bacchus, *triumphus* procession.

κιστοφόρος chest-bearer, *cistophorus* a coin.

λάτρις hired servant, *latrō* robber.

ληνός trough, *lēnunculus* skiff.

ὄνυξ onyx, *onyx* casket made of onyx.

παρθενική maiden, *parthenicē* a plant.

πόδιον little foot, *podium* balcony.

στέμμα wreath, *stemma* pedigree, from wreaths hung on images of ancestors.

φάσηλος bean, *phasēlus* boat, from its shape.

Σειληνός Silenus, *sīlānus* fountain with a head of Silenus.

Φίλιππος Philip, *philippus* a coin.

Conversely *pithēcium* in Latin means 'little ape,' *πιθήκιον* in (late) Greek 'a machine.'

(12) We may now turn to the un-Greek loan-words within our province. The following 90 words, if no more, seem foreign, though we cannot tell where they came from: *aclys* (sec. 3) *ālea ālēc* 'pickle' *andabata* 'blindfolded gladiator' *asīlus bēta* 'beet' *bractea* 'gold-leaf' *brassica būris* 'plough-beam' *caliga cālō* 'soldier's servant' *cāseus caupo cibus cīmex cippus colostra* 'biestings' *cortīna crāpula* (sec. 3) *cuspis dōlium ebulum* 'dwarf elder' *epulae excetra* 'snake' *faex falx fētiālis fiscus fuscina galbinus* 'green' *gānea* 'underground room' *gladius grāvastellus* 'old man' *hēlluō hibrida hirnea* 'jug' *hōrius* 'fishing-smack' *īlex juba jubar lappa lārua* 'ghost, mask' *later* 'brick' *laus lemurēs lessum* 'wailing' *liber* 'inner bark' *lūrus* 'sutler' *lōdix* 'blanket' *lorea* 'after-wine' *lumbrīcus* 'earthworm' *lurcō* 'glutton' *lūtum* 'woad' *marra* 'hoe' *mēles* 'badger' *mīles naucum* 'trifle' *ocrea offa orca* 'jar' *palumbes pantex* 'paunch' *pirum popa* 'priest's assistant' *pōpulus precis*

'a grape-vine' *proelium rāna rūna* 'dart' *sagitta sepeliō serra silex sinum* 'bowl' *situla* 'bucket' *spolium sudis sulfur taeda tarmes* 'woodworm' *tāxillus* 'die' *taxus tēmētum* 'wine' *tīnus* 'a plant' *tīpūla* (sec. 3) *tīrō titulus trichila* 'bower' *tugurium vāgīna.*

The following may with some confidence be referred to definite sources: about 69 are from Aryan and 32 from non-Aryan languages.

A. Aryan:

(*a*) Umbro-Sabellian: 21 words:

Umbrian:

arbiter 'witness,' cf. Umbr. *aδputrati* 'arbitratu' (the second vowel of each word is *ü*, 'Latin Vocalism' sec. 2 fin.), from *ad* + a root *gvet* 'speak,' Gothic *qithan*, Eng. *quoth.*

rūfus 'red,' cf. Umbr. *rofa* 'rufas': the Roman form would be **rūbus.*

sili-*cernium* 'feast at which they sat,' cf. Umbr. *çersnatur* 'cenati': the first element is Latin *sedeō.*

Oscan (which the Roman grammarians often call Sabine):

bōs, cf. *βοῦς*: the Roman form would be **vōs* from **vous.*

crepusculum 'twilight' (Varro), cf. *creper* below.

curis 'spear,' quoted by Ovid.

meddīx 'magistrate' (Festus), also written *metd(īx)* or *meddiss*, sec. 7*a*.

mulcta 'fine' (Varro).

ovis 'sheep,' cf. *ὄις* i.e. *ὄϝις*: the Roman form **avis* is said to remain in *avēna* 'oats.'

strēna 'health' (Lydus de mensibus iv. 4).

sublica 'stake,' Volscian (Festus).

sūpparum 'smock, topsail' (Varro), cf. *sīparium* 'curtain' (the first vowel of each word is *ū*).

tesqua 'wastes' (Scholiast on Hor. Epp. i. 14. 19) an augural term; it proves that *qu* after *s* did not, as in other positions in Oscan, become *p*.

trabea 'state robe,' introduced by Numa (Lydus ut supra i. 19).

Adjectives: *cascus* 'old,' *catus* 'sharp,' *creper* 'dark,' *dīrus* 'evil,' *sollus* 'whole,' are said by the Roman grammarians to

be Sabine; *tūticus* 'public' (cf. Gothic *theuda* 'people') [illegible] Campanian (Livy).

Verb: *baetō* (also spelt *bētō* or *bītō*) 'go,' cf. Oscan *baite*[illegible] 'comest.'

(β) Celtic: perhaps 43 words, some also quoted in Greek[illegible]:

Gaulish:

(1) names for wheeled vehicles:

carpentum (Florus).

carrus (Irish *carr*).

petor-ritum (Festus: cf. Welsh *pedwar* 'four' + Old-Irish [illegible] *rith* 'course').

raeda *ῥήδη sec. 9 (Quintilian: cf. Old-Irish *rīad* 'journeying').

Probably also *cisium* and *sarrācum*; with *plōxenum* 'wagon-box' (Catullus xcvii. 6) and, I would suggest, the cognate word *plaustrum* 'wagon,' i.e. **plaux-trum* from a root *qlaug-s*, Celtic **plōg*, whence our *plough*.

(2) military terms:

ambactus 'vassal' (Festus), cf. Welsh *amaeth* 'husbandman,' cognate with Latin *ambi-* + *agō*, 'sent about.' Hence Gothic *andbahts* 'servant,' the first syllable of it as though from *and* 'towards.'

bārō or *tārō* 'soldier's servant,' Scholiast on Persius v. 138 [illegible] (Jahn: Bücheler omits the passage).

caterva 'troop,' see Isidore's Origines ix. 3. 46, cf. Old-Irish [illegible] *cath* 'fight.'

cruppellārii 'harnessed combatants,' quoted by Tacitus.

matara or *madaris* 'pike' (Hesychius).

pontō 'punt' (Caesar): from it comes the Eng. word.

sagum σάγος 'military cloak' (Isidore): Eng. *sail* from [illegible] *sagulum*.

soldūrii σιλόδουροι 'retainers,' quoted by Caesar.

(3) other words:

amellus 'starwort,' loved by bees, for **ampellus* (cf. L[illegible]*t. apis*): see Stokes in Bezz. Beitr. ix. p. 194.

brācae 'breeches' (Diodorus Siculus): said to be borrowed from Teutonic, cf. German *bruch* 'trowsers.'

cucullus 'hood,' whence Eng. *cowl*: Santonic, Juv. viii. 145 [illegible]

omāsum 'tripe' (Philoxenus).

rēnō 'fur pelisse' (Varro).

saliunca 'Celtic nard,' Dioscorides' *ἀλιουάσκα*.

tūcētum 'beef' (Isidore), Umbrian *toco*.

ūrus οὖρος 'wild ox' (Macrobius): said to be borrowed from Teutonic, cf. German *auer-ochs* 'wild ox,' *auer-hahn* 'black-cock.'

volaemus (Adj.) 'fine' (Servius), whence Vergil's *volaema* 'warden-pears.'—I would add

aquipenser ἀκκιπήσιος (*i.e.* **ἀκϝιπήνσιος*) 'sturgeon': the first element is cognate with Lat. *aqua*.

caballus καβάλλης 'horse,' whence French *cheval*, Welsh *ceffyl*.

vātēs (the Latin form would be **vōtēs*) 'seer, poet,' Celtic *οὐάτεις* 'priests' (Strabo), Irish *fāith* 'prophet,' Rhys' Hibbert Lectures p. 278: a shepherds' term, Verg. Buc. ix. 34.

Probably also *bāsium gingīva salīva*, all three introduced by Catullus, a native of Transpadane Gaul.

Belgic:

covinnus 'war-chariot' (Lucan), for **co-veg-nos*, cognate with Lat. *co-+vehō*, cf. Welsh *cy-wain* 'convey.'

essedum 'war-chariot' (Verg.).

British:

bascauda 'tub' (nothing to do with our *basket*, whence Welsh *basged*).

Spanish (which the Greeks call Iberian):

caetra καιτρέα 'shield' (Hesychius).

canthus κανθός 'tire' of a wheel (Quintilian).

cunīculus κύνικλος 'rabbit' (Aelian): properly, I would suggest, 'little dog,' cf. *κύνα*.

falārica 'fiery arrow,' used by the Saguntines.

gaesum γαῖσος 'javelin' (Athenaeus), Old Irish *gai*.

lancea 'spear' (Varro), whence Eng. *launch*.

mantum 'cloak' (Isidore), whence *mantēlum* 'mantle' and *mantēle* 'napkin.'

minium 'vermilion' (Propertius), cf. the river-name *Minius*, now *Minho*.

pīlentum 'chariot'? See Diefenbach's Origines Europae[illegible]e p. 399.

(γ) Teutonic: 5 words:

bardītus 'war cry' (Tacitus), perhaps from a root *bher*[illegible]*h*, whence πέρθω 'ravage,' Stokes in Mém. Soc. Ling. v. [illegible]p. 420.

catēja 'spear' (Verg.: according to Servius Gaulish).

framea 'spear' (Tacitus).

glaesum 'amber' (Pliny), Anglosaxon *glaere*.

sparus 'spear,' Anglosaxon *spär*, Eng. *spar*.

Perhaps, originally, also *brācae ūrus*, see above.

B. Non-Aryan:

(*a*) Etruscan: perhaps 13 words:

ātrium 'hall' (Varro) cf. the Etruscan town-name *Atria* (a[illegible]d the relation of μέγαρον 'hall' to Μέγαρα).

balteus 'belt' (Varro).

cassis 'helmet' (Isidore).

catamītus, Etrusc. *catmite* from *κατάμισθος 'venal.'

fala 'pillar' (Festus), Etrusc. *falandum* 'sky.'

histriō 'actor' (Livy), Etrusc. *hister*.

īdūs 'middle of the month,' Etrusc. *itus* (Varro: thei[illegible]r alphabet having no *d*).

lituus 'trumpet,' an Etruscan invention.

obba obua 'cup,' Etrusc. *uflea*, Bugge in Bezz. Beitr. x. p[illegible]p. 110 sq.

satelles 'follower,' Etrusc. *zatlaθ*, Bugge ut supra xi. p. 1 sq. [illegible] a bodyguard first introduced by Tarquinius Superbus, a[illegible] Etruscan by origin.

Perhaps also *tensa* 'car for images of gods,' and (beside[illegible] *histriō*) the scenic words *lūcar* 'actors' pay,' *pulpitum* 'stage' [illegible] but hardly *capra* 'she-goat' (Hesychius), *lanista* (Isidore[illegible] sec. 7, *nepōs* 'spendthrift' (Festus), *pollūceō* 'offer' (whic[illegible] Bugge ut supra p. 43 connects with Etrusc. *pultace* 'sacri[illegible] cavit').

(β) Basque: *mannus* 'cob,' dialectic for **mandus* (as *grunn*[illegible] for *grundiō*, cf. Miles Gloriosus 1407 dispennite . . . et di[illegible] tennite), Basque *mando* 'mule.'

(γ) Phoenician: 13 words:

ambūbāja 'fluteplayer,' cf. Syrian *āvūvo* 'pipe': formed as though from Lat. *ambi-*.

fūcus (Masc.) 'rock-lichen,' Hebrew *pukh* 'paint,' whence also φῦκος (Neut.) 'seaweed.'

intibus (whence ἔντυβον) 'endive,' Arabic *hindibā*.

māgālia 'huts,' Heb. *māgōr* 'habitation,' whence also μέγαρον.

mastrūca manstrūga (Poenulus 1313, Goetz) 'sheepskin,' Sardinian (Quintilian).

palma 'palm-tree,' Heb. *tamar*: for the inserted *l* cf. σαλαμάνδρα beside Persian *semender*, βάλσαμον from Heb. *besem*.

pāvō 'peacock,' Arabic *tāūs*, whence also τᾶως: for the *p* cf. the preceding.

sūfēs 'consul,' Heb. *shofet* 'judge.'

tunica 'shirt,' Heb. *k'thōneth*, whence also χιτών.

Punic: *mapālia* 'huts' (Festus), *mappa* 'napkin' (Quintilian), *ulpicum* 'leek' (Columella), and perhaps *crux* 'cross' (a Carthaginian instrument of punishment).

(δ) African: *nepa* 'scorpion' (Festus), and perhaps *attegia* 'hut' (Maurorum, Juv. xiv. 196), *lāserpicium* 'silphium' (first grown at Cyrene, Pliny xvi. 143).—Egyptian: *ebur* 'ivory' (Egyptian *āb*).

(ε) Indian (but not Aryan): *barrus* 'elephant' (Isidore).

Syllabus of Contents.

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XII.—NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF URBINO, THE NASAL SOUNDS, ETC., IN A LETTER TO A. J. ELLIS, ESQ., F.R.S. By PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on Dec.* 23, 1888.)

London, 8th November, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. ELLIS,

I hope to be able to go again to Urbino next March to continue my study on the dialect of that ancient duchy, a dialect which, in my opinion, can be as correctly considered to be the end of the Gallo-Italic language as the beginning of the Italian. I prefer to consider it as Gallo-Italic particularly because it presents, as generally Gallo-Italic dialects do, the final sounds 'b, d, dz, dzh, f, g, gj, gw, k, kj, kw, llj, n, nnj, p, s, ssh, t, ts, tsh, v, z'; or, in usual Italian orthography, (b, d, z, g gi, f, g gh, ghi gh, gu, c ch, chi ch, qu, gl gli, n, gn, p, s, sc sci, t, z, c ci, v, s). The Italian final sounds are only these: 'l, m, n, r,' and perhaps '*nh*,' (see the following Table No. 44 and note 5), which occur in Gallo-Italic too, and are represented in usual Italian orthography by (l, m, n, r) and perhaps (n) for '*nh*.' Examples taken from the dialect of Urbino in usual orthography: (piomb, piedd, Magg, grif, zag,[1] sach, degn, dop, pass, rosc, pat, disprezz, pec, amav), and also (sal, fam, donn, signor, pan, pronounced 'pa*nh*') corresponding, in meaning to Italian (piombo, piede, Maggio, grifo, sagrestano,[1] sacco, degno, dopo, passo, rosso, patto, disprezzo, pace, amavi; sale, fame, donne, signore, pane), *lead, foot, May, snout* (of a pig), *sacristan,*[1] *sack, worthy*

[1] The word (zag), phon. 'dzag,' is very much used at Fano, where a subdialect of Urbino is spoken. It is a wonderful word indeed, and the research of its origin is well worthy of the attention of the etymologist; and so are the prepositions (ma) *to*, and (sa) *with*, corresponding to the Italian (a) and (con). Ex. (ma te, sa me) *to thee, with me.* They are in great use in the localities belonging to the dialect of Urbino, and are also heard in localities belonging to the *Romagnuolo* Gallo-Italic subdialect, as Pesaro, Cattolica, Coriano, Rimini, San Marino, Sant' Agata Feltria, Savignano, San Vittorio of Cesena, and somewhere

after, pace step, red, pact, contempt, peace, thou lovedst; salt, hunger, women, lord, bread.

The dialect of Urbino does not follow the *Romagnuolo* dialect in making no distinction between the third person of the singular and that of the plural in all the tenses; and, as this confusion takes place at Pesaro and in the localities of the *mandamento* of the same name situated between the river Foglia and the torrent Arzilla, such as Candelara, Novilara, etc., it seems that it marks the limit between these two Gallo-Italic dialects. So, *e.g.* these two phrases, which in Italian are: (il gatto mangia, i gatti mangiano), *the cat is eating, the cats are eating*, are rendered at Urbino by (el gat magna, i gat magnen) and, at Pesaro, by (el gat magna, i gat magna).

Nasal Sounds.

I am also, in this moment, very much occupied with the phonetics of *n* and *m*, Gröber's new work on Neo-Latin languages having greatly modified my ideas about the nature of the so-called guttural *ng*, as in si*ng*ing, in which word I find a difference between the final and the medial *ng*. In fact, only the latter seems to be a real guttural nasal consonant, which I indicate phonetically by 'nh.'[1] This sound occurs also in such Genoese and Piedmontese words as *lûnn-a pinn-a*, and *luna pie*na, meaning *full moon*, phon. 'lýnh*nh*nha pính*nh*nha, lýnh*nh*nha piɛ́nh*nh*nha';

else in Italy. *Conf.* the Illyrian (sa) on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, the German (sammt), the Greek σύν, all three meaning *with*, the Latin (simul), and the French (ensemble) *together*. With regard to (ma), perhaps the hypothetical Latin (ampud), for (apud), may explain its origin. I find in Du Cange's "Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis," under the word Zagus: "Nomen officii palatini apud Venetos. (Appendix ad Translat. SS. Pauli et Barbari tom. 7, Maii pag. 772: *Capitaneus major, Zagus, ceremoniarum magister, etc.* Vide *Adalides*," and, under the word Adalides: "Apud Lusitanos Adalidem, vulgo *Adail* [itineris ductor], antiquitus nominatum fuisse *Zagam* monet Sª Rosa de Viterbo tom. 1, pag. 52. Charta ann. 1162: *De predo de Fossado non detis, nisi et Zagam duas partes et vobis remaneant duæ;* ubi versio vulgaris sec. 13: *E de saubo, e de foçado non dedes senão ao Adajl as duas partes, e a vos fiquem as duas partes.*" I read also in Dozy's "Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe," at p. 359, line 21: *Zaga, azaga* (arrière-garde), [de l'arabe] sâca, postrema pars exercitus;" but the etymology of *zag*, in spite of these statements, remains still very obscure.

[1] Words or symbols between inverted commas are always phonetically spelled according to the symbols given in my Table, while words or symbols in italics or between brackets are not so.

while the Italian *luna piena* is phonetically 'llúna piéna.' The final *ng* of *singing*, on the contrary, as well as the *n* of *bank* or *finger*, seems, to my ear, to be a nasal vowel resonance following a non-nasal vowel and preceding, as in *bank* or *finger*, a consonant to which only the gutturality belongs; and, as I express the nasal resonance by an italic '*nh*,' the words *singing*, *bank*, and *finger* become phon. 'sính*inh*, b*anh*k,' and 'fi*nh*ger.' According to Gröber, with whom I entirely agree, both *m* and *n* before a consonant sound '*nh*' and not 'm' or 'n,' the labiality, the gutturality, the palatality, the dentality, etc., of the consonant having no influence on the preceding '*nh*,' whether represented either by *m* or *n*; so that the words: *gamba*, *banca*, *lancia*, *granchio*, *cinque*, *mondo*, *ninfa*, *vanga*, *frangia*, *unghia*, *lingua*, *in lui*, *con gli studj*, *in me*, *in noi*, *con gnaulare*, *tempo*, *con rabbia*, *mensa*, *con scintille*, *ponte*, *invito*, *lonza*, *sustanziale*, *bronzo*, and meaning: *leg*, *bank*, *lance*, *crab*, *five*, *world*, *nymph*, *spade*, *fringe*, *nail*, *tongue*, *in him*, *with the studies*, *in me*, *in us*, *with mewing*, *time*, *with rage*, *table*, *with sparks*, *bridge*, *invitation*, *panther*, *substantial*, *bronze*, are to be pronounced: 'ggá*nh*ba, bbá*nh*ko. llá*nh*tsha, ggrá*nh*kjo, ttshí*nh*kwe, mmó*nh*do, nní*nh*fa, vvá*nh*ga ffrá*nh*dzha, ú*nh*gja, lli*nh*gwa, i*nh* lúi, kkó*nh* llj stúdii, i*nh* mé i*nh* nói, kk*onh* nnjauláre, ttÉ*nh*po, kk*onh* rábbbia, mmÉ*nh*sa kk*onh* sshi*nh*tíll*l*e, ppó*nh*te, i*nh*víto, llón*h*tsa, ssusta*nh*tsjále bbró*nh*dzo.'[1]

At Urbino the words *pan*, *vin*, *bon*, etc., are phon. 'pa*nh*, vi*nh*, bo*nh*,' and not 'pã, vĩ, bõ,' or 'pẽ, vẽ, bõ̃' (according to dialects), with nasal vowels, as they exist in *Romagnuolo*, Milanese, etc.; but I am still doubtful whether, even in classical Italian, such words are not pronounced with '*nh*'

[1] Gröber (Gustav)—Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I. Band, p. 491, ll. 13–18. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1888. "An *Nasalen* [der italienischen Sprache]: die labiale (*m*ano, po*m*o), die dentale (*n*aso, ca*n*e) und die unbestimmte Nasalität, die 'anuswâra,' ein Laut, den man vor jedem beliebigen Konsonanten vernimmt, der aber von den folgenden Konsonanten keine verschiedene färbung erhält, so dass er in *impero* nicht anders lautet als in *intacco* oder in *incudine*. Die vierte Nasalis ist das iotacirte *n* (*ñ*, *nnj* in *degno*)."—"Respecting *Nasals*: the labial (ma*n*o, po*m*o), the dental (*n*aso, ca*n*e), and the indeterminate nasality, the 'anuswara,' a sound which can be heard before any consonant whatever, but which is not differently affected by the following consonants, so that it sounds the same in *impero* as it does in *intacco* or in *incudine*. The fourth nasal is the iotacised *n* (*ñ*, *nnj* in *degno*)."

instead of 'n' when the final vowel is suppressed, which happens particularly in poetry. Salviati calls *mezza n* or *half n* the final *n* of *Natan*, phon. 'Nnatánh,' and not 'Nnatan'; and also 'ppa*nh*, vvi*nh*, bbu*ωnh*' when used for *pane*, *vino*, *buono* (bread, wine, good). I am, with thanks and kind regards,

Yours very truly,
L.-L. BONAPARTE.

TABLE OF THE ITALIAN SIMPLE SOUNDS WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATE THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE SYMBOLS USED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

*1. a=áli, ále (ali, ale[1]) *wings*.
2. b=rrubíno (rubino) *ruby*.
3. bb=il bbélllo (il bello) *the handsome*.
*4. *b*=ggωbbba (gobba) *hunch* (*lat.* gibba).
5. d=ωdo (odo) *I hear*.
6. dd=il ddánnno (il danno) *the damage*.
7. ddz=rróddzo (rozzo) *rough*.
8. ddzh[2]=llωddzha (loggia) *lodge*.
9. dz=ddi dzωllla (di zolla) *of clod*.
10. dzh=ggrídzho (grigio) *grey*.
*11. *d*=ad*d*dío (addio) *adieu*.
*12. e=ppáne (pane) *bread*.
*13. *e*=rréfe (refe) *thread*.
*14. E=érbba (erba) *herb*.
15. f=ttúfo (tufo) *tufa*.
16. ff=stáffa (staffa) *stirrup*.
17. g=llágo (lago) *lake*.
18. gg=il ggállo (il gallo) *the cock*.
19. ggj[2]=pper ggjánhda (per ghianda) *for acorn*.
20. ggw[2]=il ggwánhto (il guanto) *the glove*.
21. gj=lla gjánhda (la ghianda) *the acorn*.
22. gw=sségwo (seguo) *I follow*.
*23. *g*=vvégggo (veggo) *I see*.
*24. *gj*=agj*gj*gjáttsho (agghiaccio) *I turn to ice*.
*25. *gw*=agw*gw*gwáto (agguato) *ambush*.
*26. i=íra (ira) *anger*.
27. k=éko (eco) *echo*.
28. kj=lla kjáve (la chiave) *the key*.

29. kk=il kkáro (il caro) *the dear.*
30. kkj=pp*e*r kkjáve (per chiave) *for key.*
31. kkw=ák·kkwa (acqua) *water.*
32. kw=ékwo (equo) *equitable.*
33. l=ála, ále (ala, ale) *wing.*
34. ll=pp*e*r llúpo (per lupo) *for wolf.*
35. llj[3]=mmílljo (miglio) *mile.*
*36. *l*=bbal*l*lo (ballo) *dance.*
37. m=ámo (amo) *I love.*
38. mm=il mm*ónh*te (il monte) *the mountain.*
*39. *m*=ssóm*m*ma (somma) *sum.*
40. n=pp*é*na (pena) *pain.*
41. nn=pp*e*r nnótshe (per noce) *for walnut.*
42. nnj[4]=ll*é*nnjo (legno) *wood* (*lat.* lignum).
*43. *n*=án*n*no (anno) *year.*
*44. *nh*[5]=i*nh*kúdine (incudine) *anvil.*
*45. o=ppálo (palo) *pale* (*lat.* palus).
*46. *o*=skópa (scopa) *broom.*
*47. *ω*=ώro (oro) *gold.*
48. p=kkápo (capo) *head.*
49. pp=kkáp·ppa (cappa) *cloak with a hood.*
50. r=vv*é*ro (vero) *true.*
51. rr=kkárro (carro) *cart.*
52. s=kkása (casa) *house.*
53. ss=kkássa (cassa) *trunk* (*lat.* capsa).
54. ssh[6]=pp*é*sshe (pesce) *fish.*
55. t=rruώta (ruota) *wheel.*
56. ts=ddi tsío (di zio) *of uncle.*
57. tsh=ppátshe (pace) *peace.*
58. tsj=vvítsjo (vizio) *vice.*
59. tt=mmát·tto (matto) *mad.*
60. tts=ppáttso (pazzo) *mad.*
61. ttsh=kkáttsha (caccia) *chase, hunt.*
62. ttsj=spettsjámo (spezziamo) *let us break.*
*63. u=llúna (luna) *moon.*
64. v=nn*é*ve (neve) *snow.*
65. vv=avvÉ*nh*to (avvento) *Advent.*
66. z[7]=rrώza (rosa) *rose.*

[1] Words spelled according to the usual Italian orthography are put in parentheses, while those spelled phonetically are not, or only between ' '.

[2] The letters 'h, j, w' are, phonetically, only used in digrams, trigrams, etc.

[3] The symbol 'llj' is the strong modification of weak 'lj,' not to be found in Italian.

[4] The symbol 'nnj' is the strong modification of weak 'nj,' not to be found in Italian.

[5] The symbol '*nh*' exists in Italian, but 'nh' does not.

[6] The symbol 'ssh' is the strong modification of weak 'sh,' but the last does not exist in Italian, although it is very common in the vulgar Florentine and Roman pronunciation of the lowest classes. The Italian phrase (pasce in pace), phonetically 'ppásshe in*h* pátshe,' *he feeds in peace*, becomes 'ppásshe in*h* páshe.'

[7] The symbol 'z' has no strong modification.

N.B.—(1) The sounds which I consider to be vowels have an asterisk prefixed.

(2) A dot between two consonants of the same kind indicates a stop.

(3) See the note on pp. 179-80 of my paper "Initial Mutations in the living Celtic, Basque, Sardinian, and Italian Dialects," in the "Transactions of the Philological Society, 1882-3-4."

XIII.—ON PROFESSOR ATKINSON'S EDITION OF THE PASSIONS AND HOMILIES IN THE LEBAR BRECC. By Whitley Stokes, D.C.L.

The Lebar Brecc, or 'Speckled Book,' is a fourteenth-century vellum MS., now consisting of 140 leaves of the largest folio, written for the most part in double columns, which contain in some cases more than 80 closely-written lines. It belongs to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, by which learned body a lithographic facsimile was published in 1876. With the exceptions of a fragmentary history of Philip and Alexander the Great, the story called *Mac Conglinne's Vision* (which reminds one sometimes of Rabelais, sometimes of the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage*), two lyrical poems (in pp. 108[b] and 186[a]), and a copy of the old glossary attributed to Cormac, its contents are religious or ecclesiastical. The whole is in the Irish language, except two Latin hymns, a copy of the *Lorica* of Gildas, a sermo synodalis, some texts from a Latin translation (not always the Vulgate) of the Bible, and other portions of the homilies hereinafter mentioned. For the history of the Christian religion in Ireland it is of the utmost value, and it is a great repertory of the Old and the Middle-Irish languages. But for philological purposes it must be used with caution,

for the scribes were ignorant and sometimes careless;[1] and we find in every column instances of that confusion of *ch* and *th*, of *gh* and *dh*, of *mh* and *bh*, which has prevailed from the fourteenth century to the present day, and which makes most Irish MSS. and printed books either snares or eyesores to the etymologist.

Two of the divisions of this codex consist of Passions and Homilies. The Passions are those of Christ, six of His Apostles, John the Baptist, Stephen, Longinus, the Seven Sleepers, St. George, and Pope Marcellinus. The Homilies treat of the Epiphany, Circumcision, Transfiguration, and other events in Christ's life, of the incredulity of S. Thomas, of Pentecost, of Michael the Archangel, of the four saints most popular in Ireland—Martin of Tours, Patrick, Brigit and Columba, of charity, repentance, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, fasting, the canonical hours, and other such matters. "It is nearly certain," says Professor Atkinson, "that the whole of the texts here printed are versions made directly from the Latin." This is quite certain in the case of most of the homilies, where each sentence of the Irish is preceded by the Latin original, which Prof. Atkinson, as a rule, omits from his texts. He thus, as M. Henri Gaidoz has remarked, "modifie la physionomie de l'original," and leads his readers to suppose that he has made his translation without assistance. The Latin appears to be the work of continental scholars, and hence we may account for the almost total absence from these documents of anything to throw light on the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Irish church, the manners, customs, laws, superstitions and folklore of the Irish people. The references in Professor Atkinson's texts (ll. 7515–7517) to the use of oil in (not before or after) baptism; to the mixed chalice (l. 6360); to an eternal purgatory (l. 4308); to future punishment by cold as well as by heat (l. 6397); to future reward by listening to the music of the birds in paradise (l. 6486), are about all that illustrate religious belief and usage. The catalogue of the

[1] e.g. *itcuatamar* 7[b], leg. *itcualamar; rorenachsat* 191[b], leg. *rofhremaigset; Tairisim*, 193[a], leg. *Tairisid; roglom larigdia* 162[b], leg. *roglórmairig dia; darmdetar* 246[a] 30, leg. *dorinde tár; suigiudud*, 192[b], leg. *suidiugud.*

accomplishments of the two daughters of Herodias (ll. 889–892) throws some light on the amusements of the ancient Irish, and the lists of the punishments legally inflicted (ll. 4198–4201 and 7332), illustrate their criminal law. Phrases like *tulach comdala*, 'hill of meeting,' l. 8255 (which the editor renders by "rendezvous"), are also racy of the soil. As to Irish superstitions, one may perhaps quote ll. 7315–7318 as to casting lots, poisons (philters ?) of women (*uptha ban*), auguries given by birds (*glór én*, the *gotha én* of the Irish Nennius, p. 124, the Latin *oscines*), visions, the moon's time, forbidden days, and prophecies by living men. The beliefs that when a king is righteous, 'earth and sea, field and wood, lakes and rivers will be fruitful' (l. 4285); that the first-born of an adulterer or adulteress will die prematurely (l. 7811); that for three days after its birth the lion's whelp is lifeless, and is brought to life by the breath and roar of its father,[1] appear to belong to Irish folk-lore. So does the notion of the dropping well (ll. 6365–6367), which never increases in rain nor diminishes in drought;[2] and I have been unable to find a foreign source for the following fine legend, which occurs as a commentary on the text *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram* (ll. 4129–4145):

'Love ye justice,' that is, deliver righteous judgments, O kings of the world! For Solomon greatly feared the Lord when he was judging the people and passing sentences upon them. For one day he was before the noble king David, his father, when David was judging the people. And he upbraided David for his tardiness and hesitation in deciding. Whereupon his father said to him: "Come *thou*, my son, to-day upon the throne, that *thou* mayst search into and clear up the questions and the causes of the folk more quickly than I do. For thou art shrewder and sharper of wit and understanding, as is said in the proverb: *The younger thorn is always the sharper*."[3]

[1] Compare the Pseudo-Turpin, ed. Ciampi, p. 47, ed. Castels, p. 33, and Philippe de Thaun in Wright's *Popular Treatises*, p. 76.

[2] Compare Fiacc's hymn, l. 29, where it is said of the well Slán: *nís-gaibed tart na lia* (nor drought nor flood used to affect it), and Pliny's account of the well Manduria.

[3] Compare *is luaithi mang ind mdthair* (the fawn is swifter than its dam), Cormac's Glossary, s.v. Mang. Other proverbs in Prof. Atkinson's book are *is uaisli in elú ina nt-ór* (glory is nobler than gold), 7685, and *boegal inecmais omain* (danger in absence of fear), 3010, a warning against over-confidence.

"Then went Solomon upon the throne, according to his father's order. And over his head there appeared to him the Hand of the Creator with a two-edged sword, threatening him with a sudden and awful death if he swerved, little or much, from the righteous judgment. And when Solomon saw that, he trembled greatly, and his blood turned to bone in him for fear of the one God. And then he entreated his father to beseech the Lord for him, and to grant him forgiveness for the vexation that he had caused him through want of knowledge. So then they both besought the Lord that He would protect justice, and that they might never pass an unrighteous judgment."[1]

In the costly volume under notice Prof. Atkinson has printed, with funds supplied by the British Government to the Royal Irish Academy, the whole of these Passions and all the Homilies except those on the Transfiguration and the four saints, Martin, Patrick, Brigit and Colomb cille. He gives the texts in the Roman character. He has added a translation (sometimes paraphrastic, sometimes condensed, frequently erroneous) of the greater number of his texts;[2] and an elaborate glossary concludes his volume. In the following remarks I shall first notice the texts, secondly, the translation, and thirdly, the glossary.

1. The Texts.

The texts, so far as I have examined them, are reproduced with reasonable accuracy from the codex.[3] But this codex is, as I have hinted, not unfrequently corrupt, and the first criticism I have to make is that, except in three instances, Prof. Atkinson has not collated his texts with the versions contained in other MSS. No editor of an Irish text can dispense with this process. It is true that Prof. Atkinson appears to have collated his Passion xxix. (the Seven Sleepers) with Egerton 91, fo. 32, his Passion xxvii.

[1] See the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 382, 383, where this legend was first printed and translated.

[2] He has not translated the homilies numbered ix., xiii., and xxxvii. He has omitted to translate much of his homily viii.

[3] Homily xiii. on the Circumcision is incomplete. Homily xvii., on the Transfiguration, is not given at all.

-onginus) with Egerton 136, p. 85, and the first portion of is Passion xix. (Christ) with the Irish gospel of Nicodemus the Yellow Book of Lecan. But these collations are far om complete, and he has wholly neglected Laud 610, ff. 1ᵇ-14ᵃ, which contains a copy of the Passion of Christ's mage (=Atkinson, pp. 42–48), and the fourteenth century rish MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which contains ersions of no less than nine of Prof. Atkinson's texts—arked respectively III., IV., VII., XVI., XIX., XXVI., XIX., XXXVI., and XXXVII.

Secondly, although Prof. Atkinson has discarded the -called Irish type for Roman, he has not availed himself the power which this sensible act has given him, to ark, by the use of italics, his extensions of the numerous ntractions in his texts. He prints, for instance (l. 2829), -grandaigsibair. But this is a vox nihili. Had he used alics, as he ought, he would have printed ro-g*ra*ndaigsibair, d then even tiros in Irish would have seen that this was an litorial error for the ro-g*re*ndaigsibair ('ye have bearded' 'challenged') of the manuscript,[1] 162ᵃ 45. A similar istake is in l. 1630, where for the "it*er*t kal. Íuil" ('on third [day before] the calends of July') of the MS. 2ᵇ 67, Prof. Atkinson gives us "itat kalaind Iúil," which mere gibberish. So in l. 3302, where the Jews take ist to Golgotha, the MS. 166ᵇ 8, has Dia mbatar tra oc echt iarna s*ét*, 'when they were going along their way'; for s*ét*, Prof. A. prints 'sróigled,' and translates 'after ging Him,' which would be *iarna shróigled*, with ated *s*. So, in l. 5396 (MS. 53ᵃ 1), Prof. A.'s 'fer na -sin' should be fer na leiraïs*nésen* 'the author of the (or complete?) declaration.' And in l. 5643 (MS.), his 'leth is aentudach ind aisneisen-se' should be tóibi, .i.] is aentudach, ind ais*néis*-se, the scribe having uted the gloss for the lemma, without much regard

[1] ples of the verb *grennaigim* are *grennaigit in macrad eisium imtech*, *frin* (the boys challenge him to come and mutually duck them), artha Find, Rev. Celt. v. 200. *robdi íc grennugud na Troiandae co tístáis igh* (he was challenging the Trojans to come out of their city), H. 2. b. Hence the adj. *grennaigthech* 'defiant,' LL. 224ᵃ.

for syntax. To these five specimens may be added an error which is made "about 400 times" (p. 645). The MS. on each of these occasions has the abbreviation "dī" (*i.e.* Old-Ir. *didiu*, G.C. 349, 712–13, later *diu*). For this Prof. Atkinson always gives the vox nihili '*din.*' So the compendium dā (*i.e. dano*, G.C. 700), he prints at least six times as '*dan.*'

Thirdly, he often bisects compounds, *e.g. cet chesad* l. 34, for *cétchésad*, and *fir dhuine* 5642, for *fírdhuine*. We even have *na truaig* 8315–16, for *n-atruaig*,[1] *da muscach* 3042, for *damuscach*, and *tair sin* 6462, for *tair*[*c*]*sin*.

Fourthly, his use of the hyphen is generally needless and often wrong. He prints, e.g. *ro-gab, and-sin, di-a n-id, talamchumscugud*. He might as well print in a Greek text *ἔ-λυσα*, *ἐν-ταῦθα*, *ὅσ-τις*, in an English *earth-quake*, in a French *le-quel*. The editorial error *ro-torned* l. 410, for *ro-t-or*[*d*]*ned*, 'thou hast been ordained,' can deceive no one. But when Prof. A. writes, as he does in countless cases, the articulated prepositions *cos-in, fors-in, fors-na, iars-in, iars-in-ni, is-in is-na, las-in, res-in, tris-in, tars-in*, instead of *co-sin, for-sin, for-sna*, etc. (or better *cosin, forsin, forsna*, etc.), he misleads the tiro into the belief that the *s* in these compounds belongs to the preposition, whereas it is part of the subsequent article. To print in an Italian text *all-o, coll-o, dall-o, dell-o, nell-o, sull-o*, in an Old-French text *al-s, del-s*, would be similar blunders.

II. The Translation.

I now proceed to consider Prof. Atkinson's translation of the Passions and Homilies. He states (p. 276) that he has not been anxious to give "a slavishly literal translation of the Irish text," but that he has not "passed over any real difficulty of which he was conscious." This one is bound to believe. But the limited extent of his consciousness will appear from the following specimens. I shall first give the

[1] In p. 958, l. 27, the (?) should be omitted after *n-atruaig*.

text, then Prof. Atkinson's version, and then a rendering which I fear he will denounce as 'slavishly literal.' The numbers refer to the pages and lines of Prof. Atkinson's book.

oirchindig craibdecha na hAssia 7 cristaige urmoir in oirthoir uli, 'faithful overseers of Asia and very many Christians of all the East' (278, ll. 3, 4). Read: 'the pious principals of Asia and the Christians of the chief part of all the East'—*urmoir* being the gen. sg. of the substantive *urmor*, not, as Prof. A. supposes, an adjective in the nom. pl. masc. agreeing with *cristaige*.

suidigis in delb hi froigid a leptha in conair bui aiged a leptha 'he placed the image on the wall near which was the head of his bed,' 297, l. 22. The Irish is corrupt, but easily corrigible, even without reference to Laud 610. For *bui aiged a leptha* read *búi a aiged*, and then translate: 'he set the image on the wall (footboard) of his bed in the direction in which was his face,' *i.e.* in front of him.

écon Ebraide ut 'with such and such a Jew' (280, l. 36). Read: 'with yonder Jew,' *ut* for *út*.

aninde 'animosity' and 'savagery' (281, ll. 32, 36). Read in both places, 'senselessness,' Old-Ir. *an-inne*, from *inne* 'sense,' with the common negative prefix.

noco tanic digal . . . for Ierusalem 'till the time of the sacking of Jerusalem' (284, l. 11). Read: 'till vengeance (for Christ's blood) came upon Jerusalem.' So *tossach na digla* 'the beginning of the siege' (284, l. 17). Read: 'the beginning of the vengeance.' In the glossary, p. 642, *digal* (=Welsh *dial*) gen. *digla*, is rightly rendered.

basgaire co-serb écnech etuailngech 'wringing their hands, and being filled with the bitterness of intolerable cursings' (290, ll. 11, 12). Here Prof. A. has mistaken the adverbial prefix *co* for the prep. *co-n*=cum, the adj. *serb* for the subst. *serbe*, and the adjective *écnech* for the substantive *écnach*. Translate simply: 'clapping of palms bitterly, violently, intolerably.'

in uaim slebi Sirapti 'on Mount Soracte' (290, l. 37). Read: 'in a cave of mount S.'

máine bid 7 etaig 'abundance of food' (292, l. 9). Read: 'treasures of food and of raiment.'

romebaid lassar . . . dia gnuis 'a light flashed over the face' (297, l. 14). Read: 'a flame brake from his countenance,' see p. 797, and note that *romebaid* is bad spelling for *romemaid*, the act. perfect sg. 3 of *maidim*.

lecmit at ucht fessin hi cele breith bera 'we will leave it to thine own breast, with thyself to decide what sentence thou wilt pass' (297–8), Read: 'we leave hidden (lit. in concealment) in thine own breast the judgment thou mayst [illegible] deliver.'

sossad 'seat' (298, l. 7). Read: 'station.'

oc fúr m'anma dia breith i flaith Dé 'watching for my soul [illegible] to carry it into the kingdom of God' (304, l. 5). Read: [illegible]: 'preparing to carry my soul into God's kingdom.' Prof. A[illegible]A. confounds *fúr* with *faire*, Old-Ir. *aire*, cognate with the *area[illegible]anos* ('watchers'?) of Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 3.

neméle 'remorse' (304, l. 13). Read: 'lamentation.'

Ba mor tra a dethitiu 7 a chair 'of great carefulness an[illegible] and stern rebuke' (305, l. 4). Read: 'great, now, was his ca[illegible]are and his justice,' *cair*=*coir*, sg. gen. *corach*, p. 598.

[*s*]*ruthi* 'more famous' (306, l. 34). Read: 'mo[illegible]more venerable,' *sruithiu* (gl. antiquior), the comparative of *sruit[illegible]ith*.

eccraibdige 'unbelief' (309, l. 23). Read: 'impiety.' T[illegible] The corresponding adjective is also mistranslated: *coradu écra[illegible]aib-dechu* (impious champions) being rendered (314, l. 33) by 'unbelieving tyrants.'

cepp dar a chosa 'fetters on his feet' (316, l. 28). Re[illegible]d: 'a block (or stocks) over his feet;' *cepp* being=Lat. *cipp[illegible]us*, whence also Welsh *cyff*.

forcongair in rig roth mor do thabairt chuca 'the king ha[illegible]d prepared a great wheel' (317, l. 25). Read: 'the kin[illegible] orders a great wheel to be brought to him.' In p. 721 th[illegible]e tense is mistaken.

Ro-immid Georgi 'His re-appearance astonished the king greatly' (318, l. 15). Read: 'George went about.' Here, as Prof. A. himself has seen (p. 761), *ro-immid* is a misspelling of *ro-imthig*.

boi indorus na cathrach cen adnocul . . . co n-estais biasta 7 ethaite he 'he (Stephen) lay . . . without burial at the gate of the city so that beasts and birds devoured him' (326, line 18).

Here are two mistakes. *Indorus* is here, not 'at the gate,' but a common nominal prep., meaning 'in front of,' 'before.' And *estais* is not, as Prof. A. supposes, in the indicative. The very next words (*acht ni ros-corb nách n-anmanna he*, etc.) show that the protomartyr's body was not devoured, but miraculously preserved. Read: 'he was (left lying) *before* the city (and) without burial, in order that beasts and birds *might* eat him.'

ail 'foundation' (330, l. 25). Read: 'rock.'

conanacar-su 'thou art able' (334, l. 5). Read: 'Thou hast been able,' this verb being the redupl. pret. sg. 2 of *conicim*. The enclitic form, (ní) *coemnacair* (leg. *coemnacar*), 'thou hast not been able,' occurs in the same line.

na lochranna for lasad isin loch 'light flashing on the lake' (337, l. 28). Read: 'the lights blazing *in* the lake,' *i.e.* the lake in which St. Paul's head was lying. That light or fire is emitted by a saint's relics is a commonplace in Irish hagiology. Here it comes from a holy head.

oirchis dinn ria n-amsir ar ndamunta 'save us from damnation before our time' (347, l. 23). Read: 'spare us before the time of our damnation,' *i.e.* 'don't torture us until we are damned.'

imluaidid i foendel he 'harass him with delirium' (347, l. 30.) Read: 'Drive him about into wandering.' *foindel* (gl. peruagatio) Ml. 121[b] 8. So *imluadit o demnaib* 'possessed by devils' (360, l. 8). Read: 'who were driven about by devils,' and compare Prof. Atkinson's texts l. 2210 and Ml. 90[d], 15, 135[b], 9.

cech aincess olchena 'men sick of every evil' (356, l. 16). Read: 'every ailment besides.'

brisfemne delb 7 idal Mairt iarsin 'we will break the idol forthwith' (356, l. 26). Read: 'we will break the image and idol of Mars thereafter.'

dolad 'curse' (364, l. 14) 'distress,' p. 667. Read: 'charge'

or 'impost.' The word occurs in the acc. sg. (*gan doladh*) in the Four Masters, A.D. 1581, and in the dat. pl. (*dolaidib, dolodib*) in the Book of Deir.

co ndomblas ae 'of the bitterness of gall' (368, l. 13). Read: 'with gall,' lit. 'with bitterness of liver,' *i.e.* the bile, the bitter fluid secreted in the glandular substance of the liver.

ernail 'account' (371, l. 23; 379, l. 16). *Ernail*, properly 'kind,' 'species,' here means 'version' or 'recension.'

atathar do crochad 'who is being crucified' (377, l. 9). Read: 'who is to be crucified.'

frinde anair 'westward' (381, l. 32). Read: 'to the east of us' or 'in front of us.'

riana facsin 'at the sight of them' (383, l. 28). Read 'at sight of him,' scil. the angel who appeared to the women at the holy sepulchre.

riched 'the kingdom of heaven' (388, l. 4). Read 'heaven.'

ar mbidba a[r]ndis 'who is guilty before us both' (397, 30). Read: 'the enemy of us both,' and see Zimmer Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 43.

ro-driúchtatar 'they raged' (399, l. 25, and p. 590, col. l. 17). Read: 'they cried out.'

in rí talmanda, airrig he fri laim in rig nemdai, rendered p. 405, l. 8, by 'the earthly king is a viceroy *at the hands of* the Heavenly King.' In the glossary the idiomatic expression *fri láim* is rendered by "under the authority of." It means "as vicar (deputy, substitute, proxy) for." See the Tripartite Life, Rolls ed. p. 28, l. 13, and the Four Masters, A.D. 1039.

córaidecht is rendered by 'arrogance' (405, l. 32), by 'violence' (409, l. 10), and by 'harshness' (609). It means 'wickedness.'

immarcraid (=*imm-forcraid*) 'abundance' (406, l. 8, and p. 758). It means 'overabundance,' 'superfluity.'

erlathrigit (they) 'govern' (409, l. 24), (they) 'preside,' p. 685. It means 'they dispose,' 'arrange,' 'set in order:' cf. *lathar* (gl. dispositio) Ml. 42[b].

robris cath fathri for Demun 'he there fought a battle against the Devil' (426, l. 13). This common idiomatic phrase means 'He, Christ, thrice defeated the Devil in battle,' literally, 'broke a battle thrice on the Devil,' *i.e.* successfully resisted the Devil's three temptations.

Cirine 'Quirinus' (458, l. 21; p. 500, l. 10). Read: 'Hieronymus' or 'Jerome,' and compare Ml. 103[d], 26, 124[d], 5.

ni dentar gait gan rún gaite 'stealing without the intention of stealing is not stealing' (486, l. 16). The bull is due to the translator. The Irish literally rendered is: 'theft is not committed without a secret intention of thieving,' or, in the language of Blackstone, there must be a vicious will as well as an unlawful act.

Many other mistranslations which I had noted I afterwards found silently corrected in the glossary, which no doubt was compiled with the instructive assistance of Windisch's *Wörterbuch*. Prof. Atkinson was naturally unwilling to publish a lengthy list of his peccadillos.[1] Fortunately for students of his book, the present writer has no such objection. Thus:

robidg 'shook,' 279, l. 5; *na dígla* 'of the siege,' 284, l. 17; *romarbait* 'died,' 289, l. 20; *socraide* 'more suitable,' 290, l. 20; *mullóci* 'of a jug,' 294, l. 7; *noairnaigfed* 'would have watched,' 297, l. 30; *scoltis* 'burst' 301, l. 8; *timoircid* 'collects,' 301, l. 29; *oc adnad* 'fanning,' 305, l. 22; *lógmar* 'choice,' 305, l. 28; *ánchara* 'confessor,' 306, l. 30; *di trath* 'a few hours,' 312, l. 27, *ni roerchoit dó* 'it availed just as little,' 317, l. 17; *mairg* 'fie,' 317, l. 29; *de* 'fire' 318, l. 25; *no adairtha* 'ye worship,' 320, l. 3; *a malartnaig* 'thou curse,' 322, l. 9; *ro-foidis* 'thou hast hurled,' 322, l. 26; *ro-s-clochsat Iudaide* 'whom the Jews crucified,' 326, l. 17; *fuasnad* 'angry feeling,' 322, l. 21; 'violence,' 353, l. 28; *nis facca he* 'he disappeared,' 327, l. 10; *dianaig* 'thou art hastening,' 335, last line; *díl* 'doom,' 346, l. 6; *firinde* 'life,' 356, l. 5; *coferrda* 'fervently,' 357, l. 31; *fétait* 'they know how,' 362, l. 6; *dith* 'woe,' 362, l. 12; *ro-cumdaiged* 'founded,' 364, l. 5; *crochaire* 'malefactor,' 368, l. 29; *mac merdrige* 'child of fornication,' 396, l. 32; *oc tocbail na clochi* 'raising the stones,' 371, l. 9; *boegal in*

[1] In p. 958 he says, "The translation is occasionally [!] corrected by the Glossary, *e.g.*" [he then gives six instances].

ecmais omain 'confidence in the absence of danger,' 372, l. 21; *garrda* 'guard room' 381, l. 2; *amal ba lór leo* 'as was their wont,' 381, l. 10; *sochaide* 'others,' 382, l. 13; *alim* 'we implore,' l. 11; *torniteir* 'are gathered,' 387, l. 18; *crith* 'gnashing,' 391, l. 11; *gresacht* 'inspiration,' 392, l. 23; *oc fresgabail* 'taken up,' 393, l. 31; *cáinchomrac* 'comfort,' 394, l. 31; *o[r]onugud* 'calamity,' 398, l. 2; *sostaib* 'citadel,' 399, l. 23; 'borders' (399, l. 28); *coro fegur* 'that I may assign,' 401, l. 21; *gillacht* 'childhood,' 402, l. 6 *airitiu* 'respect,' 403, l. 6; *tocoraides* 'opposes,' 403, l. 11; *ma thimna* 'my law,' 403, l. 31; *forcetul* 'maxim,' 404, l. 24 *co réthinach* 'peaceably,' 405, l. 24; *trosethi* 'self-restraint,' 408, l. 15; *feill* 'deceit,' 408, l. 22; *airmitiu* 'acceptable,' 411, l. 28 *remiss* 'lifetime,' 411, l. 31; *cumsanad* 'relief,' 412, l. 18; *aduathmara* 'desperate,' 412, l. 26; *aduathmar* 'hideous,' 412, l. 44; *etarfuarad* 'alleviation,' 413, l. 3; *ramór rodirecora* 'loud, anguished,' 413, l. 4; *imrim* 'entrance,' 419, l. 32; *fuacarthaid* 'enforcer,' 442, l. 14; *fochaide* 'inflictions,' 452, l. 32; *cin tothacht* 7 *cin detberius* 'without special validity and reference,' 452, l. 13; *taissethar* 'were shewn,' 453, l. 15; *cosa saiget* 'with his arrow' (?) 453, l. 17; *faith* 'king,' 459, l. 35; *erladaigimm* 'I accept,' 46[illegible], l. 17; *adba bunaid* 'permanent abode,' 478, l. 27; *salchar* 'an noyance,' 481, l. 23; *scristair ass* 'is sundered from,' 483, l. 6; *a dhescad do thecht* 'to communicate contagion,' 483, l. 16; *adbar* 'argument,' 485, l. 6; *spreid* 'means,' 485, l. 25; *buaidred* 'deterioration,' 486, l. 22; *aithne* 'heading,' 486, l. 30; *on ló* 'and therefore,' 486, l. 32; *crich* 'portion,' 488, l. 28; *guirt* 'vegetables,' 490, l. 5; *leimnech* 'onslaught,' 490, l. 9; *is direch tuicther so* 'this is exemplified,' 491, l. 10; *goiste* 'net,' 492, l. 19; *longphort* 'fort,' 494, l. 22; *crech* 'breach,' 494, l. 27; *connagut* 'we seek,' 498, l. 28; *craibdech* 'believing,' 502, l. 13; *coforbthe* 'spiritually,' 502, l. 26; *coduthrachtach* 'cheerfully,' 502, l. 32; *lecca lonna* [leg. *lomma*] *loisctecha* 'mighty red-hot battle-stones,' 507, l. 33; *ni tharraid* 'they had not caught,' 508, l. 5; *oirfitiud* 'mockery of song,' 508, l. 29; *cuile* 'corner,' 509, l. 31; 'nest,' 511, 7; *il-brethach* 'full of prejudices,' 510, l. 1; *dergud* 'neglect,' 511, l. 11; *fetán* 'hiss,' 511, l. 35; *súrall* 'candle,' 511, l. 35; *lesugud* 'support,' 512, l. 3; *aprisc* 'short-lived,' 513, l. 1; *tiugaib* 'stiff,' 513, l. 12; *éxamail* 'abundant,' 514, l. 1; *bantaiscthid* 'treasure,' 514, l. 12; *cen éliugud* 'unquestioning,' 514, l. 14.

That any one capable of publishing such unlucky guess-

work should have undertaken a work like the present is one of those events which could happen only in Ireland.

III. The Glossary.

The glossary consists of 435 pages, closely printed in double columns, and must have cost much time and labour. The author has, for example, counted the number of times that the following words occur in his texts, though their meaning and use are perfectly well known: *and* (there) 'occurring 460 times.' *din* (leg. di*diu*) 'occurring about 400 times.' *indiu* (to-day) 'about 66 times.' *inni* (the thing) 'about 75 times.' *no* (or) 'about 150 times.' *oen* (one) 'about 180 times.' Such statistics may be desirable in the case of books like the Vedas, the Iliad, the Odyssey, or even the Divina Commedia. But to compile and print them for a set of Middle-Irish homilies, arbitrarily selected and in themselves nearly worthless, seems (to speak frankly) a foolish waste of time, labour, and money.

The errors of this, as of other glossaries, are those of omission, and those of commission. Of the former I have only found five instances, viz. *ail* 'rock' 1638 (where *in dail* should be *ind ail*). *an-inde* (senselessness) 129, 133; *atruag*[1] ('very pitiful'=Welsh *athru*) 8315, where Prof. Atkinson prints *na truaig* for *n-atruaig*: *costa* 'footprinted' 6335, which he mistakes for a Latin word;[2] *stelle* 'of a star,' 6983, 6985, which he mistakes for the gen. sg. of the Lat. *stella*, and *mosach* 'filthy,' 8299. But the latter are numerous. Those that are likely to mislead[3] may be classified as follows:—

[1] Better *attruagh*, as in *Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments*, ed. O'Donovan, p. 46, line 17.

[2] The *Apodonia* in Prof. Atkinson's texts, l. 6335, is=*Apodanea* a pedis ibi vestigio impresso, Ducange.

[3] Examples of errors which cannot mislead any one with the merest tincture of philology are in p. 521, s.v. *acall-*, where Prof. Atkinson says that the enclitic form is from 'the root *ad-glad*,' and in p. 892, where he says that '*ata*' is a 'root-form' used in the conjugation of 'taim.'

a. Non-existing words.
b. Oblique cases given as nominatives.
c. Wrong insertions of marks of length.
d. Wrong omissions of marks of length.
e. Separations of the same word.
f. Confusions of different words.
g. Wrong meanings.
h. Wrong etymologies.

I will now give specimens of each of these classes, and conclude by proposing etymologies of some of the words in Prof. Atkinson's glossary, which he has not traced to their sources.

a. Non-existing Words.

accad 'striving' (?). This occurs in l. 341: batar *icaccad* 7 ic cosnam fri Siluestar (they were fighting and contending with Silvester), where we should obviously read *ic caccad*. *Caccad* for *cocad* (gl. bellum) Ml. 103[d], 2, dat. hua *chogad* (gl. bello) 103[d], 5.

aichnim 'to commend.' A mere misspelling of *aithnim*, p. 535, the enclitic form of *aithenim* 'I commend.'

airmfhiugrad 'transfiguration.' 'No doubt *tairmfhiugrad*,' says Prof. Atkinson. The context shows that it is an error for *remfiugrad* 'prefiguring:' cf. the pret. pass. sg. 3 *roremfhiugrad* 5106.

athardacht 'alteration' (?). The nature of a man and that of an angel are the same, according to S. Augustine; but, says the Irish homilist, *o dhapeccaid in duine dochóid se ina-thardacht ón aingel*, literally: 'when the human being has sinned he has gone into his (*in-a*) passing over (*tardacht* for *tartecht*) from the angel.' Compare *conscera brichtu druad tardechta arbelaib Demuin*, LU. 120[b]. 6.

atoibim (?) 'to drink.' Inferred from *atoibet*, a scribal error for *atibet* 'they quaff.' The s- pret. pl. 3 *atibset* occurs in the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 38.

atuaig 'from the North.' Misspelling of *atúaid* or *atúaith*.

d'aurthige s.v. bend-chapur. Read: *daurthige*, the gen.

urthech, derthech, or *durthech* 'oratory,' a very common
ı Middle-Irish.
ige 'beastly.' Misspelling of *blastaide,* LU. 31ª. 1.
'spot.' The word meant is *boccóit,* O'Reilly's *boccóid,*
n *i.* Hence *bocoidech* (gl. maculosus).
(s.v. *buide* 'yellow'). I do not know whether Prof.
n quotes this word as being Irish or Latin. It is
It glosses *millenis,* in LB. 199ª, and is an error of
be or facsimilist for *budib,* pl. dat. of Ir. *buide*=Lat.

g 'lord.' Misspelling of *coimsid* or *comsid,* as in LU.
; LL. 224ᵇ.
gthech 'neighbour,' *comichib* 'stranger' (?). The first
words is a misspelling of *comaithech,* the second of its
comaithchib.
alarach 'foot-diseased.' The word meant is *coss-gal-*
There is no such word as '*galarach.*'
ige 'Christian,' *cristaigecht* 'Christianity,' should be
, *cristaidecht.*
rig 'correptionem,' cited under *cúibrech,* is a scribal
r *cuimbri,* the acc. sg. of *cuimbre* 'brevity.'
ıigiud *. The form *cúmdaigthe,* which Prof. A. sup-
be the gen. sg. of this fabrication, is the acc. sg. masc.
ret. part. pass. of *cumtaigim.* The *cúmtaigthe,* which
cites, is the nom. pl. fem. of the same participle.
had * 'dart.' This monstrous word is inferred from
i, a scribal error for *dibracthi,* acc. pl. of *dibracud* 'a
g.'
gim * 'to forgive.' The enclitic form of this verb is
its non-enclitic (or 'orthotonic') form is *do-lúigim.*
.'s *diluigim* is neither one nor the other.
'way.' This is a scribal error for *dliged,* the reading of
10, fo. 13, b. 1. ("Is e sin *immorro* dliged 7 deimin
esa tainic inn imaigin noem-so," etc.).
'tearing, rending.' Bad spelling of *dluige,* the verbal
dluigim 'scindo.'
ıtaim 'to murmur' (?). Fabricated from the *t*-pret.
ro-driúchtatar, a syncopated form of *ro-do-r-iucartatar*

'clamaverunt.' Compare the Old-Irish noun *diucrae* 'clamor' =*do-od-gaire*.

-erlangair. This curious word, the first letter of which is the second element of a diphthong, has been inferred from *foroerlangair*, i.e *for-foe-r-langair*, the redupl. pret. sg. 3 of *fulangim*, with the verbal prefix *for*.

ernaigim * 'to wait,' inferred from *ernaigtis*, a misspelling of *ernaidtis*, secondary pres. pl. 3 of *ernaidim*, or *irnaidim* as Windisch gives it.

-ernaligthi inferred from *na patri secht-ernaligthi* 8011, a scribal error for *na patre secht-ernaigthe* 'of the seven-prayed paternoster.'

fodbrachtaige 'consumptive person.' Bad spelling of *fo-brachtaide*. Cognate with the *anfobracht, anbobracht* of Cormac's Glossary and the *Ancient Laws*, i. 124, 140, the *bracht* of the Lebar Lecain vocabulary.

fuigell 'remainder.' A misspelling of *fuidell*, as in L.U. 114ᵃ, 25.

genntlige, génntligecht should be *gentlide* (as in Wb. 5ᵇ), *gentlidecht*.

glon-shnáthe 'model,' should be *glósnáthe* 'linea,' 'norma,' see Sg. 3ᵇ 20, Ml. 35ᵈ, 72ᵃ 8, 145ᵇ 5.

grandaigim * should be *grennaigim*, as above pointed out.

ialla-crann 'sandal,' should (if hyphens must be used) be *iall-acrann*, a compound of *iall* 'thong,' and *acrann* 'shoe' Ml. 56ᵇ=W. *archen*.

iarnaige 'of iron.' Bad spelling of *iarnaide* 'ferreus,' as correctly written five times in Prof. Atkinson's texts. The dat. pl. *iarnaidib* is in LU. 28ᵇ.

imgrindim * 'to persecute.' The word meant is *in-grindim*, better *ingrendim*, a common verb, cogn. with Lat. *ingredior*. The 'imgrindfes' of the LB. is a scribal error for *ingrindfes*.

inbanda (?) 'stream.' This is nothing but *in banna* '*the* drop,' '*the* stream,' Prof. A. mistaking the article for a prepositional prefix.

indebar 'manure' (?). The passage in which this imaginary word occurs is *dogéna ór do indebar 7 do otraigib na n-ec*, 'he will make gold of dung and of the excrements of the

horses,' where *indebar* seems to stand for *fhindebar*—the aspirated *f* being, as often, omitted. With **find-ebar* cf. *cann-ebor* LU. 74[a], 23,=*cann-abar* .i. cac, O'Dav. 65.

ingreintig 'persecutor.' Bad spelling of *ingreintid*, or *ingraintid* Ml. 130[c] 4, the personal noun of *ingrendim* above mentioned.

intlidigthe 'schismatic' (?) is a scribal error for *indluigthe*, LB. 251, b. 9, cognate with *dluigim* and *dluige*, supra.

*leirai**. This we have already seen to be a misreading of *léir-aisnésen* gen. sg. of *léir-aisnéis*.

malartnaig 'destroyer.' Bad spelling of *malartnaid*.

medontach 'mediator.' Inferred from the voc. sg. *medontaig*, bad spelling of *medóntaid*. Compare for the suffix *símontaig*.

muscach 'stream.' The word of which Prof. A.'s *muscach* is a fragment is *damuscach* 'outpour,' 'effusion,' which occurs twice in LB.: Dob*e*rt Gáteon tra in cnói n-olla forsin cloich co matain . . . conid ámla*id* fos-fuair arabarach, 7 in damuscach usci oc tepersain esti (Gideon put the fleece of wool on the stone till morning, and on the morrow he found it thus: with the outpour of water dropping thereout), p. 126, l. 49; and in p. 164[a], rop e mét a shoethair sium narba déni tepersain fhola oltás in damuscach allais tanic triana chorp (such was the greatness of His suffering that the dropping of blood was not swifter than the outpour of sweat that came through His body). Prof. A. bisects this word into *da muscach*. For another bisection see *tarr* infra.

ochad [M] 'sighing,' a scribal error for *ochbad* (pl. acc. *ochbada*, LL. 239[a]), or *ochfad* (LU. 51[a]), or for *ochsad*, F.

ochlai 'den.' The word meant is *fochla*. In Prof. A.'s "a ochlai" the *f* (infected by the interjection *a*) is regularly omitted.

ordnige 'ordained.' Bad spelling of *ordnide*, *ordnithe*, the pret. part. pass. of *ordnim*, or of *ordnigthe*, the pret. part. pass. of *ordnigim*.

othrach 'dung.' The word meant is *otrach*, a very common form, of which *ochtrach* Ml. 129[c], 2 (pl. *octarche* Wb., 9[a], 7), seems a doublet.

recrubar. The scribe's "dorecubar," LB. 163[a], is mere carelessness for *do frecrubar*, the pret. pl. 2 of *frecraim*.

saith 'evil.' A scribal error for *saich*, Wb. 8c, 20: Ml. 86d, 11: LU. 17a, 23: LL. 64b 15; 115b 12; 280b 28, 39, 44.

simontaig 'simonist.' Bad spelling of *simóntaid*.

*sorchaidim** 'to enlighten.' Inferred from *shorcaides*, bad spelling of *sorchaiges*, rel. pres. sg. 3 of *sorchaigim* 'I enlighten.'

tarr F. 'end.' This is a good instance of Prof. Atkinson's method. The homilist (fo. 108*a*), describing Judas after he had betrayed Christ, says that he had no hope that God's mercy would be offered to him, *cen sailechtu trocaire Dé d'dia thairsin*, where *thairsin* is obviously a scribal error for *thairc-sin* (=*torcsin*, l. 521 of Prof. A.'s texts), dat. sg. of *taircsiu* 'to offer,' Ancient Laws, i. p. 208, l. 21. Prof. A., not understanding this easy passage, bisects *thair*[*c*]*sin*, adds an *r* to *thairr*, then invents a feminine *tarr* with the meaning 'end,' and, lastly, translates his *di-a thair-sin* by 'after that.'

*techailim** (?) 'to collect.' Inferred from the imperative sg. 2, *techail*, a scribal error for *tecmhall*, from *do-ec-mallaim*.

téchtaige 'frozen.' Read *téchtaide* 'solidified.'

tenntige 'fiery,' should be *tenntide* or, better, *tentide*.

teprenim 'to flow.' Inferred from the pret. *ro-theprenset*, bad spelling of *ro-theprennset*. The non-enclitic (or 'orthotonic') form of this verb is *doéprennim* (with double *n*), —whence *doeprannat* (gl. afluant), Ml. 39d, 2,—the enclitic is *teprennim*.

tercci 'want.' Bad spelling of *terce*.

testeman 'testimony.' Read: *testemin*, a loan from Lat. *testimonium*.

tustige 'parent.' Inferred from a nom. pl. *tustige* (misspelling of *tustidi*) and dat. pl. *tustigib* (for *tustidib*). The nom. sg. is *tuistid*, which occurs compounded in *tuistid-oircnid* (gl. parricida) Sg. 12b.

ubtad 'scaring.' Inferred from *d' ubtad*, mere scribal carelessness for *d' fubthad*. The homilist says (p. 238, l. 7070) that the Devil, 'who holds the abbacy and kingship of this world,' has been terrified and outraged by Christ's fulfilment, *d'* [*f*]*ubt*[*h*]*ad 7 do sharugud tria chomailliud Crist*. Here *fubthad* is the verbal noun of *fobothaim* (gl. consternor, aris),

. 146[b]. But Prof. Atkinson actually writes 'prob. con-
:ted with *auptha, uptha,*' which is a corruption of *aipthi*
. veneficia) Wb. 20[b] 20.

b. Oblique Cases given as Nominatives.

ıctaib, 'the Acts of the Apostles.' The acc. pl. is *acta*
ev. Celt. viii. 367), and so, doubtless, is the nom. pl.
ıdbuid 'dwelling.' Dat. sg. of *adba,* LU. 40[a], 38, and Corm.
ıirthirche 'eastern.' Gen. sg. fem. of *airtherach.*
ıthi (?) 'avenging.' Dat. sg. of *athe* or *aithe,* which, in
534, Prof. A. misrenders by 'sharpness, sharp rebuke.'
buaili 'resort, den.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *búale,* LL. 225[b], or
ıile=Lat. bovile.
:lug 'bell.' Dat. sg. of *clog, cloc* M.=W. *cloch,* pl. *clych.*
:ongaine 'contrition.' Gen. sg. of *congan.* Prof. A. quotes
ı passage in which his *congaine* occurs as "tria c. cride."
is *tria rath congaine cride* (through grace of contrition of
ırt). Compare *cen chongain cridi,* Ml. 90[d] 10.
:uimbrechtaige 'captive.' A scribal error for *cuimrechtaidi,*
. pl. of *cuimrechtaid.*
:uthi 'pit.' Gen. sg. of *cuthe* borrowed (like W. *pydew*)
m Lat. *puteus.*
leathi 'slothfulness.' Dat. sg. of *deáthe,* a deriv. of *deáith*
ıkeen,' 'sluggish' (=de+áith) LL. 54[a], 12. Compare
ıe 'swiftness' (*ar áthi 7 imetrummi,* LL. 266[a]). The Old-
sh *déid,* which Prof. A. compares, is=Lat. *dēses.*
décsain 'looking.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *décsu,* Old-Ir. *décsiu.*
dloigi 'disintegration.' Dat. sg. of *dloige*=*dluige,* F. the
:bal noun of *dluigim* 'I rend, split.'
:rissi 'heresy.' Gen. sg. of *eres.* Another gen. is *herais,*
s, *eiris,* Félire, April 23. The nom. sg. is given by O'Clery
éiris .i. *míchreideamh,* where the long *é* seems due to a
ksetymologie (é-iris).
:tarnaide 'snare.' Gen. sg. of *etarnaid* 'ambuscade.'
Clery's *eadarnaidh* .i. cealg.
firenchi 'righteousness.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *firénche,* de-
ed from *firénach* (gl. justus).

forbaid (?) left untranslated. This is the dat. sg. of *forba* .i. fearann, O'Cl. Compare *darsin forbaid* (over the ground), LU. 117[b]. *asa* [*ḟ*]*orbbaid*, LL. 222[a], *da* [*ḟ*]*órbaid*, LL. 229[b].

geim 'gem.' Dat. or acc. sg. of *gemm* borrowed from Lat. *gemma*.

gill, only in *i ngill* 'in pledge.' Here *gill* is for *giull*, the dat. sg. of *gell* (gl. pignus) Ml. 27[a], 6.

lesci 'laziness.' Should be *lesce*.

-loscthi 'heated' [rectius 'burnt']. Should be *loscthe* or *loiscthe*, the pret. part. pass. of *loiscim*.

lúthraigi [rectius *lúthraige*] 'bolt, bar.' Acc. pl. of *lúthrach*.

margrétai 'pearl.' Nom. pl. of *margréit*, from Lat. *margareta*. The dat. sg. *margreit* is found in LL. 237[b], the dat. pl. *máirgretaib* in LB. 209[b]. A strange nasalised form *margrent* occurs in LB. 138[b], 6.

*metrapoile** 'metropolis.' Gen. sg. of *metrapoil*.

miscen 'hatred.' Gen. sg. of **misciu*.

monotóre 'money-changer.' Pl. n. of *monotóir*=Lat. *monetárius*.

nit 'nest.' Gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *net*=Welsh *nyth*, Lat. *nîdus* from **nizdos*.

pappe 'vine-leaf' (?). Nom. pl. of *papp*=*popp*, LU. 97[a], 3, where it means 'bunch,' 'tuft.' Nom. sg. *bab* 'tuft, tassel' in the West Highlands.

penginde 'penny.' Nom. pl. of *pengind*=AS. *pending*.

-scoit. The compound *lin-scoit* 'linen sheet,' from which this word is inferred, is in the dat. sg. The nom. is *lin-scot*, where *scot* (O'Reilly's *scod*) is borrowed from ON. *skaut* just as *fuindeog* is from ON. *vindauga*.

sollsi 'light.' Should be *sollse*, as in l. 1283 of Prof. A.'s texts.

speilp 'cloak' (rectius 'robe'). Acc. sg. of *spelp* from Lat. *peplum*.

stelli (better *stelle*, as in 6983, 6985) is the gen. sg. of *stell*, borrowed, like W. *ystwyll*, from Lat. *stella*: hence the name *Stellan* or *Stiallan*.

tóit 'a whole,' from Lat. *tota*, is the acc. sg. of *tót*, which occurs compounded in the name *Tot-máel* (gl. totum caluum), Book of Armagh 13[b], 2.

trill. Gen. sg. of *trell* 'a space of time.' So *hi cind trill fodai* 'at the end of a long while,' LB. 221[b], 30. The dat. sg. is common in the phrase *iar trill* (for *triull*), 'after a while.'

The rest of Prof. Atkinson's lexicographical errors to be here noticed are of less importance, and will therefore, to save room, be printed in smaller type.

c. Wrong Insertions of Marks of Length.

cnéd 'wound.' Should be *cned.*

démun 'demon, devil.' Should be *dĕmun*, notwithstanding the diphthong of *daemon* (δαίμων), from which it is borrowed.

dliged 'law.' Should be *dliged*=W. *dyled.*

dóimin 'deep.' In the oblique cases *dóimne, dóimnib* the *o* is long *by position* and for that reason is marked as such. But the *o* in *doimin* (=W. *dwfn*) is short by nature.

fédil 'constant,' should be *fedil.* In *fédligit* etc. the *é* is long by position.

íbim 'to drink,' should be *ibim*=W. *yfaf*, Skr. *pibâmi.*

lógaim 'to forgive, remit,' should be *logaim.* In *lógthai-se* and *lógdar* (which misled Prof. Atkinson) the *o* is long by position.

martír should be *martir*=martyr, gen. martyris.

míre 'fury, madness,' should be *mire*, a deriv. of *mer* 'mad.'

Prof. Atkinson's *clusál* 'enclosure,' and *namá* 'enemy,' are probably mere misprints for *clúsal* (from Lat. *clausula*), and *náma.*

d. Wrong Omissions of Marks of Length.

aigedchach, 'hospitable,' *aigidecht*, 'hospitality,' should be *áig-* (O.-Ir. *óig-*), where the *ái* (*ói*) is a diphthong.

aigthide 'awful,' should be *áigthide*, cognate with *ág.*

ailim 'to implore,' should be *áilim* or *áiliu*, from **ad-lió*, √*lip*, whence also λίπτομαι (Bezzenberger).

airem 'number,' should be *áirim*, or *árim* as in l. 4427. This, like W. *eirif*, is from *ad*+*rím.* So *airmim* 'to count,' and its participle *airmide*, should be *áirmim, áirmide.*

alaind 'beautiful,' should be *álaind.*

baidim 'to drown,' etc., should be *báidim* 'I drown.' The verbal noun is rightly given as *bádud*, W. *boddi.*

banaim 'to grow white,' should be *bánaim*, a denom. of *bán*= φᾶνος.

basugud 'putting to death' (*bás*), should be *básugud*.

bel 'lip, mouth,' should be *bél*.

belra 'language,' should be *bélre*.

blaith, 'blithe'[!] should be *bláith*.

cainim 'to bewail,' should be *cáinim*, where *ái* is a diphthong. [illegible]. Cognate are *accáine*, *écáine* 'lamentation,' W. *cwyno*, *achwyno*, and [illegible]d perhaps Gr. κινυρός.

castel 'village,' should be *castél*, as we see from O'Clery's *sunn*[illegible] *chaistél* .i. caislen daingen, from the doublet *castial*, the gen. sg. [illegible]. *caisteoil* in the Four Masters, A.D. 1595, and the gen. pl. ic córgu[illegible]d *chastial*, LL. 236ᵃ. The Lat. *castellum*, from which these Irish[illegible]h words are borrowed, must have been pronounced *castéllum*.

ced 'permission,' should be *céd*, O.-Ir. *cét*, Welsh *cann*. So th[illegible]e cognate verb *cedaigim*, *cetaigim* 'to consent,' should be *cédaigim*[illegible], *cétaigim*. So the verbal noun *cetugud*, p. 582, should be *cétugud*.

cetamus 'in the first place,' should be *cét-amus*, lit. 'first attack[illegible]

cet-cruthaigim 'to create for the first time,' should be *cét-cruthaigi*[illegible].

cetna 'first,' 'same,' should be *cétna*.

complet 'complines,' should be *complét*, from the Low Latin *co*[illegible] *pléta*, officium ecclesiasticum quod caetera diurna officia *complet*[illegible]t claudit, Ducange.

crich 'limit,' should be *crích*.

cu 'dog,' should be *cú*=Welsh *ci*.

de 'smoke,' should be *dé*, gen. *diad*.

deroil 'small,' *deroile* 'insignificance,' should be *deróil*, *deróile*[illegible]

ditiu 'protection,' should be *dítiu*.

ec 'death,' should be *éc*.

enirte 'weakness,' should be *énirte*.

escai 'moon,' should be *éscae*.

fathacda 'prophetic,' should be *fáthacda*, a deriv. of *fáith*=Lat. *vát*[illegible]*es*.

genar 'was born,' should be *génar*.

legim 'to read,' should be *légaim*, notwithstanding the sh[illegible]rt penult of Lat. *lĕgo*, from which it is borrowed.

leim 'leap,' *leimnech* 'leaping,' should be *léim*, *léimnech*.

len 'sorrow,' gen. *leoin*, should be *lén*.

log 'reward,' should be *lóg*.

lor-gnim 'satisfaction,' should be *lórgnim*.

lothor 'ewer,' should be *lóthor*, *lóthur* (Cod. Bed. Carl. 39ᵇ 4), [illegible]r *loathar*, Sg. 67ᵇ 5=λοετρόν, λουτρόν, or λῶτρον.

me 'I,' should be *mé*=Welsh *mi*, Lat. *mê*.

medonach, *melltoir*, should be *medónach*, *melltóir*.

metugud 'increasing,' should be *métugud*, a deriv. of *mét*=W. *maint*.

mi- negative prefix, should be *mí-*. Prof. A. writes correctly *mí-bés*, *mí-gnim*, *mí-imbert*, *mí-imbrim*, but in the same page *mi-chométaim* and *mi-dénam*.

mirbulta 'marvellous,' should be *mírbulta*, a derivative of *mírbuil* borrowed from Lat. *mirabile*.

morad, *moraim*, *morfesiur*, should be *mórad*, *móraim*, *mórfésiur*.

noemad, *noemaim*, *noemda*, *noemdacht*, all want a mark of length on the *o*. So does *noidendacht*.

oclach 'youth,' should be *óclach*, a compound of *óc*, *óac*=W. *ieuanc*=(in form) Lat. *iuvencus*.

og-shlan 'wholly pure,' should be *óg-shlán*.

oige 'guest,' should be *óige* (where the *ói* is a diphthong).

osaic 'washing,' should be *ósaic* 'footwashing,' borrowed from Lat. *obsequium*.

plag-béim 'stripe, blow in punishment.' Read *plágbéim*, the *lág* being from Lat. *plága*, and compare *plágbuille*, pl. dat. ó *phlag-ullib*, LL. 244[b].

purgatoir 'purgatory,' should be *purgatóir*.

ranic perf. sg. 3 of *ricim*, should be *ránic*, as the Skr. *ánañca* would have taught Prof. Atkinson.

sailechtu 'hope,' should be *sáilechtu*, where the *ái* is a diphthong.

scribtha 'written' (pret. part. pass. of *scribaim*=Lat. *scribo*), should be *scríbtha*.

sena 'denial,' should be *séna*.

slanaigim, a denominative from *slán*, should be *slánaigim*.

snathat 'needle.' Read, *snáthat*: *snáthath* (gl. acus) Sg. 107[b] 3.

so-chenel, *so-chenelach*, *spreid*. Read, *so-chenél*, *so-chenélach*, *spréid*.

tutt should be *tútt*.

ur 'earth, mould.' Read, *úr* or *úir*.

ur 'fresh, green.' Read, *úr*=Welsh *ir*.

e. Separations of the same Word.

addi 'abode,' p. 524, is the dat. sg. of *aite* 'house,' p. 535.

athi, p. 552, is the dat. sg. of *aithe*, p. 534.

degulta, which Prof. A. (p. 632) gives as the gen. sg. of an imaginary *deglad**, is the gen. sg. (with metathesis of *l*) of *deliugud* 'separation' (p. 633); and *ro deglad*, which he gives (p. 632) as the *ass. sec. pres.* 3 *sg.* [!] of an imaginary *deglaim**, is the pret. pass. 3 of *deligim* (p. 633) 'I separate.'

nech 'aliquid,' p. 816, is declined in the sing. like an *o*-stem. In the plural (as is the rule in Middle-Irish with neuter nouns ending in *-ach* and *-ech*) it passes over to the *s*-declension, and we have, accordingly, *nechi* (for *neche*) in the nom. and acc., *nechib* in the dat. These plural forms Prof. Atkinson puts under *ní* 'thing,' p. 822. A similar mistake is made by Prof. Zimmer, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 456.

*salaigim** 'to defile,' inferred from the imperative *salaig* and the pret. *do shalaig*, regular forms of, and wrongly separated from, *salchaim* 'I defile, befoul.'

To these one may add *écraibdech*, p. 678, and its derivative *écraibdige*, p. 676: *imarcraid*, p. 758, and its derivative *immarcradach*, p. 760: *ittu*, p. 774, and its derivative *itadach*, p. 773: *soscéla*, p. 883, and its derivative *suiscelach*, p. 887.

f. Confusions of different Words.

adandad 'lighting up, stimulating,' is confounded with *adnacht*. The former is from **ad-adannad*, the latter from **adannad*.

cele 'concealment' (=W. *celydd* 'a sheltered place'), is placed under *céle* 'fellow, companion' (=W. *cilydd*). The context is *acht lecmit at ucht fessin hi cele breith bera*, line 609. This Prof. A. renders (pp. 297–8) as follows: "But we will leave it to thine own breast with thyself to decide what sentence thou wilt pass." How he got 'with thyself' out of *hi cele* is not apparent. The sentence obviously means: 'But we leave hidden [lit. in concealment] in thine own breast (the) judgment thou mayst deliver.'

léir 'complete' (=W. *llwyr* 'totus, omnis, universus') is placed under *léir* 'visible, conspicuous,' of which I know no cognate.

min 'small, fine, gentle.' *Mín* (=Goth. *mins*, A.S. *min*) is 'small,' but *min* (=Welsh *mwyn*) is 'smooth, fine, tender, delicate, gentle.'

mínigim 'I explain,' a denominative from *min*, is confounded with *mĭnigim* 'I mince.' From the former come *mínigit* and *mínigther*; from the latter *ro-minaig* and *minigther*.

g. Wrong Meanings.

adétig 'abominable, accursed.' The second meaning is wrong, and the first had better be 'execrable.'

ae 'liver, gall.' The second meaning is wrong: 'gall' is *domblae*, literally 'bitterness of liver.'

aidetchiugud 'cursing.' It means 'denying,' and is cognate with *eitchim* (ex *aith-dechim* ?) 'I refuse,' *etech* 'refusal.'

aidmilliud 'perturbation.' This word means 'destruction,' as in LU. 87ᵃ, 28, and many other places.

aincess 'anguish.' It means 'ailment' (*an-iccess*).

ainmech 'reviling.' This is a derivative of *ainim* 'blemish,' (W. *anaf*), and means 'blemished.'

aird 'end, quarter.' The former meaning is wrong.

airius 'place of meeting.' It merely means 'a meeting,' and is identical with the [*a*]*ires* .i. comdal, of the *Tochmarc Emire*: dobai hires (.i. comdal) les do Gallaib. luid dochum airisi de Gallaib timcell n-Alban andes.

aithe 'sharpness, sharp rebuke.' It means, 1. ultio; 2. compensatio, pretium, foenus. See *aithe* (gl. talio) Wb. 14ᶜ, *aithe* .i. díghal, O'Cl., Ascoli, Glossarium Palaeo-hibernicum, xlviii. Examples will be found in LL. 224ᵃ (*d' athi an-écora for Troiánu*), 244ᵃ (*aithi na gona sein*), and in the Ancient Laws, i. 218ᶜ (*d' aithe a indlighidh*).

anforbthi 'unspiritual' (?). It means 'imperfect, incomplete' (*anforbthe*), ἀτελείωτος.

angbaid 'wicked.' It means 'fierce,' 'cruel.' *Ba hangbaid trá ima imthuargain* LL. 242ᵇ. *Ba hangbaid . . . in fégad*, LL. 244ᵃ. *am feochair 7 am angbaid i cathaib 7 a n-irgalaib*, Tochmarc Emire. *in deoman n-angbaid* (the fierce lion), LL. 223ᵃ, LB. 128ᵇ.

atbela 'to die.' This verb (rectius *atbéla*) can only mean 'peries' or 'periet.'

athnugud 'rebuilding.' It means 'renewing.' W. *adnewyddu*.

atóibim 'to correspond, to be in harmony.' This verb properly means 'I adhere to' (from the prefix *ad* and *tóib* 'side': cf. the Low Lat. *accostare, acostare*, from *ad* and *costa*), and then 'I correspond with,' 'I am connected with.'

bass 'hand, palm.' The former meaning is wrong.

blaith 'blithe.' This word (rectius *bláith*) means 'smooth, gentle.'

boc-shlat 'light switch.' It means 'goat-rod': cf. *con-shlatt* infra.

bratán [leg. *bratan*] 'fish.' It means 'salmon.'

bráth 'judgment-day.' It simply means 'judgment' or 'doom': W. *brawd*: 'judgment-day' is *lá* (or *laithe* or *dia*) *brátha*.

carrac 'stone.' It means 'crag,' 'rock.' *carrcib* (gl. cautibus) Ml. 126ᵃ 8.

cecha-n 'everything.' It means 'whatsoever.' The *cechae* cited by Prof. A. from L. 1255 is=*cech ae*.

cepp 'fetter.' It means 'block,' 'stocks,' and, like W. *cyff*, is borrowed from Lat. *cippus*.

cétach [leg. *cétach*] 'hundred.' I think it means 'consisting of a hundred,' *na míle cétacha* 'the thousands consisting of hundreds.'

ciste 'treasure.' It means 'chest,' and is an *ia*-stem formed from Lat. *cista*, as *airse*, *ancoire*, *caindelbra*, *camra*, *lunga*, *sita* respectively from ἄρσις, *anchora*, *candelabrum*, *camera* (navis), *longa*, *seta*.

clerech [leg. *clérech*] 'clergy.' It means 'cleric.'

coblige 'cohabitation.' It means 'lying together,' 'copulation.'

coep 'lump, ball' (?). It means 'clod, clot, lump, mass,' but not 'ball.' The dat. pl. is written *caipaib* in LL. 4[b], 18, *Iarsain tarcatar Tuatha Dé ina caipaib ciach* (thereafter came the Tuatha Dé in their masses of mist),[1] where *caipaib ciach* corresponds with the *nélaib dorchaib* 'dark clouds,' of the prose account, LL. 9[a], 5.

coma 'terms, conditions.' It means 'a bribe,' 'gift,' 'subsidy.'

con-shlatt 'switch.' It means 'a dog-rod,' cf. *boc-shlat* supra.

deblén 'weakling, orphan.' The second meaning is wrong. Deblén [leg. Déblén] o ni[as]débilis, O'Dav. 75. The word is a diminutive either of a loan from Lat. *débilis*, or of a corruption of Ir. *dedbol*=*de-adbol*. See Glossarial Index to the Calendar of Oengus, p. ccxlv, and add *innan deidblenán* (gl. pupillorum) Ml. 127[b] 3.

didin. Here *i n óin didin* is rendered by Good Friday. It means on any Friday, good or bad, literally 'on last fast,' Wednesday being the first fast in each week.

doit * 'finger.' Read 'hand,' and cf. *cusna doitib* (gl. cum manibus) Gildas' Lorica. Cognate seems *doe lame* (gl. lacertus), Sg. 68[a] 1, pl. gen. *innandoat* (gl. lacertorum) Aug. 92.

domattu 'want, greediness,' *domma* 'need.' They mean 'poverty,' and are the opposites of *sommatu* and *somma* 'wealth.'

duma 'cairn, mound.' *Duma* by itself never means 'cairn,' *i.e.* a heap of stones. This is *duma cloch* 'a mound of stones.'

éccraibdige 'unbelief,' *écraibdech* 'unbelieving.' The former word means 'impiety,' the latter means 'impious.'

ecid 'he tells.' This is the enclitic form of the 3rd sg. *perfect* act. of the non-enclitic ('orthotonic') *adcuadim*, and means 'he (she, or it) told, related, declared.'

écomland 'anguish.' This is P. O'Connell's *eacomhlann* 'wrong,

[1] In Steinmeyer's Zeitschrift, xxxii. 318, note, Prof. Zimmer translates this by "darauf kamen die Tuatha Dé Danand in ihren nebel*kappen*." But the Ir. *caipe*, *coep* has nothing to do (as he supposes) with the Mod.H.G. *kappe*, Mid.H.G. *tarnkappe*.

al play, injustice.' Examples will be found in LL. 93ª, 110ᵇ, 5ª, 225ᵇ, and see Windisch's Wörterbuch, s.v. *écomlond.*

epil 'he died.' This is the enclitic form of the 3rd sg. *present* dic. act. of *atbelim*, and means 'perishes.'

erchuitmed 'mitigation.' It means 'excuse.' See the Tripar- e Life, Rolls ed. p. 184, l. 25.

on choimdid (s.v. *etaide*) 'from the Law.' The words mean, of urse, 'from the Lord.'

faen 'subject.' It means 'weak, feeble.' Now spelt *faon* or *faoin.*

fiarut, prep. with gen. 'throughout.' This is a noun compounded *fiar*=W. *gŵyr* 'oblique, sloping,' and *fot* 'length,' governed by the ep. *dar* or *for*. It always, I think, means 'athwart, across.' Thus: *onnarcsa aen . . . dar fiarut na faigthi* 'I saw one (coming) across e green,' LB. 213ᵇ, 59, *for fiarut na hAssia moiri uli* 'athwart e whole of Asia major,' LB. 3ª. In *a chroicend do iumochar fiarut cathrach* 'to carry his skin across the city,' LB. 177ª, it has come a nominal preposition. A similar phrase is in LB. 215, 50: *cingis dar fiarlait na faichthi* 'he went athwart the green.'

folmaiged [M] 'laying waste.' The passage in which this word curs—*iarsin* [*ro*]*folmaiged leth na cathrach di*—is rendered by rof. A. 'thereafter took place the devastation of half the city by it.' means, of course, 'thereafter half the city was devastated by it.' ere the scribe or the facsimilist has omitted the prefix *ro* before e 3rd sg. pret. pass. of *folmaigim*. Prof. A. might, at all ents, have known that *leth* was not a genitive sg.

for-etar, *for-fhetar* 'I am able, was able (to do).' The passage hich he cites—*ni móti foretatar* (=*for-fhetatar*) *som sin*—means ot the more did they know that.'

for-órda '(golden), glorious.' This word, in the nom. pl. masc., osses 'summi,' and is a formation from *ord*=Lat. *ordo*, like ng. *extraordinary*. Another *forórda* 'gilded' is a formation from 'gold.' Compare W. *goreuro* 'to gild.'

for-niatta 'desperate, furious.' The adj. *niatta*, of which this is compound, is derived from *niath*, the stem of *nia* 'champion.'

fortail, *fortamail* 'strong.' The former word means 'prevailing,' redominant,' cf. *ba fortail me for cach rét*, LU. 16ᵇ, *ba fortail rthi*, LL. 230ª, pl. n. *combtar fortaili for cerddib súithe gent- uchta*, LL. 9ª.

fúr 'watching for, awaiting.' It means 'preparing,' as O'Donovan ghtly renders the word in a passage quoted by Prof. Atkinson.

galar 'disease.' This is the usual meaning in Irish, but in

ll. 3360 and 4312 of Prof. A.'s texts *galar* means, as it does in Welsh, 'mourning, grief.' So in Laud 460, fo. 54ᵃ: *uch uch á Dé is trom in galar beith inécmais inna fircharat* 'Alas, alas, O God heavy is the grief to be away from the true friends!'

· *goire* 'healing' (?). It means 'pietas,' 'pious tendance.'

iach-lind 'fish-pool.' It means 'salmon-pool,' *iach* being the stem of the c-stem *éo*=*esox*, W. *eog*. A nom. *iach* (ex **esoco*-) also occurs *iach* .i. bratan, Leb. Lec. Vocab.

*ídnaicim** 'to lead.' It properly means 'I give.' The phrase *in se ídnaices co* may be compared with the English 'the road that *gives* on.

Is he immaircess in t-ere-si co spirtalda. Translated in p. 481 by 'The offence is thus made the weightier,' in p. 760 by 'It is he to whom this burden is referable, is especially applicable.' Read *is hé immarc*[*ur*]*ess* etc., 'who carries the burden spiritually,' and compare l. 7355, *ise sin in t-ere trom beress in animm leis a n-ichtá iffirn* '*that* is the heavy burden which the soul bears with it into the bottom of hell.'

inchlanda 'brood' (?). It stands for *in-chlandta* 'implanted,' and is the pret. part. pass. of *inchlandaim*, spelt *in-clannaim* in Windisch's Wörterbuch, corresponding with Lat. *implanto* as *di chlandaim* (W. *diblanu*) with *deplanto*.

ítadach 'hungry.' This must be a clerical error for 'thirsty,' for the cognate substantive *ittu* is rightly explained by 'thirst.'

lubair 'vow, prescribed duty.' This word merely means *labor* from which Latin word it is borrowed.

máin 'treasure; abundance, riches.' The second meaning is wrong: *máin* for *móin*, cognate with Lat. *mūnus* from **moinos*.

neméle 'sorrow, remorse.' It means 'lamentation' or (as O'Curry rendered it) 'bemoaning.' A cognate adverb occurs in the *Coga Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, p. 62, l. 4: co dub, domenmnach, truag, *nemlech*, torsech, 'darkly, dispiritedly, wretchedly, lamentingly, sadly.'

nem-choimsi 'powerless' (?). But this would be *nem-choimseci*, cf. *comsig* LL. 223ᵇ. *Nem-choimse* seems the opposite of *cuim* 'commodus,' Wb. 14ᵃ, 22ᵃ, whence, perhaps, *coimsetu*, parsimonia.

oentuma 'marriageable.' I think this is an abstract noun meaning 'celibacy,' 'the state of being unmarried,' from *óentasi* or *óintam* (gl. caelebs), Sg. 9ᵃ, 16ᵃ.

oided 'killing, death.' This word means 'tragical death,' but never 'killing.'

or 'top, side.' It means 'coast, edge'; *or* from **opro*, cognate with N.H.G. *ufer*.

organta 'organ-toned.' Rather 'horn-like,' 'pipe-like,' for *organ* (later *st-organ*, from its constant companion *stoc* 'trumpet'), meant 'horn' or 'pipe': see Ml. 116[c], 8, and ὄργανον fistula, Ducange.

*rīg** 'arm.' It is only 'forearm.'

seg '(milk), sap' (?). This is a good specimen of *Verballhornung*. For in his translation, p. 371, Prof. A. had rightly rendered *seg*= Skr. *sahas* by 'strength.' It is corruptly spelt *seadh* by O'Clery and his copyist O'Reilly.

siabrad, rendered 'quivering' in the translation (p. 508), is explained by 'magic blight' (?) in the glossary. I think it here means 'distortion.'

smút 'cloud.' It means 'smoke.' The host of demons *in a smútcheó*, Atk. l. 7237, 'as a mist of smoke.' *smúittcheó diadh* 7 *dethaighe* 'a dark cloud of vapour and smoke,' Four Masters, A.D. 1600.

sossad 'abode, seat, position.' The second meaning is wrong.

sruith 'sage, senior, elder.' The first meaning is wrong.

sruthi 'majesty, dignity.' This word (rectius *sruthe*) means 'seniority,' 'venerableness.'

sum, som 'self, selves.' This pronominal 'nota augens,' rather means 'same,' with which word it is cognate. Compare Goth. *sama* 'derselbe.' 'Self' in Irish is *féin, fésin, fodéin, fodésin*.

tart 'thirst.' This is the usual meaning, but in the only place where *tart* occurs in Prof. A.'s texts it signifies 'drought.' So, in Fiacc's hymn, l. 29, it is said of the well Slán: *nis-gaibed tart na lia* 'neither drought nor flood used to affect it.' So in the Book of Lismore, 146[b] 2: *lodán samhraidh inuair dogheibh se tart mór* 'a muddy pool in summer when great drought has affected it,' and in the same MS. fo. 22[a], 2: *Bliadan tarta móir tháinic ann iarsin* '(it was) a year of great drought which came there after that.'

tortromad 'exceeding heaviness.' This word means 'pestering,' 'overburdening,' 'cumbering,' as in the homily on S. Martin, *Revue Celtique*, II. 393, and in LU. 79[a], 10.

tothlaigim 'to desire.' This, the enclitic form of *do-thluchim*, means 'I ask,' 'I request.' Root *tluk*=Lith. √*tulk*, whence *tulkas* 'interpreter.'

tutt 'smoke.' It is a living word meaning 'stench,' and should have been given as *tútt*.

dath gesi [leg. *gése*] 'the colour of a goose,' s.v. *uan*. It means 'a swan's hue.' 'Goose' in Irish is *géd*=W. *gwydd*. 'Swan' is *géis*, gen. *gése*, cognate, but not synonymous, with (*h*)*anser*, χήν, *gans*.

urmor 'very many.' It means 'a chief part.' In l. 3, *urmoir* is

the gen. sg. of a substantive, not, as Prof. A. supposes, the nom. pl. of an adjective.

I may add to these instances of mistranslation one or two of non-translation. Such is *dam dilend*, which expression Prof. Atkinson quotes s.vv. *dam* and *dile*, apparently without knowing that it means 'a huge (or mighty) stag.' See *Irische Texte*, Zweite Serie, 2 Heft, p. 182, for other instances of the gen. sg. of *diliu* (=Lat. *diluvium*) being used as augmentative. Such, again, is the expression *co dú* which occurs eleven times in Prof. A.'s texts. He rightly explains *dú* by 'place,' but seems (p. 591, col. 2) to think that the prep. *co* here means 'up to.' But here *co* certainly means 'at;' and the phrase *co dú in*-debert (ll. 2986, 4407, etc.) lit. 'at the place in which he said,' corresponds with the Lat. *ubi dixit*, Trip. Life, Rolls ed. p. 64, l. 13.[1]

h. Wrong Etymologies.

acarb [pronounced *agarbh*] 'bitter,' "prob.=*ath-garb* with admixture of Lat. *acerbus*." It is borrowed from the Lat. *acerbus*, pronounced by British mouths *acervus*. So Ir. *carmhogal*, *balbh*, from Lat. *carbunculus*, *balbus*, pronounced *carvunculus balvus* by the Britons, from whom the Irish learnt these words.

comus 'power' √*mid*. The root is *med*, seen most clearly in Gr. μέδοντες. Hence also Ir. *coimmdiu* 'lord'=*com-mediot.

mebaid [rectius *memaid*] is said to be 'really a redup. perf. from √*maid* to break forth.' The root is *mat*=Skr. *math*.

raith in *do-raith* 'quickly, immediately' is conjectured to be from '*ro-aith*.' Prof. Atkinson doubtless means *ro-áith* 'very sharp.' But this would give *ráith*. The *raith* in *do-raith* seems to belong to the root *ret* 'to run,' whence *rethim* 'I run' and its perfect *ro-raith*.

tarfaid 'showed,' "perf. from do-ro-√*bad*." The root is *bhad*, whence also Lat. *fateor*.

tuais-cert 'North quarter.' The *s* belongs to the latter half of this compound, which is=*tuath*+*scert*, cf. *tuath-bil*. The *scert*, from **squerto-*, is=W. *sparth* in *do-sparth* 'division,' Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.* II. 333.

[1] *co* seems to mean 'at' or 'as to' in the following instances: *iarsin tic Eua asin tsruth*: *bai for tir co tirmugud* (thereafter Eve comes out of the stream: she was on land a-drying) Saltair na Rann, 1685–86. *co adrad rohue do cach ard-rig* (as to worship, he, Solomon, surpassed every overking), ibid. 7039–40, and see ibid. 3671, 5555. In *a bith co a lécud do Choinculaind* (that she was being left by Cúchulainn) LU. 49[a], we have another example; and see LL. 106[b] 30 [illegible]

ETYMOLOGIES.

Having thus given specimens (*pauca de plurimis*) of the eight classes of errors in Prof. Atkinson's glossary, I have now to propose etymologies of some twenty-four of the words in that glossary, which he has not traced to their sources.

aird 'quarter (of the heavens), point (of the compass),' Gr. ἄρδις 'arrow-point.'

airecht 'assembly'=Welsh *areith*, now *araeth* 'speech.' So in Middle-High-German *sprâche* 1. sprache 2. zusammenkunft zum zweck einer besprechung. The root is *req*, whence also Old-Slav. *reką* 'I speak' (Bezzenberger).

airgent (*argeint* ?). From *argenteus*, Vulg. Matt. xxvi. 15.

arg M. 'coffer,' from Lat. *arca*, with change of gender.

blede 'goblet,' from A.S. *bledu*.

cocraid=*coclaid* 'weeds, tares,' Cormac, s.v. *Rot*, from A.S. *coccel* 'darnel, tares,'

condall 'stalk, stubble,' O.-Ir. *connall* (gl. stipulam) Sg. 36b, 22, from Lat. *cannula*.

for-barach 'excellent,' identical in prefix, root and meaning with the ὑπερφερής of the LXX.

is 'below,' Welsh *is*,=Gr. εἴσω from ἐνσω. Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 491) connects Latin *infrā*, *inferi*, *ras* from **ins-rā*, **ins-rī*, **ins-mo-s*.

lethar 'skin,' Welsh *lledr*, N.H.G. *leder*, Lat. *liber* 'inner bark,' from **lifro*, **liθro*.

luard 'heavy,' from Fr. *lourd*.[1]

merce 'standard,' from *merge* (pl. *mergeda*, Atk. 2627), O. Norse *merki*.

mullóc, 'the cover of a paten.' A derivative, like *mullach*, 'crown of the head,' of **mull*=A.S. *molda*, Skr. *mûrdhan*.

prap in *co-prap* 'suddenly,' *prapud*, from a British **brap* =Goth. *brahv* (*brahvs* ?). The Irish *la brafad súla*=Goth. *in rahca augins*.

sab 'staff,'=Goth. *stabs*, A.S. *stæf*, O.H.G. *stap*, gen. *stabes*, must be borrowed if Kluge is right in referring these Teutonic words to an Indogermanic root *stap*.

[1] The dat. pl. *égmib luardaib*, Atk. l. 8305, may be compared with *gair tromm* Atk. l. 771.

saich 'bad' (which Prof. A. misspells *saith*), cognate with Ir. *sechbaid*, *sechfaid* 'error,' and Lat. *sequior* 'worse.'

seg 'strength' (misspelt *seadh* by O'Clery)=Skr. *sahas*, Goth. *sigis*, A.S. *sigor*. In Gaulish it probably is the first element of the name *Sego-mâros*.

spelp 'robe,' *speilp* (gl. coopertorium) occurs compounded with *imm* in *im-spelp*, Corm. Gl. s.v. Ranc. It is a loan from Lat. *peplum*, with the prothetic *s* which is found also in Mid. Ir. *s-préid* 'cattle,' from *praeda*,[1] O.-Ir. *s-cipar* from *piper*.

stiúrad 'guiding, guidance,' a deriv. of *stiúr*, borrowed from some Teutonic word like A.S. *steor*, O.H.G. *stiura*.

stuag '(arch) rainbow.' This is the Old-Irish *tuag* 'bow' with the prothetic *s* found also in *s-targa* LL. 265[a], from A.S. *targe* or O.N. *targa*. Windisch has connected *tuag* 'bow' with Skr. √*tuj*.

sul 'before,' only used with verbs in the preterite, is for *sur*=(*ré-*)*siu-ro*.

terc 'scanty,' from **tersquo-*, cognate with Lat. *tesqua* 'deserts,' from **tersqua*.

itr 'land,' like Osc. *teerúm*, has lost initial *s*, and is cognate with στῆριγξ, στηρίζω.

tomm 'lump,'=τύμβος, Skr. *tuṅga*.

Prof. Atkinson ends his preface by saying: "No one can be more conscious than myself of the imperfection of my work, nor more desirous of having it corrected where it is wrong. For all instructive criticism I shall be grateful, to any other I am quite indifferent." Whether he will consider the present criticism "instructive," I do not know. But it is at all events well-meant, and the fourteen or fifteen scholars now living who are competent to judge will certainly say that it is well-founded.

[1] The Old and Early Middle Irish form was *préid*: cf. *leoman mór laiges préid no for mart* 'a great lion that lies on a prey or on an ox,' LB. 212[b]: also the verb pretae (gl. depredantium), Ml. 134[b], 10.

XIV.—ON THE OLD ENGLISH NOUNS OF MORE THAN ONE GENDER. By Robert von Fleischhacker, Ph.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, February* 13, 1889.]

The singular fact that in the Old English language the same word has frequently different genders was known long ago, and Mr. Platt has made it the object of his investigations. Of course this fact is not confined to O.E. alone, it occurs in every Teutonic language, the Gothic alone supplying us with no examples, which circumstance may be attributed to the scarcity of the remains of that language. So far as I have been able to judge, no rule can be framed as to these words—that is, nouns with more than one gender—for the Teutonic languages in general. Therefore each language demands a separate investigation for itself, and in my remarks I shall confine myself to the O.E. language, referring to the other kindred tongues only so far as they serve to illustrate the latter. This investigation is attended with peculiar difficulties. In the first place, in O.E. texts the gender of the words is frequently either not shown at all, or is only doubtfully marked. In the next place, many of the older editions are not quite trustworthy. But this has been to some extent avoided by the learned labours of the editors of the Oldest English Texts, the Cura Pastoralis and Orosius, the Blickling Homilies, Aelfric's Grammar, Wulfstan's Homilies and the Lives of Saints; so that we now have a fair lot of facts from which we can draw our conclusions. The materials have all been collected in the Dictionaries by Grein, by Toller and Bosworth, and by Platt and Sievers. There remain very few facts to be added, but an occasional misstatement requires to be corrected. Another difficulty to be overcome is in the arrangement of the facts. The first mode is to classify them according to their historical order, and the second mode according to the position of the words in a grammatical system. The his-

torical arrangement, as pursued by Mr. Platt, cannot produce any beneficial results; for not only are many great facts impossible of explanation by that arrangement, but also we do not as yet possess sufficient texts, particularly of the later periods, to work it successfully. No doubt the historical arrangement would be very interesting in itself, but I think we shall be forced to wait at least till the publication of Prof. Napier's edition of the O.E. Homilies, before we can hope to achieve any practical results in that direction.

With regard to the philological arrangement, we have our choice of two modes of classifying the words; first according to their so-called natural genders, and secondly according to their grammatical genders. The question as to which of these modes we are to choose touches to some extent another question, namely, that of the origin of gender itself. Zimmer, in his work on *a* and *ā* suffix, treats of the origin of grammatical gender. He sets out with words like *açva* and *açvā*, and he takes the masculine as the primary form. The feminine form is, in his opinion, of later date, and is due to the attempt to separate it from the masculine form by a distinction sufficiently great to mark the difference between the two forms without breaking their unity; further on he repudiates the opinion of those authorities who ascribe a peculiar signification to the suffix *ā*, and connect it in some way with the feminine gender in general, giving to *ā* a meaning like "weakening," "swelling," etc. As to his own opinion, he has not succeeded in making it quite clear how a language could have been induced to adopt a meaningless form to mark a natural distinction. Brugmann goes much more deeply into the question in the second vol. of his *Comp. Grammar*, p. 100. He says that the capacity of the suffix *ā* to denote the feminine gender does not originate in any peculiar meaning of this suffix. Some words, he says, like *matá* 'mother,' showed this suffix in the root, and these words were like models for the groups of other words with natural genders. Then followed whole classes of words, such as the abstracts and the concretes, which assumed their genders solely by reason of their association with the words of natural gender. T-

express his opinion briefly, he puts the grammatical gender, to some extent, chronologically before the natural gender. This theory is a useful one, as it shows that it is the form of the word-ending which chiefly accounts for its gender. I say 'chiefly,' because all the nouns for persons were bound to take the masculine or feminine gender according to their sex, as soon as the grammatical distinction of the genders was made. In the majority of nouns, the word-ending is a suffix, and groups of abstracts or concretes with a familiar sense were formed with the same suffix and the same gender. The suffixes became more and more indistinct under the influence of the different phonetic processes; and by a false analogy, nouns from one class frequently passed into another, and caused the changes of gender. The neuter gender offers a peculiar difficulty. It is doubtful if it is either a primary or a secondary formation, and if it is secondary, whether it arose from the masculine or from the feminine.

The order which I adopt in enumerating the groups of nouns according to their suffixes is merely a practical one, and I omit the division into primary and secondary suffixes as unimportant for my present purpose.

I.—*The nouns with the suffix ja* take their origin chiefly from Verbal Adjectives with a possessive, derivative, or comparative signification. These adjectives are frequently used as nouns; and so they induced other nouns, which had no adjectives as a base, to follow this kind of formation. The nouns are partly nouns of agency, partly collectives and abstracts. The nouns of agency assume generally the masc. gender, the collectives the neuter, and the abstracts are either feminine or neuter. Brugmann makes an interesting observation about a double function of abstract nouns in his *Comp. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 444. He says that if the adjective which forms the base of an abstract noun, is a noun of agency, the abstract will be a noun of action with the neuter gender; if the adjective expresses a quality, the noun will have the same signification, and the gender will be feminine. This rule is frequently broken in the different languages, partly from the effect of analogy, partly from the confusion

of different classes. The division of nouns into collective and abstracts is to some extent a cross division, so that i is at times impossible to tell to which class a noun belongs The same difficulty arises in the separation of these tw classes from the concrete nouns with neuter gender forme with the same suffix *ja*.

The lists of nouns with the suffix *ja* are collected by Schlüte in his work "Die mit dem Suff. *ja* gebildeten deutsche Nomina."

The masc. *forms in ja.* In the Gothic language the mas gender is, with a few exceptions, used for persons onl These exceptions are *andeis, hwaiteis* and *ibdalja: ande* O.E. *ende*, is masc. in all the Teutonic languages; only O.H.G., do we find the neuter gender as well as the masc.

hwaiteis, O.E. *hwête* m., is neuter in O. Icel.

In O.E. are also to be found the following masc. w suffix *ja: hrycg*, O.H.G. *hrukki* m., O. Icel. *hryggr* m. m. Mr. Platt gives some references as to the occurren of the fem. gender, Aelf. Hom. i. p. 38, l. 12, *of ælcere hyl* and *Cod. Dipl.* a 959. Probably this word has taken the fem gender in analogy to *dûn. dynn* 'noise,' formerly belonging t the *i* Declension, see Sievers *Gramm.* p. 263, n. 3.

secg 'sedge' and 'sword.' I cannot see any reason fo separating these two significations into two different words One not quite conclusive reference is given for *secg* 'sword showing the fem. gender. Beow. 684, "ac wit on niht sculo secge ofersittan." *secg* 'sedge' is masc. in the Leechd. Gloss., neuter in Aelf. Gramm. 69, 16, hæc carex: þis sec The neuter gender was taken in analogy to *gærs* 'grass *þrymm*, O. Icel. *þrymr*, connected with Lat. *turma*, perhaps als with O.H.G. *trumba*, if the later were not rather to be put t G. *drunjus*. *wecg* 'wedge,' O.H.G. *wekki*, O. Icel. *ruggr*.

We could apply the rule of Prof. Brugmann to *se* and *wecg*, taking these words as being originally nou of agency 'the cutter,' 'the mover,' see Skeat Et. Dict. *sed* and *wedge*. On the other hand, *hwête* and *hrycg* are n to be put under this rule; they are connected with adjective signifying a quality, and accordingly they ought to be fen

The variations in the gender of *hyll* and *secg* are due to the psychological process of their connection with words of similar sense.

Also the concretes belonging to this class show their connection with adjectives, although it cannot be proved in every instance.

bed g., *badi* n., O.H.G. *betti* n. Kluge connects this word with *fodio*, giving to 'bed' the original meaning of 'a place dug out;' the O. Icel *bedr* m. has generally the meaning 'cushion,' but it occurs also with the signification of bed, see Cleasby Vigf. A compound of *bed* shows variation of gender; *wêofod*, from *wîg* bed; it is neuter and shows the masc. gender only in one place, C.P. 217–21, 'gif se weobud ufan hôl nære.' The preceding passage, l. 19, is as follows: 'þæt the scolde þone godes alter habban uppan aholodne.' The gender of wêofod is apparently influenced by the preceding 'alter.' *bend*, G. *bandi* f., in the O. E. Texts in Bede fem. and masc. *Blickl. Hom.* and *Aelf. Hom.* masc. Sievers (*Misc. Beitr.* ix.) suggests the idea that the fem. gender of *bend* is peculiar to the Anglian dialect. *fen*, G. *fani* n., O. Icel. fen n., O.H.G. fenna f.; it is neuter in Cura Past. and Orosius, masc. in *Boeth.* 18, and *Chron.* a. 905, see Grein and Bosw. Toll. The passage in Boeth. 'fennas and moras' seems to show a sort of attraction to *môras* which might have induced the masc. form '*fennas*.'

Constantly neuter, are *hîg*, G. *hawi*, O.H.G. *hewi*, O. Icel. *hey*; the signification of this word is 'what is to be hewn;' *hîw*, G. *hiwi*; *lybb*, O.H.G. *luppi*, O. Icel. *luf*, is usually fem.; *net*, G. *nati*, O.H.G. *nezzi*; *wed*, G. *vadi*, O.H.G. *wetti*; *nebb*, O. Icel, *nef*; *wîte* O.H.G. *wîzi*; *stycce*, O.H.G. *stucchi*; *web*, O.H.G. *wappi*, O. Icel. *vefr* m.; *ribb*, O.H.G. *rippi*, O. Icel. *rif*.

Concretes with fem. gender in *ja* like *brycg*, *cribb*, etc., are not very numerous. In many cases they are originally abstracts like *ecg*, *benn*, *hell*. *hæð* (G. *haiþi* f., O. Icel. *heiðr* f.) fem. in Beow. 2212, masc. or neut. in later texts, see Platt, and Earle Land Chart. Gloss. masc. in analogy to *feld* neut. in analogy to 'grass.' One borrowed word is to be mentioned belonging to this class which shows variation of gender, *cyll* 'leather bottle,' Lat. *cûleus*, O. Icel. *kyllir* m.; in

Orosius and Vespasian Psalter the masc. *cylle* occurs; in Gregory Dialogus 3. 37, *cyll* fem. and *cylle, -an* fem.

An important class are the *collectives in ja*. Originally only concretes were put together to form the collectives; afterwards abstracts also; in this way, forms confined to the use of collectives came into use for abstracts. Bahder says (Die Verbalabstracte in den german Sprachen, p. 198), "Plurality in time comes in the place of plurality in space." These forms in course of time grew typical and attracted other words, from which the idea of a collective is more or less excluded. Brugmann, *l. c.* § 152, enumerates the means for the formation of collectives. Only this one point is important for our purpose, that denominative adjectives are the chief factors in the formation of collectives. The suffix Idg. *iquo*, Gr. *ako*, the corresponding one for the Teutonic languages is *-ja*; it has also the same use in Slavic a. *kamenije to kamy* 'stone,' *dražije to dragu* 'tram.' The neuter gender is the most natural one for collective nouns. That this rule is frequently infringed is due to the fact that the nouns under discussion follow, as to their gender, either that of the individuals forming the collective, or the gender of another class of words. This also accounts for the frequent variation in gender occurring amongst the O.E. nouns belonging to this group.

The collectives in *ja* are rare in the Teutonic languages. Such are *yrfe* 'property,' G. *arbi*, O.H.G. *erbi*; *fiðere* 'plumage,' but *feðer* f. Besides the n. pl. *fiðru* also the masc. form *fiðeras* occurs, see Toll. Bosw.

The forms with the suffix *-ja* and prefix *ga-* corresponding to the Latin forms with *con-* are numerous. Grimm has distributed these forms into ten classes according to their derivation. For our purpose this classification is of no importance; nor is the question whether, as Grimm says, these nouns are compounds of simple words without *ga-* and the prefix, or whether they are original forms, as Bahder has made it probable, *l.c.* 198. We will only notice that the original formations with the prefix *ga-* had the suffix *-ja*, and that they attracted other nouns with other suffixes. I give the following list of nouns with neuter gender:

gebâre 'bearing,' which occurs only in the plural *gebâru*, and ould be taken for an indeclinable fem., but the O.H.G. *gabâri* and .S. *gibâri* prove that the O.E. form is neuter. *gefilde*, O.H.G. *efildi* to *feld* m. O.S. m. O.H.G. n. *gefrâge* n. (and *gefrige i* stem) *efylce* to *folc* n. O.H.G. m. (O.H.G. *folk* is to be compared with .E. *here* and *þrymm*, perhaps the masc. gender here is due to the dea that the chief constituent part of these collectives are masc.) The compound *ælfylce* and *fylce* likewise show the neuter gender. Both forms with the prefix *ga*, and without it, are also shown by: *gehlŷde-hlŷde* to O.E. adj. *hlûd*, *gemâre-mâre*; *gemêde* O.H.G. *gimuati* to *môd* n.; *gemierce* n. besides *gemearc* n. to the fem. *mearc*; *gerâde*, O.H.G. *gareiti* to *râd* m.; *gerŷne* O.H.G. *garuni*, and without prefix, O.E. *rŷne* to *rûn* f.; *gerêþre* to *rôðor*; *gescŷ* O.H.G. *gaskôhi* to *scôh* m.; *gereorde* beside *gereord* to *reord* f.; G. *razda*, O.H.G. *rarta*, O. Icel. *rodd* (Toller mentions a neuter *reord*, but I have been unable to find any reference for this); *gescyldre* to *sculdor*. *Sculdor* is masc. in *Leechd.* vol. ii. § 19, 9, 'oð ðone swiðran sculdor;' we find the neuter plural ibid. 260, 12, 'oð þa sculdru.' The same appears in the *Blickl. Hom.* v. Gloss. Evidently the plural has assumed a collective sense, and consequently the neuter gender, Cockayne, *Leechd.* vol. ii. Gloss. compares brôðor, gebrôðru; *getŷme* n. to O.H.G. *zoum* O.S. *tôm* O. Icel. *taumr* m. 'bridle,' O.E. *têam* m. 'family.' On the connection between the two significations 'fridle' and family,' see ev. Prof. Skeat, *Et. Dict.*; *getŷne* n. to *tûn* m.; *getimbre* to *mber*; *gewâde* n. beside *wâde* n. to *wâd* f.; O.H.G. *wât*, O. Icel. ð. The relation of *gewâge* n. and *wâge* n. 'weight' to *wâg* d *wâge* f. 'scale,' differs from the relation of the above-mentioned uns to the corresponding ones without the prefix *ge*. *gewenge* and *ge* to wonge n.; *gewrixle* and *gewrixl* to *wrixl* f; *gewidere* and *eder*, O.H.G. *giwitri*, to *weder* n. From nouns with the suffix *-i* nention the following: *gefêg* n. besides *gefôg*, *gehyld* besides *ald*, *gesêm* to *sôm* f.

I.—From a list of neuters formed with the prefix *ge* and suffix *-o* I give a few cases only where a corresponding ple word is to be found with a different gender:

ban n. to O.S. *ban*, O.H.G. *ban* m.; *gebed*, O.H.G. *gibed* to *ida* m.; O.H.G. *beta* f.; *gedrinc* n. to O.E. *drinc* m.; *gedrep* *drepe* m.; *gerîm* to *rîm* usually n. but Cura Past. 43, 22, O.H.G. m. O. Icel. n. *gerûm* to *rûm* m.; *gesig* to *sige* m.; *m* to *trum* m.

Amongst the feminine nouns with the prefix *ge-* many are formed with the suffixes *-ness* and *-ung* as: *gecoreness, geæ[illegible]tefedness, geæhtung, gecarnung,* etc. These apparently are of later date, and their prefix *ge-* has lost its originally collective meaning, like the Latin *con-* in *consilium, conturbatio,* etc.

III.—The numerous class of feminine nouns with the prefix *ge-* and the suffix *-ti* deserves our particular attention. This suffix was already in use in the Indogermanic language for the formation of feminine nouns of action; and the few nouns of agency formed in this way, like *gæst,* can easily be taken as having been originally nouns of action. The word for the action itself came into use for the bearer of the action, see Brugmann, *l.c.* § 99. The fem. abstracts in *-ti* are partly primary and partly secondary; they are also connected with the participles in *-to.* The concurrence of the final sound of the stem with the consonant of the suffix produces a difference in the ending sound of the words under discussion, so that the connection of the nouns belonging to this group is sometimes broken. In some cases the fem. suffix *-ti* is confounded with the masculine suffix *-tu.* These reasons contribute to the variations of gender so frequently found amongst the O.E. words of this group.

Bahder, *l.c.* p. 76, enumerates the cases in which variations occur from the original fem. gender to the masc. or neuter. I mention here only the O.E. words: G. *urrists* f., O.E. *ærist* 'resurrection' f. in Cura Past., the masc. genitive *êristes* occurs only once in Cura Past., f. in *L.o.S.* xxiii. 259, m. in *Aelfric's Gramm.,* 70, 14 acc. *ûrne êrist,* in *Aelfric's Homilies* four instances, where it is doubtful if the word is masc. or neuter; in *Aelf. Hom.* 27, 173 neuter, ib. 30, 90, fem. The compound *êfst Cura Past.* m., *Blickling Hom.* m. and f.; G. *ansts,* O.H.G. *anst,* O. Icel. *âst* f.; O.E. *êst* f. and m. see Grein and Toll. Bosw.; G. *gifts* in *fragifts* O.H.G. *gift* f., O.E. *gift* f., the neuter plural *giftu,* 'nuptiæ,' occurs in *Aelf. Gramm.* 85, 7 and *L.o.S.* iv. 27 (Sievers, Gr. § 267, n. 2, mentions, besides *giftu,* the plurals *gedryhtu, gehyrstu, wistu,* and *lyftu*). *êt* 'food' (*ti* stem?) m. and fem., see Grein and Bosw. Toll. *cwild* 'plague' shows the original fem. gender in the com-

nd word 'cwil*de* flôd' Vesp. Psalter, 28. 10, 31. 6. Leechdoms, m. and n. (plur.); *græft* 'sculpture' m. in *-ine* f. in *Lye.*; *list* m. f. see Toll. Bosw. G. *lists*, O. Icel. *list* O.H.G. m. I mention here *wrôht* 'accusation' although it probably formed with the suffix *-to-*; *wrôht* is usually fem. *ra Past.*, *Aelf. Hom.* seldom masc., see Grein.

In the following words the origin and suffixes are doubt-: G. *waihts* f. and *waiht* n. in 'niwaiht, niwaihts.' These forms show perhaps the occurrence of both a *-ti* and *-to* fix. O.H.G. makes a distinction, using the masc. *wiht* for sons, and the neuter *wiht* for things. O.E. (corresponding the Gothic) offers the fem. and neuter gender. References given in Grein and Cosijn. *Wulfst. Hom.* 139, 4 fem. *wiht* 'baptism' masc. in Cura Past. in Poetry fem. and sc. or neut. *Aelf. Hom.* n., *Wulfst. Hom.* n. 144. 16, 33. 13, . 16, masc. 229. 2. *fierst* 'space of time,' O. Icel. *frest* . f., plur. n., O.H.G. f. and m. or n., O.E. m. Chron. a., 6 n. (see Platt, analogy to *fæc*). The two words *fæc* and *t* may have influenced each other: *fæc* is n., in *Wulfstan* . 15 m. 'ofer ealne geares fæc.'

he feminine was the original gender in all these cases, it varied (1) to the masc. from analogy with the great ber of masc.-abstracts in the West Germanic languages, Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre, § 102, where he ts out that masc. nouns with the suffix *-i* frequently espond in the West Germanic languages to neuter nouns the suffix *o* in Gothic and Scandinavian; it varied (2) he neuter from analogy with the collectives.

he nouns with the prefix *ge-* and suffix *-ti* which offer ation in gender are the following: *geþeaht* f. in Poetry Grein and Bosw. Toll.), n. in C. P., Aelf. Hom. and edictine Rule; *geþôht* m., in Poetry (see Grein); the sing. euter in Prose C. P., L.o.S. Nat. 135, the plural is masc. masc. gender is taken from *geþonc*. The distinct form *-as* accounts for the fact, that the masc. gender was pre-ved in the plural. *Gesceaft* G. *gaskafts* f., O.H.G. *gaskaft* f. E. Texts C. P. Poetry, Blickl. Hom. fem., Wulfst. Hom. 1, 34. 1, 186. 5, fem., Aelf. Hom. 4. 72, ii. 11, 186, neut.

The three above mentioned words show no Umlaut. Kluge puts *geþeaht* and *geþóht* to the forms with the suffix -to, but the Umlaut is also wanting in *gesceaft*, which is proved to be formed with the suffix *-ti*, by the G. *gaskafts* and *gaskapjan*. *Geþyld* 'patience,' O.H.G. *gidult* f., cognate, according to Brugmann, with *oblatio*. It is fem. in O.E. Texts; usually fem., rarely neut. in C. P.; fem. and neut. in the Blickling Hom.; neut. in Aelf. Hom., Shrine and L.o.S. *Geny* 'sufficiency,' O.H.G. *ginuht* f. It is usually fem. Sievers Misc., gives one instance for the neuter gender from Boet. *gemynd* 'mind,' G. *gamunds* f., O.H.G. *gimunt* f. It is fem. in the O.E. Texts, in C. P. neut. and fem. Shrine 51. 2, 73. fem. Blickl. Hom. neuter once fem., Aelf. Hom. neu. 20. 240, ii. 30. 408; Wulfstan neut. 137. 20, L.o.S. neu. Præf. 51, Nat. 118. The occurrence of G. *gaminþi* n. w. *gamunds* offers no comparison; for in *gaminþi* the suffix is added to the suffix *-ti*. *Gecynd* 'kind' in C.P. fem. a. neut., Shrine 118. 8 fem., Blickling Hom. f., Leechdoms 330. 2, fem.; Aelfr. Gramm. 243. 16, Aelf. Hom. ii. 12. 20. 20. 169, L.o.S. Nat. 87 n. Sievers, Misc., mentions th. indeclinable fem. *gecyndo* from Leechdoms, and says th. *gecyndo* and *gecynde* were formed from the plural *gecynd*. It is also possible to see in *gecynde* the adj. *gecynde* used as a noun, and to take the fem. *gecyndu* as formed b. analogy to the abstracts in G. *-ei* and *iþa*. *gehygd* (hyge m.) 'thought' in O.E.T. f. in Poetry f. and neut. *oferhygd* fem. occurs in C.P., in the form of an indeclinable fem. *oferhygdo* in Blickl. Hom. and Poetry; also gen. *oferhygdes* is found in Poetry. *ingehygd* is neut. W. 51. 26 *giren*, *grīn* 'snare' n. in C.P., n. and f. in O.E. T. (fem. in V.P. $\frac{148}{9}$, 17. 6, 118. 110).

The same variation is shown by the compound *for* 'damage,' usually fem. Toller gives two examples fo neut. gender, from Aelfric's Homilies, *weorþmynd* 'hon C.P. (Cosijn ii. § 23) sing. m. and fem., plur. neu. Poetry, see Grein f. and neut. (shown by plur. *weorþ* Gû. 434) Aelf. Hom. 26. 36, etc., and L.o.S. xi. 291, etc.,

Geþonc, O.H.G. *gidank* m., O.S. *giþanko* m. (from

Declens.) It is usually masc. like *þonc*, so in C.P., while the same text forms, from the compound *ingeþonc*, a neuter sing. and a masc. plural: *geþonc* is further masc. in Blickling Hom., masc. and n. in Leechdoms, neut. in Aelf. Hom. 19. 89 and Wulfstan 20. 9; 202. 26. I mention further two words in *-ja* with the same variation of gender as the above-mentioned nouns with the prefix *ge-*: the abstract *ofermêde* 'pride,' n. in Poetry, see Grein, fem. in the form *ofermèdu* in C.P. The collective G. *avêþi* n., O.E. *êowd* 'flock,' is but rarely n., see Grein, usually fem. O.E.T., Aelf. Gram., Aelf. Hom., probably in analogy to *êow*.

IV.—The abstracts with prefix *ge* ending in ȣ corresponding to G.- *iþa* are fem. like the abstracts in ȣ without prefix. The exceptions which the later ones afford are: *æbylgȣ* 'offence,' it is usually fem., but neuter in Elene 401. *ferhȣ* m. and n. (see Grein) like *feorh* m. n.

V.—I-STEMS. Most of the nouns belonging to this class, which show variation of gender, have already been mentioned amongst the stems with the suffix *-ti*. Those which remain are:

masc. and neuter: *gielp* 'pride,' originally masc. like O.H.G. *gelf*, O. Icel. *gjalfr*. It is also usually masc. in O.E., rarely neuter (O.S. *gelp* n.); we have in C.P. three instances of neuter gender against nine of masc., see Cosijn, ii. § 23. *hilt* 'handle,' O.H.G. *gahilzi* (O. Icel. *hjalt* is *o-* stem) originally neuter, usually neut. in O.E., masc. in Salomon 223 n. pl. *hiltas* (O.E. fem. *hilte* corresponds to O.H.G. *helza*).

masc. and fem. *sæ*, G. *saiws* m., O.H.G *sêo* m., O. Icel. *sær* m., O.S. *sêo* m., O.E. in the older texts and in Poetry m. and f., in Aelf. Hom. and L. o. S. fem.; the feminine gender is due to the analogy of *êa* 'water.'

sæl 'time' usually masc., see Grein; masc. Oros. 164. 13, Aelf. Hom. 4. 90, ii. 13. 236, L.o.S. vi. 15; fem. Gen. 186, Gû. 6 (from the analogy of *tîd*). *rîȣ* (*i*-stem?) 'small stream' fem.; *êarîȣ* Gû. 3 masc.; *gleng* 'ornament' masc. in Blickl. Hom.; fem. Wulf. 148. 22; *wiell* 'well' (also *ja-* stem *wielle* m. C.P.) m., Neot. 77 fem.

VI.—U-STEMS. Nouns with a short base formed with

suffix *-u* are not very numerous. Some words signifying masculine persons follow this formation.

brego 'prince' which is exclusively poetical like the corresponding O. Icel. *bragr;* also *magu*, G. *magus*, is only found in Poetry; it was replaced by *mæg* G. *mégs*. One noun, *sunu*, preserved the old inflection, and only in later texts does it form some cases after the *o* and *n* Declensions.

The other nouns of this class either dropped their suffix *u*, and followed the formation of the nouns with the suffix *o* or they joined the Declension of *searu* and *giefu*. We have in analogy to the stems in *-wa:* the plural *sceadwa* from *sceadu* like O.H.G. *scato, scatawes*; the gender of *sceadwa* is doubtful; the genit. sing. *medewes* and the plur. *medewa* from *meodu*; it is neuter in Lb. ii. 53. Toller's reference for the masc. gender Fins. 39 is given after the inaccurate copy by Hickes. The other Teutonic lauguages, O.H.G. *meto*, O. Icel. *mjoðr*, and the Lettoslav. *medús* and O. Slav. *medu*, prove the masc. gender to be the original. The analogy of the short syllable *ā* stems has caused the fem. gender in *sceadu*, see Grein; and *frioðu friðu* is masc. in Orosius, Park. Chron., but n. in the Laws. Other neuters are *scead* and *liþ* 'limb,' G. *liþus* m., O. Icel. *liþr* m.,; *liþ* is masc. and neut. in Leechdoms, ii. 36 p. 242; the same variation occurs in O.H.G.

The long syllable masc. and neuters with suffix *-u* follow in their declension the *o* stems. The following words show the variation from the masc. to the neuter gender:

liþ, G. *leiþus* m.; O.S., O. Fries., O. Icel. neuter; O.H.G. masc. and neuter, O.E. neut. G. *fairhwus* m., O.H.G. *ferh* n., O. Icel. *fjor* n., O.E. *feorh* usually neut. Toller gives a reference for the masc. gender from Cr. 439. *rust*, O.H.G. *rost* m., C.P. m. and n., Shrine 35. 13 n.; *flôd*, G. *flôds*, the gender is said to be fem. but without reference, O.S. *flôd* m., O. Icel. *flóð* n., O.H.G. *fluot* m. and fem., in O.E. masc. and n.; *hearg* 'temple' is doubtful. If Sievers is right in putting it to the *u*-stems, the plural *hearga* would be the organic form; *hearga* occurs once in Cura Past. as against several *heargas*. Cosijn puts this word among the *o*-stems, and takes the form *hearga* to be a mistake; but

hearga is also found in other texts (Ex. 34. 15, Sievers 26. 1. 30), see Toll. Bosw., who states that *hearg* is both masc. and fem.

The variation of masc. and fem. gender is shown by *flôr*; it is fem., but occurs as masc. in Beow., the O. Icel. *flôr* is m., M.H.G. *fluor* masc. and fem. From the *stems in -tu*, *flôd* has already been mentioned. These words with suffix *-tu* were originally masc. They partly passed to the *o*-Declension, preserving the masc. gender, as in *dêaþ*, *ford*, *þurst* and *lust*, partly they were confused with the fem. stems in *-ti;* G. *kustus* m., O. Icel. *kostr* m., O.E. *cyst* f. 'choice;' G. *luftus* m., O.H.G. and O.S. m. f., O.E. *lyft* m. Exod. 74, f. in L.o.S., Leechdoms and Aelf. Hom. Sievers mentions the neuter plural *lyftu*, but some references for the neuter singular are given by Toller. O.S. and O.Icel. *hlust* f. answer to O.E. *hlyst* 'hearing,' which is both f. and masc. in the Leechdoms. G. *lists* f., O.E. *list*, is fem. and masc., see Toller.

Cosijn, concluding from '*færelta*' C.P. 257[a], which he thinks is the gen. sing., puts also *færeld* under the *u*-stems. I see in the form *færelta* a gen. plural. Sievers (Beitr. i. 529) has shown that the word is formed with the suffix *-tro*; *færeld* is usually n., but masc. in Aelf. Hom. 34. 221, perhaps from analogy to words with similar sense as: *gong*, *pâð*, *sîð*, *weg*.

Still another word, *æppel*, which is put in this class is doubtful as to the suffix. This word is no doubt a borrowed one, and the Etymon which is generally given is a form like *abellus*, from *malum Abellanum*. The *-u* suffix is concluded from n. pl. *appla*. The O.H.G. masc. *aphul*, pl. *ephili*, belongs to the *i*- Declension, the O. Icel. neuter *epli* to the *-ja* Declension. Probably there were two simultaneous forms in *-il* and *-ul*, the former being preserved in O. Icel., in the O.H.G. plural and in the O.E. *æppel*, pl. *applas*, the form in *-ul* in the O.H.G. singl. and the O.E. plur. *appla*. Kluge makes a distinction as to the gender in O.E. between the two significations 'eye-ball' and 'apple,' saying that *æppel* 'eye-ball' is neuter in sing. Against this, see one reference from Boeth. in Toll. Bosw. and C.P. 69. 17. Cosijn

gives from the C.P. one example for *æpplas* 'pupillæ,' and states that only the form *æppla* is used for 'mala.'

VII.—*The suffixes with l as characteristic consonant.* The suffix *ila* is used for masc. nouns of agency as *bitel, bydel, crypel, fengel, rynel, strengel, þengel.* It is further used for *diminutives*, as *gicel, hýpel, tuxl, cicel; cystel* from *cystan* 'castanea,' has become attached to this group. The gender of these words is masc., so also in *hyrdel* 'hurdle,' though its primary word is fem., G. *haurðs*, O. Icel. *hurð*, O.H.G. *hurt.* The fem. *wundel*, beside *wundele*, shows no Umlaut, and does not belong to this group. *cyrnel* is masc. and neut. in Leechdoms, the neuter gender is taken from the primary word corn. Also many masc. *instrumental nouns* are formed with *-ila*, as *brídel, cyrtel, fetel, gyrtel, grindel, hwttel, rynel, sticel, stypel, trendel, wyrpel.*

The O.E. has also some fem. nouns signifying tools formed with an *-l* suffix: *fêol*, O.H.G. *fîhala, scebfl*, O.H.G. *scûfla, nædl*, G. *nêþla, sicol* corresponding to the O.H.G. fem. *sihhila* is masc., see G. L. 15, Aelf. Gram. 73. 6. The fem. *swingel* in Aelf. Hom. 38. 54, may have taken its gender from the fem. *swinge* in Vesp. Psalter and C.P. In C.P. occurs also the fem. *swingelle*, which is formed like *þæcele, hacele*, as against G. *hakuls* m., O. Icel. *hǫkull* m., O.H G. *hachul.* The borrowed nouns with this formation are enumerated by Pogatscher, Lautlehre des Lehnworte im a. e. He mentions also the fem. *condel* f., § 262, and says "one ought to expect a masc. *condel* or a fem. *condele* if it were a popular word." But there is a masc. *condel* preserved in *candeles leoma* Wright W. 154. 15.

A fem. noun for tools is also O.E. *geafl*, O.H.G. *gabala* f. the plural *geaflas* signifies 'maxilla.' The masc. gender of this word shown by the termination is probably due to the influence of *ceaflas*, a word with the same signification, and *geagl.* The latter noun is usually masc., but one example for its neuter gender is in Leechdoms 11. 28. Toller mentions a masc. *herecumbol*, but the word does not show the gender in any of the references I could find, and it is more probably neuter like the simple word *cumbol* and the other compounds

eofor-heorucumbol. *setl seld* n., but *ânseld* 'hermitage' m., see Grein (like G. *sitls*, O.H.G. *sezzal*). *tungol* is neuter in the older texts: Orosius, see Cosijn, § 9, m. and n. in Poetry and in Aelf. Hom. (masc. ed. Sweet 5. 83, n. 6. 172); it occurs also with the termination of the *n* Declension in Aelf. Gram. 90. 5, and Aelf Hom. 6. 170. The masc. gender and the passing of this word to the *n* Declension are due to the influence of *steorra*. *Sûsl* 'torment' is neuter in the older texts, see Cosijn, § 9. Platt gives examples for the fem. gender from Aelf. Hom. and Aelf. Gram. (I add Aelf. Hom. pref. 62, 8. 220, 16. 135, 28. 170, ii. 5. 78, Wulfstan 138. 25). The fem. gender is due to the influence of the above-mentioned group of fem. abstracts, as *hwîl*, *hrêofl* and *âdl* 'disease'; the latter is also found as neut. in Aelf. Hom. ii. 10. 150.

The great number of masc. nouns with *l* suffix also induced the word *êðel* to pass from the neuter to the masc. gender. *êðel* is neut. in O.H.G. *uodil* and O.S. *ôþil*. Toller gives for the neuter gender three examples from Beda. *Segel* and the two borrowed words *castel* and *dêofol* show both masc. and neuter gender. *Segel* masc. in O.H.G., neut. in O.S. and O. Icel. In Aelf. Gram. 86. 3 occurs the masc. sing. *þes segl* and the neut. plural *þâs seglu*. *Castel* has usually the gender of its Etymon; it is masc. in Chron. a 1069. *Dêoful* is in the singular, mostly masc., rarely neuter; as plural, mostly neuter, see Cosijn ii. p. 6; it seems to be neuter both in singular and plural in Shrine Martyrology, p. 52 and 141. The masc. singular and the neuter plural are shown by the O.H.G. *tiuval*. *dêofol* followed the analogy of *god*, which likewise forms the plural as a masc. and neuter noun, for the masc. *godas* in Orosius, see Cosjin. The neuter *godu* occurs in Oros. 34. 21; for references from other texts, see Grein and Toll. Bosw. It would be very interesting, could we see in the neuter plural *godu* the tendency to distinguish the heathen gods from the Christian god, and to point out the former as idols. The O.H.G. neut. *abgot* seems to strengthen this theory, but the G. *guþ* which, although masc., has a neuter form, and the O. Icel. *goð*, which is always neuter in the older texts, suggest

another reason; see in Cleasby Vigfusson the interesting historical remarks given under *goð*.

VIII.—The suffix *-slo* chiefly with an intermediate vowel *i*, and taking therefore the forms *ls*, is used first for concretes, and then for abstracts. The transition from the concrete to the abstract signification is conspicuous in some instances, forms in *-els* and in *-el* are frequently found in simultaneous use, thus: *gyrdels-gyrdel, sticels-sticel, brídels-brídel, pricels-pricel, scyttels-scyttel* (L.o.S. xxi. 419). The gender is mostly masc. Proved as masc. are: *byrgels, bígels, brídels, brædels, gyrdels, sciccels, sticels, rǽdels, wǽfels, wǽgels; récels* is neut., *scyttels* is neut. in the older texts, Vesp. Psalter 106. 16, 147. 13, masc. in L.o.S. iii. 348, xxi. 419, Wulfstan, 230. 31. The O. Icel. *skutill* is n.; it signifies an 'implement shot forth,' but also like the O.E. word 'bolt or bar' in *skutla hliðr* v. Cl. Vigf.; *fætels* 'vessel,' Kluge and Sievers write *fǽtels*, which form would answer to O.H.G. *gifâzzi*. I take *fætels* to be enlarged from a word *fætel*, the probable diminutive of *fæt* n., and to be formed in analogy to the words in *-ls*. Its gender is usually masc. neuter in Lacn. p. 16, No. 16. The gender in *twegen fætels* Oros. 21. 16, is doubtful. Cockayne says in Leechdoms, ii. pref. 37. Numerals admit of a substantive in the singular, and he cites *þrie cucler* from Leechdoms, *nigantyne winter* and *twegen monaþ* from Bede, and the above-mentioned passage from Orosius. Cosijn gives more examples for the same use, p. 42 and p. 112, but it is remarkable that in all the examples the words following this rule are *gêar, monaðr, winter, niht. Gêar* is usually neuter as in all the Teutonic languages; it occurs as masc., twice in Orosius and in Liber Scintillarum, *dagas* and *gearas*, perhaps in analogy to the masc. *winter* and *sumor*. The words *monaðr, winter*, and *niht* may have followed the analogy of *gêar*, and *cucler*, though usually masc., may have retained the gender of its Latin base in some cases, as in *þrie cucler*.

IX.—The nouns formed with an *m. suffix* are masculine. Variation of gender is shown by *fæðm* 'the embracing arms,' O.H.G. *fadam*, O.S. *fathmos*, plur., O. Icel. *faðmr*. *fæðm*

is usually masc. in Genesis 6. 16, fem.; *wæstm* (G. *vahstus*) usually masc. in Gen. masc. and fem., see Grein, masc. in C. P. Blickling Hom., Aelf. Hom , L.o.S., Benedictine Rule; fem. in Wulfstan 148. 5 on fulre wæstme; *worsm* worms 'pus' is neut. in C.P. masc. in the form *wyrms* in Aelf. Hom. ii. Tob. 452.

X.—The suffixes *with n as characteristic consonant* (excluding those of the *n* Declension) form nouns for masc. and fem. persons, as *þeoden, dryhten, þêowen, þînen*, etc.; neuter diminutives as *ticcen, cŷcen*, only *blêgen* 'blain' is feminine in analogy to *blædre*. The abstracts formed with *ni-, ini-, oni-, aini-* are partly fem., partly neuter.

The words which show a variation of gender are: *wêsten*, which is formed with *-nja*, and is both fem. and neuter in Orosius and C.P., in the later texts only neuter. *æfen* masc. in O.E. and all the other Teutonic languages occurs as neuter in Elene 139. It is doubtful if *æfen* belongs to this group, but it certainly followed the analogy of the neuters of this group in occurring occasionally with the neuter gender. The diminutive *fylmen* 'film,' is neut. in Aelf. Hom., fem. in Leechd. Lb. p. 242.

The two borrowed words *segen* and *cymen* which show the same word-ending *-en* are masc. and neut. *heofon*, G. *himins*, O.S. *heban* is masc. in the older texts; it follows the analogy of *eorðe*, partly only as to its gender: *seo, þeos heofon* Leechd. (v. Sievers Misc.) Aelf. Gram. 86. 11, Aelf. Hom. 35. 17, ii. 3, p. 40, L.o.S. xiii. 165, acc. sg. *þâs heofon*, Leechd. i. 404. 5, partly as to its gender and declension: gen. dat. acc. *heofonan* Aelf. Hom. 21. 231. 246. L.o.S. iii. 500, xi. 121. Wulfst. masc. gender *in þæs heofones* 100. 4 fem. *ðære heofone* 231. 32, *seo heofone* 92. 16.

XI.—*With the suffixes -ðro, tro-ro*—the words ending in *ðor-tor*—nouns are formed, which are, as Bopp says, the inanimate performers of an action, and also in analogy to these, nouns for the action itself. The original gender of these nouns is the neuter. Bahder points out that the masc. gender is substituted for the neuter in O. Icel., but very seldom in O.E., and he gives as examples for O.E.: *hleahtor*

hleoðor and *hrôðor*. Toll. Bosw. calls *hlêoðor* neut., but *efen-hlêoðor masc.* I could not find any reference for these words in which the gender is shown. The same is the case with *hrôðor*. Therefore *hleahtor* is the only one which is certainly masc.

Variation of gender is shown in *morþor* usually n., but masc. in Blickling Hom., like *morþ* which is both masc. and neut. (see Platt). *corðor* usually n. like O.H.G. *chortar*, is fem. in Chron. a. 973. *frôfor* is usually fem. like O.S. *fruobra*, O.H.G. *fluobara* f., but masc. in later texts, Aelf. Hom., see Platt and L.o.S. iv. 91.

XII.—*t. suffixes.* I have already spoken of the nouns with the suffixes *-ti and -tu*, and have still to mention the verbal and denominative abstracts in *-at* and *it*. The *i* of the suffix *-it* caused *i* Umlaut, and the nouns thus formed followed the *ja* Declension. The original gender is doubtful. The Gothic affords only one example of this formation: the neuter *stiwiti* 'patience.' These abstracts were confused with the collectives in Old Frisian and O.H.G., and consequently were exclusively of the neuter gender in these languages. O.E. nouns formed with *-ot* are: the masc. or neuter *eolet*, *eofot;* the masc. *sweofot*, the masc. *þêowet*, Aelf. Hom. ii. 22. 326 (I can find no reference for the neut. gender assumed for this word by Grein). Neuters formed with *-it*, i.e.: *itja* are *nierwet*, *onælet*, *rŷmet*. *lîget* is neuter in Blickl. Hom., masc. in the plur. in Lambeth Psalter and Wulfstan, 122. 11. A fem. *lîgetu* occurs in Vesp. Psalter and Hymns in Wulf. 207. 26 *ðære ligette*. The fem. gender is probably due to the influence of the abstracts in G. *iþa*. We may compare *hyrnetu* and *elfetu*. They likewise had originally a more abstract meaning, signifying a quality.

XIII.—The Nouns following the o Declension, [illegible] far as they have not been mentioned above, are divided in the following list according to their original gender in O.E.: *Masc. varying to neuter—bæc*; neut. in O. Icel. [illegible] and O.S.; *bac* masc. in O. Fris. *bek* and O.H.G. (*-an* stem) *bahho*; in O.E. n., masc. in O.E. Texts, Vesp. Psalter 128. 3; *frêols* 'freedom,' G. *freihals* m., O.E. masc. the neut. plural is found in '*freolsa and fæstena*' in the Laws, see

T.B. *frêols* is influenced in this case by the following word: *ord* 'point,' O.H.G. *ort* m. n., O. Icel. *oddr* m., O.E. *ord* masc. neut in plur., see Grein; *ræced* 'hall,' O.S. *rakud* m. O.E. m. n. see Grein; *âd* 'funeral pile,' O.H.G. *eit* m. O.E. m., in L.o.S. p. 110. 3. *oððæt ðæt âd.* The neuter article is probably a clerical error due to the preceding *þæt.*

Neuter varying to masc.—brim 'surf' n., O. Icel. n., in later O.E. Texts masc., see Platt. *dolh* 'wound,' O.H.G. O. Icel. n., G. m. O.E. n., L.o.S. xx. 67 m. *holt* 'wood' O. Icel. O.H.G. n., O.E. n., in Gen. 21. 33, L.o.S. xix. 219 masc. (analogy to *wudu, weald*). *hord,* G. *huzd* n., O.H.G. *hort* m., O. Icel. m. n., O.E. n. in L.o.S. xxiii. 716 masc. *hrâw* 'corpse,' O.H.G., O.Icel. n. O.E. n. Shrine and Lambeth Psalter masc. *horh* 'dirt,' O.H.G. *horu* n., n. and masc. in Leechdoms, see Gloss.; *sêaw* 'juice,' O.H.G. *sou* n. is neuter; the single example for the masc. gender: *se sêaw* Leechd. ii. p. 18, is probably a clerical error, see Leechd. ii. Gloss.; *lof* 'praise,' O.H.G. n. m. O.Icel. n. O.E. n O.E.T. and Cura Past. n., Beowulf m., Aelf. Gram. n.; *mearh* 'marrow,' O.H.G. *marg* n., O. Icel. *mergr* m., Leechd. n. and n., see Gloss.; *wamm* 'spot,' G. *wamm* n., O.E. n. and m.

Masc. varying with fem.—dîc 'ditch, dike,' O. Icel. *dîk* n., O. Fries. m., O.E. m. Orosius 74, 18 *se dîc:* fossa; in later texts masc. and fem.; *dîc* seems to be more frequently masc. when it has the same signification as O.E. *weall*; *êah* 'lea,' O.H.G. m. n., O.E. m. f. in C.D., see Sievers Misc.; *strêl* 'arrow,' already in O.E.T. m. and f., the synonymous word *flân* shows the same variation *flân* m. f. C.P. v. Cosijn ii. § 2 (it occurs also as fem. *flâ* n. Declension) O. Icel. *fleinn* m. The gender of *earh* in Andreas 1333 is doubtful, it occurs in later Texts as fem. *irwe* (n. Decl.) see Sievers Misc.; *wôl* 'plague' is twice masc. and twice fem. in Orosius and Cura Past., see Cosijn ii. § 15, masc. in L.o.S. xvii. 72, O.H.G. *wuol* masc.

Neuter varying to fem.—wîc 'dwelling' n. fem. in *to ânre wîc* Aelf. Hom. 28. 21. ii. 28. 382, *to ðære wîc.* C.D. p. 218 a. 1002, and in the form *wîce* in Aelf. Hom. 17. 68. The form dat. *wîc* without the ending *-e,* confirms

the idea of Platt, that the fem. is taken from the neut[illegible]t. plural. I mention here also *swelgend* 'whirlpool,' a pa[illegible]rt pres. used as subst. m. and fem. in C.P., see Cosijn, i[illegible] ii. p. 51, and C.D., see Sievers Misc. (Beitr. ix.).

Masc. fem. and *neut.* are: *lâc* O. Icel. *leikr* m. O.H.[illegible] G. n. m., O.E. *lâc* n., in the older texts: C.P., O.E.[illegible] T. Blickl. Hom.; fem. in Shrine, Aelf. Hom. 8. 80 [illegible]*id* *ênigre lâce*, masc. L.o.S. vii. 119; acc. *þîne lâc* L.[illegible] S. xiv. 34 is sing. or plur., neut. or fem. The fem. gen[illegible]der of *lâc* is either taken from the neuter plural, or is formed by analogy with synonymous words. *slôh* 'slough' occurs as n. masc. and fem. in C.D., see Sievers Misc.

The words which I have mentioned do not exhaust the li[illegible]t of O.E. nouns with more than one gender. I have omitted n[illegible]t only many dubious instances, but also the nouns which chan[illegible]e their gender in passing to the *n* Declension.

The explanation of the variation of gender in many of th[illegible]he instances which I have given is to be found in the fact that noun[illegible]ns followed as to their gender 1. *the analogy of other nouns* (*a*) *with th*[illegible]*he same or similar signification*, as: hæð (feld or gærs), hyll (dûn[illegible]n), holt (wudu), sæl (tîd) sæ (êa), tungol (steorra), wêofod (alter), fæ[illegible]æc and fierst, which affected each other, geâr (sumer, winter) (*β*) *with* [illegible]*h a contrary signification* as: dêofol (god), hêofon (eorþe), 2. the analog[illegible]gy of a *class of nouns formed in the same way;* thus the nouns wi[illegible]ith prefix ge- followed the analogy of the collectives, as: geþeal[illegible]aht, gesceaft, geþyld, genyht, etc.; the nouns with suffix -ti, the analog[illegible]ogy of those with suffix -tu and vice versa; e.g.: æ̂rist, æfst, êst a[illegible] and cyst, hlyst; see further: sceadu, frioðu, sûsl, êðel, æ̂fen, lîgetu.

Some nouns took the gender of other nouns with which th[illegible]hey were coupled in frequently recurring phrases: see fen, frêols.

The derivative forms took the gender of their primary noun[illegible]*s in* ferhð, êowd, cyrnel.

A neuter plural is formed from a masc. or fem. singular, *the* plural expressing a sort of unity: sculdru, giftu, cwildu, we[illegible]rð-myndu; a masc. plural from a fem. or neut. singular: fi[illegible]*eras* geþôhtas, ingeðoncas, hiltas, geaflas.

Some nouns are neut. in older texts, but masc. in later ones, *as:* brim, dolh, hord, worsm.

XV.—AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN SOME PECULIARITIES OF MODERN RUSSIAN BY COMPARISON WITH ITS EARLIER FORMS, AND WITH OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES. By W. R. Morfill, M.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April 5, 1889.*)

My object in the following short and somewhat rambling paper, is to comment on a few points in Russian phonetics and word-formation, which can only be explained by a study of the early documents of the language. The points to which I desire to call attention will be recognized as presenting difficulties by those who have made a study of the language.

(1) The beginner is apt to be embarrassed by the difficulty that the genitive case of the adjective and pronoun, аго (*ago*), его (*ego*), is pronounced *ava*, *evó*, and when a is accented, *ova*, thus до́брый (*dobrii*) 'good,' gen. добраго (*dobrago*), pronounced *dobrava*. дурно́й (*durnoï*) 'bad,' gen. дурнаго (*durnago*), pronounced *durnóva*. In the latter case some authors write ого (*ogo*). Prof. Malinowski, in an article in Kuhn's Beiträge, traces the origin of this to the в in the possessive adjective, thus отовъ (*otsov*) 'belonging to a father,' gen. отова (*otsova*). Prof. Sobolevski, in his Лекціи по Исторіи Русскаго Языка (Lectures on the History of the Russian Language), thinks that it arose as follows: the г (*g*) in these genitive cases was pronounced *h*, as it still is in some Russian words, thus хорошаго (*khoroshago*), добраго (*dobrago*), моего (*moego*), were at one time pronounced *kharashaha*,

dobraha, moyehó; but in the course of time the sound of *h* was lost, and there was a hiatus. This hiatus, according to a law of the Slavonic languages, instances of which we are continually finding, was supplied by the letter в (pronounced *v*). Thus they became pronounced as if written хорошово (*khoroshovo*), доброво (*dobrovo*). Instances of this spelling are found in Old Russian: thus in an inscription on a cross of the date 1434 we read: боголѣпово преображения (*bogoliepovo preobrazheniya*) 'the transfiguration of the one agreeable to God.' So also in the Laurentian Codex of the Old Chronicle ascribed to the monk Nestor we get повосты (*povostí*) for погосты (*pogostí*) 'cemeteries,' and in some of the Russian dialects we find ковда (*kovda*) for когда (*kogda*), товда (*tovda*) for тогда (*togda*), etc.

(2) Some Russian nouns ending in ъ (*ŭ*), ь (*ĭ*) and о form their N., G. and D. plural in ья (*ya*), ьевъ (*yev*), ьямъ (*yam*), as:

брать (*brat*) братья (*bratya*), братьевь (*bratyev*) 'brother.'
стулъ (*stul*), стулья (*stulya*) 'a chair.'
зять (*zyat*), зятья (*zyatya*) 'son-in-law.'

The history of these forms is illustrated by Old Slavonic, where the plural frequently became a collective noun, and was of the feminine gender; thus O.S. братияа (*bratiya*), fem. 'brothers' (collectively). The same form is seen in modern Serbian.

(3) After the numerals два (*dva*), три (*tri*), четыре (*chetíre*), and also оба (*oba*), f. обѣ (*obê*), both, in the case of masculine nouns, the suffix -a is added if the noun is in the nominative or accusative case. This is often wrongly explained as a genitive case; it is however the remains of a dual form, and we shall find that if an adjective is used, it is put in the nominative or accusative plural, as первые два большіе столы (*pervíe dva bolshie stola*) 'the first two large tables'; a practice, however, seems coming in of using sometimes a genitive plural from false analogy, as два другихь сочиненія (*dva drugikh sochineniya*) 'two other works.' In all other in-

stances, except the nominative or accusative, the numeral is in the same case as the substantive, and is treated as an adjective, as четырёмъ кораблямь военнымъ (*chetïryom korablyam voennïm*) 'to four ships of war.'

(4) One of the most striking features in Russian is the extreme poverty of the tense-system. This, in the modern state of the language is restricted to a single past tense, which is really a participle; according to Leskien it was originally a *nomen agentis*, and has gender; thus we say былъ (*bïl*) 'he was,' была (*bïla*) 'she was,' было (*bïlo*) 'it was,' with this the persons of the present tense of the verb быть (*bït*) 'to be,' were always found in Old Slavonic; thus глаголалъ іесмь (*glagolal yesm*) 'I have spoken.' But it began to disappear quite early; thus, in the Codex Suprasliensis, мати вьскръмила (*mati vïskrŭmila*) 'the mother nourished,' without іесть (*yest*). It is still, however, preserved in Chekh, and in Polish is only partially lost, which accounts for our being able in that language to remove the suffixes from the past participle, and affix them to other words in the sentence; thus we may say in Polish either *dobrze pisałem* or *dobrzem pisał* 'I have written well,' *ja pilny jestem* or *jam pilny jest* 'I am industrious.' The suffixes may also be added to particles, as *Bom nie przyszedł wsywać sprawiedliwych ale gorezsnych do pokuty* 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' In Chekh we still get such expressions as the following: *ja učil jsem* 'I studied.'

(5) The imperfect and aorist, which existed in Old Slavonic, and still exist in Bulgarian and Serbish of the Eastern branch, and Sorbish of the Western. The first of these began to disappear from Russian early. In copies from Old Slavonic originals, in lives of Russian saints, chronicles, etc., it is not rare, but it is not met with in the official documents, nor in the *Russkaya Pravda*, the first code of laws, which is of the eleventh century. It is impossible to tell the exact period when it was lost, but it begins to be very rare in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Schleicher, writing in

Kuhn's *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 209, thought that he detected a relic of it in the modern Russian particle бишь (*bish*), which is used when persons are trying to recall something which they cannot easily remember, as какъ бишь его зовутъ (*kak bish ego zovut*) 'now, how do they call him?' This particle Schleicher connected with the imperfect бѣше (*bêshe*), but the connection seems fanciful, and we cannot wonder that Sobolevski does not agree with him.

The case of the aorist in old Russian documents greatly resembles that of the imperfect. It is met with frequently in translations, in the chronicles, etc., but in official documents rarely; traces of it are found occasionally in the *bilini* or legendary poems, and the conditional particle бы (*bi*) is the only remains of it in the modern language. In the same way Polish has preserved the form *bych*.

(6) It is only by studying Old Slavonic that we are able to understand some peculiarities of the first declension, in -ъ (*ŭ*) as рабъ (*rabŭ*) 'a slave' (-*a* declension). Thus we are constantly told in Russian grammars that the genitive singular of masculine nouns in ъ (*ŭ*), ь (*ĭ*), и (*i*), signifying divisible matter, often takes, especially in familiar language, the suffix -у (*u*) or -ю (*yu*); thus, не хотите ли вы сыру (*ne khotite li vi sîru*) 'don't you desire any cheese?' or фунтъ сахару (*funt sakharu*) 'a pound of sugar.' We get -у (*u*) also in the locative case instead of ѣ (*ê*), as въ году (*v' godu*), where we should have expected годѣ (*godê*). Again, the usual genitive plural of these substantives is in -овъ (*ov*), as рабовъ (*rabov*), etc., but many substantives are found in which the genitive plural is like the nominative, as сапогъ (*sapog*), gen. plural сапогъ (*sapog*) 'boots,' солдатъ (*soldat*), genitive plural солдатъ (*soldat*) 'soldiers'; this is the proper genitive plural of the first declension, and the fourth, as given by Miklosich, that of the -*u* stems, has been in a great measure lost, and its forms have influenced the first declension in the gen. dat. and loc. sing. and the genitive plural. This genitive singular in -*u*, in which some see Polish influences, is gradually displacing the old genitive in -*a* (s

Archiv für Slavische Philologie, vol. xi. p. 455), especially in the colloquial language. In the same way, according to Dr. Wright (Old High German Primer, p. 42), the *-u* declension rapidly disappeared from Old High German, but has left traces in the other declensions. It is fairly preserved in Slovenish; in Serb it has almost disappeared, but has influenced the first declension as in Russian; thus, compare the Serb роби (*robi*), роб-ов-и (*robovi*) 'slaves' (Mik. Vergleichende Gram. vol. iii. p. 33).

In Malo-Russian *-u* becomes the ordinary genitive of nouns expressing inanimate things. The use of the *-u* decl. is more pronounced in Polish, and explains the anomalies of such double forms as *chlopowie* and *chlopi*, the nominative plural of *chlop* 'a peasant,' also the dative in *-owi*, as in Chekh. In Polish grammars it is laid down as a rule that the genitive case in *-u* applies to inanimate things; but we find it frequently violated, as *mąż z narodu* 'a man of the people.'

(7) The *-m* (*t*) stems in Russian of the fourth consonantal declension have a peculiarity not found in the other Slavonic languages. The singular has almost fallen out of use, and is supplied by a diminutive form; thus, ребенокъ (*rebënok*) 'a child,' plural ребята (*rebyata*), where we have the anomaly of a masculine singular and neuter plural. Not many nouns belong to this declension in Russian, and they mostly signify the young of animals. In Slovenish they are more regular, as *tele* 'a calf,' pl. *teleta*, Serbian тане 'the ball' (of a musket), pl. танета (*taneta*). The declension in Chekh is much fuller; thus we get *hřabě* 'count,' *hřabata, kníže, knížata.* It is also rich in Polish.

(8) The article, as is well known to students, is apparently wanting in the Slavonic languages, but has in reality been preserved in the termination ій (*ii*) ый (*îi*) in adjectives, which is always lost when the adjective is used as a predicate, as великій король (*veliki korol*) 'a great king,' король великъ (*korol velik*) 'the king is great.' But Sobolevski sees traces

of the use of the demonstrative pronoun as an article in sucl expressions as какая-то Англичанка дала мнѣ это (*kakaya-t Anglichanka dala mnê eto*) 'a certain English woman gave m this;' and the form is still extensively used in the dialect as мужика-то (*muzhika-to*) 'of that peasant,' дорога-т (*doroga-ta*) 'that way,' etc. Sobolevski thinks this is th same use as we find in the Bulgarian postposition of th article, about which all kinds of opinions have been held and some have imagined that this position of the article i the Albanian, Roumanian, and Bulgarian languages, whicl have little else in common, except juxtaposition, is owing t the influence of some language originally spoken in thos parts, Dacian or something of the kind.

(9) A puzzling form in modern Russian is the word fo 'ninety'—девяно́сто (*devyanosto*). This is in Old Slavoni девятьдесять (*devyatdesyat*), which is easy enough to under stand. Prusik, a Bohemian scholar, has tried to explain i as follows. He connects the -сто with the *-ginta* in the Lati form *nonaginta*, and the Greek *-κοντα* in *ἐνενήκοντα*; this is relic of the old form for 'ten,' according to Vaniček, the firs syllable having dropped off, just as *viginti* is *dviginti*, 'twic ten.' The Indo-European *n* has been changed into *d*, per haps from false analogy with десять (*desyat*), for in Ol Prussian we get *newints* 'the ninth.'

We find another irregular numeral сорокь (*sorok*) 'forty, which must be worn down from the Greek *τεσσαράκοντα* The Old Slavonic was четыредесять (*chetîredesyat*).

XVI.—ON TWENTY-FIVE MSS. OF RICHARD ROLLE'S "PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE," EIGHTEEN OF THEM IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, FOUR IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, THE CORSER MS., AND TWO IN LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY. By Karl D. Bülbring, M.A., Ph.D.

Warton prophesied that he would be the last transcriber of any part of Richard Rolle's "Pricke of Conscience." In spite of that, Dr. Richard Morris edited the complete poem in 1863 for the Philological Society. And now the final work, a new edition founded on all the materials handed down to us, is taken into consideration, though nearly fifty MSS. of the work are preserved. First of all, these MSS. have to be carefully examined and classified. This preliminary work has already been partly done by Dr. Percy Andreae, who in the beginning of last year published an admirably written dissertation on the eighteen MSS. of the poem in the British Museum. He found out their pedigree, and gave ample proofs of its correctness. With the aid of his valuable paper I have since examined the four MSS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and fitted them into the pedigree. As Dr. Andreae's treatise has only had the limited circulation of a German doctorate dissertation, and as I should anyhow have been obliged to repeat much of it, in order to make my own investigations intelligible, it seemed better with a fuller account of his paper to give his and my results and tests in a systematic order. I thank Dr. Andreae for his obliging consent to this plan, and also express my obligations to the Rev. T. K. Abbot, Principal Librarian of Trin. Coll., for his great kindness to

me in Dublin. I am also indebted to Dr. Furnivall, who ha touched up my English.

The MSS. in the British Museum are:

Harleian 1205, 1731, 2281, 2377, 2394, 4196, 6923 Additional 11304, 11305, 22283, 24203, 25013, 32578; Lansdowne 348; Arundel 140; Royal 18 A. v.; Egerton 657; Cotton Galba E. ix.

The four MSS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, are:

A 4. 4 (=D 4). Complete. The poem is bound with a translation of the Psalter, which I am editing for the Early English Text Society. The two works are written by different scribes. The binder of the volume has put several leaves in the wrong place.

D. 4. 8 (=D 8). It ends with line 9474, leaving out the Epilogue of 150 lines. The first page is darkened by gall-stain, which makes part of it illegible. The poem is followed by the translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

C. 5. 7 (=D 7). The poem bears the heading (in red ink) "Speculum huius vite," and is much shortened; its first eight lines are omitted. The last line preserved is 6965.

D. 4. 11 (=D 11). Begins with l. 446. Considerably abridged. Ends with l. 9394, to which is added "*Fr þe whilk paynes god vs schylde Thurgh þe prayer of hi moder mylde. Amen. Folowes vertus & hates* [. . .] *Fo sua may ȝe to* [. . .]."

For the following inquiry compare the genealogical tre facing p. 262. In order not to alter the meaning of the name chosen for the MSS. sources by Dr. Andreae, I have bee compelled to destroy the regularity of his scheme, which wi be of less serious consequence. As many MSS. follow differe sources in different parts of the poem, Dr. Andreae arriv at three different pedigrees, basing his investigations on lin 1836–1927 for the beginning, 5126–5204 for the midd and 9335–9402 for the end. In order to save space I ha

[1] This line is preceded by 6923–30, 6947, 6949–56, the text of which is qui corrupt.

2 (D 8) .....
3 (D 11) .....
1 (D 8) } .....
1 (D 7) }
2 (D 11) .....
3 (Addit. 25013 B. Mu
3 (Addit. 11304 B. Mu
? 3 (Corser MS.) .....
Addit. 32578 B. Mus.
1 (Harl. 2394)
2 (Harl. 6923)
3 (D 8) .....
1 (Addit. 11304 B. Mu
1 (D 11) .....
? 2 (D 7) .....
1. 2 (Egerton 657)
Harl. 1205
Addit. 22283 B. Mus.
1 (Lansd. 348)
2 (Harl. 1731) .....
3 (Lansd. 348) .....
1. 2 (Harl. 2377)
1. 2 (Arundel 140)
1. 2 (Harl. 2281)
1. 3 (Harl. 1731)
D 4 .....
Royal 18 A.v.
Addit. 11305 B. Mus.
Addit. 24203 B. Mus.
2. 3 (Harl. 2394)
1. 2 (Addit. 25013 B. I
1 (Harl. 6923)
2 (Addit. 11304)
? 1. 2 (Corser MS.)
Harl. 4196
Galba E. ix.

ıde these three pedigrees into one. The numbers 1, 2, 3 fore the mark of a MS. (in parenthesis) indicate that only ; 1st, 2nd, or 3rd part of the poem belongs to that class.

The original, U (see the Table facing p. 262), splits into two rsions, Z and Q. The two copies of Z, Galba E. ix. and ırl. 4196, contain the best known text of the poem. part from some quite irrelevant exceptions, they agree with ch other in every respect; even their spelling is nearly e same. Neither of them, however, is complete; but ıen joined together they furnish a text of the entire work ıich is so unimpeachable that within the 600 lines which . Andreae made the basis of his inquiry there is only one ıgle case of a *certain* alteration made in Z. In line 5167 e correct reading is *þat vale þe nauel* (MSS. 2377, C, A, cept 32578 and D 11). Dr. Morris was therefore right in oosing these two MSS. for his edition.

All the other MSS. which have been examined as yet, ust have been transcribed from a common source Q, or om copies of this source, as they all contain a number of mmon alterations, which cannot be independently intro-ıced by the MSS.

This lost, or hitherto unknown, copy Q must have been a ood copy as well, for there are only few alterations to be aced up. Line 1855 *þe* b. and *þe* s.—1888 *na, na* omitted.—901 *þus*] it.—1902 lykenys.—1917 *and ilka* omitted.—1922 *scr.*] þus d.—5157 alswa *added after* and.—9374 þe whilk.

Of Q three different groups of copies were made: C, Y, ıd X.ii. The following alterations are found in the Addi-onal MS. 24203 of the Brit. Mus., in Add. MS. 25013 and 1304, as well as in Harl. 6923 and 2394. These MSS. form ıe group C.

1) l. 1836–38 (MS. 6923): first aght a man drede, *als erkes wate wele, þe dede for payne þat he sall fele off þe hard* our at þe laste ende.

Lines 1880–1: He says þe deede of pouert þat deres
Has na mercy, ne reuerence beres.

The lines 1920–1 are omitted.

2) Lines 5147–8 omitted.

Lines 5182: *I sall say ȝow* (*ȝow say* Addit. 11304), *ȝif ȝe wi*[illegible]*ll* witt.

5178–9: on a whyt cloud and als doms man and sitte euen [illegible] about þ. v. n. V.L. *and als*] als a, Ad. 25013; als Harl. 2394, Ad. 11304; *and s.*] sett Ad. 25013; syttyng Ad. 11304; *about*] abouen C.ii; *þat*] þe Harl. 2394.

3) As in the last part of the poem C is only represented by two manuscripts, which both belong to the subdivision C.i, it is impossible to say whether the common alterations of these two were made by the scribe of C or of C.i. In both MSS. the lines 9339–56, and 9359–62 are omitted; lines 9357–58 run thus:

> þe whilke þai sall haue als a joy to gyder,
> when þai in saul and body comys þedir.

Lines 9339–56 and 9359–62 are omitted.

The five MSS. of C form two divisions, C.i and C.ii. For [illegible] the first part of the poem we have only one MS. (Addit. [illegible] 24203) in C.i; it is impossible, therefore, to tell whether [illegible] the deviations of the beginning of this MS. are due to the [illegible] writer of C.i or of Addit. 24203.

For the middle part C.i is characterized by the following [illegible] peculiarities: the lines 5144–45 are transposed.—l. 5149: hi[illegible] dome in þat place he sall halde (C.ii puts *he sall* before *in*).—[illegible] l. 5158: als god þurh þe prophete *says* (C.ii schewes) vs.—[illegible] l. 5171: cryst sall noght Allyngges þan (*þ. A.* in C.ii) com[illegible]e (Harl. 2394 has *com doun* instead of *þ. c.*).—l. 5190: a lyte[illegible]l way fra þe cyte of jer*usalem* (C.ii has *a l. space fro j.*).

The copier of C.ii transcribed the last part not from C, b[illegible]t from X.i. The tests for the rest of the poem are: In l. 18[illegible]7 C.ii leaves out the article before *payn*.—l. 1849, luffes ma[illegible]e *mene sais* (C.i samen) þan (C.i adds *a*) man and his wyf.—[illegible]n l. 1857 *if* is omitted.—l. 1864, *thyng* for *twynnyng*.—l. 186[illegible]: *of wham*] þar C.ii, whar C.i.—l. 1871: *þe* is omitted.—[illegible]l. 1885: the second *till* is omitted.—l. 1891: þat *so* wys.—[illegible]l. 1910 and (C.i+till) ilke a ta and fynger on (C.i of) han[illegible]e. —l. 1912: and ilk a lyme on ayther (C.i other) syde.—[illegible]l. 1915: at a pulle (C.i pluk) with þe rotes all abowt.—[illegible]l. 1922: *þus* om.—l. 5155: he says I sall all men togider c[illegible]lle

(C.i *all men* after *says;* Addit. 11304 *togider* after *sais*). Besides cf. lines 5149, 5171, and 5190, under C.i.

In Dr. Furnivall's copy of the *Pricke of Conscience*, which he was kind enough to lend me, there are numerous entries made by him concerning a MS. which belonged to Mr. *Corser*. lines 1836–7 have the remark "are altered"; only class C has considerable alterations in these two lines; they are printed above under C. Of the verses 1880–1, Dr. Furnivall has written out the reading of the Corser MS.

" He saiþ, þe deþ of pouert þat dereþ
Haþ no merci, ne no reuerens bereþ";

which is the alteration cited above as a characteristic of class C. Besides, lines 1920–1 are omitted, as in C. The middle part as well belongs to C; for lines 5147–8 are left out. But two other alterations which Dr. Furnivall has noted are a peculiarity of the Corser MS. alone: Verses 5153–4 (Latin) are omitted, and the verses 5157–66 are placed after 5170. The end of the Corser MS. is not derived from C, as it neither omits the lines 9339–56, nor 9359–62; as in Addit. 11304 and 25013, the end of the poem may possibly have been taken from the source A.iii. The MS. contains very long interpolations, of which Dr. Furnivall has lent me copies.

Y, the largest class of MSS. derived from Q, includes three of the Dublin copies, D 7, D 8, and D 11. I first give all the various readings of these MSS., compared with the printed edition. For shortness sake I have often put the mark Xi., A, etc., instead of D 11, D 8, or D 7 when the alteration had already been made in a previous source. Thus, it will, later on, often suffice to simply repeat the numbers of the verses where the characteristics of a group are to be found. Dialectic and purely graphical deviations, as *hem, to, scheweth*, instead of *þaim, till, scheweś*, are omitted.

1) 1836 owyþ a man 8, auȝte mon 7; *dr. þe d.*] dr. þis dethe 8, to drede a.ii, to dr. deeþ 7.—1837 *of þe d.*] *om.* X.i, of deeþ 7; *þat*] *om.* 7, *swa*] ful 7.—1838 *om.* 11; *st.*] houre 7.—1839 *þe. . þe b.*] saule and body sall sonder 11.—1840 *om.* 11; *þat*] þanne 7.—1841 *l.*] loueden 7, wald A; *ay*] euer A.iv; *to*] *om.* X.i (*except* D 7); *dw.*] lende 11.—1842 *of þam*]

om. A ; fro oþer go 7, 11.—1843 *þam*] of 7 ; Bot makes sor
to parte in tua 11.—1844–51 *om.* 7, 11.—1849 *samen*] to ga
8; *his*] *om.* 8.—1851 a. þerfor is many a kler s. 8.—1852 n
before ȝe 8 ; And a skill is als men may here se 11 ; And
certeyne skyllis as ȝe schul see 7.—1853 *whi þ. w.*] þei w
feyne 7 ; *ay*] euer 8, *om.* 7.—1854 *for . . god*] for þat god
for god A, on is 7 ; *als s.*] says in 8, als witnes A.—18
fyrst] f. þe Q (f. *om.* A) ; for god first to geder hem kn.
k.] is k. 8.—1856 *for*] is 11 ; þat on 8 ; *noght*] not wel 7.
1857 *if*] *om.* 7 ; þat oþer 8.—1858 *both*] *om.* A.—18
þe . . for] alsua þai sall 11 ; *er*] *om.* 7, a.ii—1861 *a*
euermore 7 ; *after*] *om.* A.iv ; In payne or blis ay
tog. 11.—1862 þerf. þe peynes of hem byn moo 7, Fort
þaire sorow is wele þe mare 11.—1863 *þe tane . .*
toþer] þat on . . þat oþir 8, ayther . . oþer 7, 1
goo 7.—1864–9 *om.* 7.—1864 *þis*] þe 8.—1865 strayes 11.
1866 ilka countre 11.—1867 *sp. . . wh.*] in all places 11.
1868–9 *om.* 11 ; *men*] he 8.—1870–1 *om.* 8 ; *transposed*
(*and in* 2377) ; *Ne*] *om.* a.ii ; *er n.*] sall n. be 11 ; Vn-to
m. takes he r. 11 ; For deeþ whan comeþ haþ noo pyte
kyng ne lord what euer he be 7.—1872 *Ne*] *om.* 8, a.
he . . .] he sp. by no l. 8, he wol non spare 7, heghe nor la
A.ii.—1873–4 *om.* 7 ; he þe l. nel fro hym 8 ; *þe*] for þe
Nor baulde for boste þat þai can blawe : Deede will wayn
for nakyn wight 11.—1875 *þ. sch.*] vs sch. 8, sais full A.
As seyeþ s. B. in his lore 7.—1880 pore 7 ; *he . . p.*]
pouerte deede 11.—1881 *Ne*] *om.* 11 ; þe ryche A.iv ;
tase A.ii.—1882–3 *transposed* A.iv.—1882 *till*] to þe 7.—18
till, till] vnto, vnto 11 ; *of man*] *om.* A.—1884–9 *om.* 7 ; *wi*
does A ; *do*] *om.* A.—1885 *till, till*] *om.* 8 ; Nouther to k.
e. A.—1886 *Ne till*] to 11 ; *ne to*] *om.* 8, 11 ; *ne no*] ne
nor 11.—1887–8 *om.* 11 ; *heghe*] *om.* 8 ; *tyll na*] to 8 (*twice*)
1889 *men*] þyng 8 ; In ilke a place deede hase p. 11.—1
For th. dethe al schal p. 8, And th. his power sall all p.
But deeþ schal make here al to p. 7.—1891 *als*] þat 8 ; s
S. 7 ; *wyse*] ful w. 8, 11.—1894 *þou*] we 8, ȝe ȝow 11 ; *þe*]
A.iv.—1895 *men*] *om.* 8, A.ii ; *b.*] *om.* 7.—1896–1925 *om.*
ilk] euery 8 ; And d. s. maistre euer ilka m. 11.—1897

certes ȝet nane d. him c. 11.—1898 F. non l. 8; Of sotelte may nane be slike 11.—1899 *till*] *om.* X.i; *þe d.*] thing he 11.—1900 *all*] men 11.—1901 *þus d.*] descryues hit (hit *om.* D 11, *a.*ii, 657) X.i.—1902 *For*] *om.* A; lykenys Q (11 *adds* a); *till*] vnto 11.—1903 *if i. s.*] of hit 8; þ. in a man gr. sulde be 11.—1904 Oute of his h. þe tre s. sp. 11.—1905 *þ. h.*] erþe 8; And lapped aboute with his herte str. 11.—1906 *And*] *om.* 11; *m. sch.*] sulde rise 11.—1907 *ilk a*] euery 8; With rotes fested on þis wise 11.—1908 *A. ilk a*] And euery 8, Ilka rote and 11; *a man*] man is 8, his 11.—1909 Sulde haue 11; *f.f.*] faste growande 11, faste 8; *þare*] *om.* 11.—1910–11 *om.* a.ii; *in*] *om.* X.i; *ilk a*] euery 8; *þat*] þe 8.—1912 *ilk a*] euery 8, all his 11; lymmes 11; *ilk a*] euche 8.—1913 þare with sulde all be o. 11.—1914 And þan at þe tre ware p. o. 11.—1915 tyde 8; *all*] *om.* 11.—1916 rot 8; *r.*] r. vp 11, ryn 8.—1917 *ilka*] euery 8; *and ilk a*] *om.* Q; Bathe syn and vayne and euery l. 11.—1918 *no m.*] non 8; *in h.*] *om.* A.—1919 *s.*] mot 8; whils it myght 11. To soffre þis it ware full sare *inserted* 11.—1920 *And*] *om.* 8; *hald I*] *om.* A.; *d.*] deede is A.—1921–3 *om.* 11; *str. a. h.*] bittir 8.—1922 *wh. h. l.*] throw is castyng 8.—1923 Lykenit dethe to suche a þyng 8.—1924 And þare fore ilk (ilka 11) m. A; *ilk*] euery 8; *bef.*] a for 8, *om.* A.—1925 *þe b. d.*] þat leþir 8, þe deedes A.—1926 *For . . ill*] F. g. and il all X.i; Bath euell and g. all 11; Boþe yuel and g. schul wiþ it mete 7.—1927 euell 11; to drede X.i; B. yuel m. a. it most to drede 7.

2) 5126 For as 7; leytnyng 8, 7; *out g.*] goþ oute Y (oute *om.* 11).—5127 *it*] hym 7, *om.* 8, 11; *syde*] *om.* 8.—5128 *Ryght*] *om.* X.i; *man s.*] god s. Y (Crist 7); schal *before* þe 7 (*also in* a.i).—5129 *S. a.*] S. 8; *dr.*] ferly 11.—5130–48 *om.* 7; *d.*] d. and 8; *na . . him*] withouten X.i.—5131 *on.*] owt to 8, in 11.—5133 *in*] of Y (*a* in).—5134–5 *transp.* 11; *And*] *om.* X.i.—5135 *to*] and 8; *ilk*] ilka 11, ewche 8.—5136 Euen als mekill and als alde 11.—5142 *þai*] þis 8; *here*] *om.* 8, 11; *es vp*] vp is 11.—5143 *with*] in Y.—5144 worldis 8, 11.—5145 *in*] *om.* Y.—5145* *of man*] *om.* X.i.—5147 *cr.*] he 11; *deme*] þe dome 8.—5148 *als*] *om.* 11; *seme*] come 8.—5149 *a*] þat 8, þe 11; *in a pl.*] And in þe vale of Josephat 7;

his] *om.* 11.—5150 Of alle maner men boþe ȝong and holde 7.[1]—5151 Weþir 8.—5155 *H. s.*] *om.* X.i., sall I 11.—5156 *in*] into 8; *l.*] deme 11.—5157 And (*om.* D 11) alsua ȝit sais he þus Q.—5158 *Als he*] And 11; to vs 11.—5163 *m. sall, þe*] *om.* 11.—5164 *in*] to 8, 11.—5165 *I . . n.*] sitte sall I 11.—5167 *v. of*] nauyl of þe 8: *men*] me 8, he 11.—5168 *im.*] amyd 8, euen emyddes 11; *wt outen*] with outyn dout 8, *om.* X.i.—5169 *þ. m.*] noght elles X.i; *at*] to Y.—5170 *Als*] Bot þe 11.—5171 þan f. Y; Fully d. s. n. Cr. c. 11.—5173 *vp*] *om.* 11; *h. s.*] þan sall he 11.—5177 *Lo*] He says, *þan*] right 11.—5178 On a cl. bathe fair (D 11 white) and bright [illegible] X.i.—5179 Abouen þ. v. euen openly 11.—5180 *all*] ilka 11. [illegible] 5181 skyl 8; *B. þe s.*] Alsua 11.—5182 *þam*] *om.* 8, 11 [illegible] *Men . . þat*] Now sall ȝe here wha som 11.—5183 I. þat [illegible] is 8.—5185 þat oþer 8.—5186 amyd 8; *þat st.*] euen 11.—518[illegible]87 *And*] *om.* X.i.—5188 *of C.*] *om.* 11.—5189 is X.i.—5190 *fu* [illegible] *l*] wel 11.—5191 Forthi X.i (*a* therfor).—5192 *On.*] On 8; of [illegible] þe e. 8; *þus for*] þat is 8; To deme for he may þan þus s. 11.—5193 *now*] *om.* 11, 8.—5195 Whare my moder was b. w[illegible] ith mylde mode 11.—5196 þus schal he sey to þe company [illegible] 8; In wham for ȝow I t. (=X.i) fl. and bl. 11 (bl. a. fl. A) [illegible].—5197 *He . . ȝe*] He m. s. her besid as ȝe 8, Lo here alsu[illegible] ȝe may 11.—5198 Is B. 8.—5199–5200 *om.* 11.—5201 *He* [illegible] *m. s.*] *om.* X.i; *lo h.*] And here als 11.—5203 for ȝ. had [illegible] *l*; many a 8.

3) 9337–62 *om.* 11[2]; *bl.*] *om.* X.i.—9338 War joy is [illegible] þ. man c. n. X.i.—9339 *For*] *om.* X.i; *hundr.*] *om.* A.i.—9340 countre 8.—9341 *þare*] *om.* X.i.—9343 *þai all*] þe [illegible] X.i.—9344 Gret ioy vnto heme þay schul be 8.—9345–8 *om.* [illegible] A.—9349 *For*] *om.* X.i.—9350 *þai s.*] *om.* X.i.—9352 ma[illegible] X.i; oþer 8.—9353 *i. m.*] euche on 8.—9354 euery, euer[illegible] 8.—9355 *euer*] *om.* X.i., oþer; oþer 8.—9356 neuer *before* [illegible] noumbred X.i.—9357 *ilk m.*] þay schul haue 8.—9358 *sall* [illegible] *haue*] *om.* A.i; *all*] boþe A.i.—9359 Euer with outen eny i[illegible]

[1] D 7 continues thus: (l. 5153–4) *Congregabo*, etc.; then: *And þere here acounte straytele Of alle her lyffyng what euer þei be.* After which it goes on with l. 5253–60, 5263–4, 5271–2, 5281–2, 5277–8, 5287, etc.

[2] Also the lines 9327–8 and 9331–4 are om. in D 11.—D 7 ends with l. 696[illegible]

X.i.—9360 *ay b. n.*] be ay 8.—9361 *ioy . . and*] is mor to fele oþer 8.—9362 *S. b. m.*] *om.* Y; *of þe*] of þis Y.—9363 *þare*] *om.* 8, 11; cloþit as w. 8.—1865 þ. s. lyue þ. and do na th. 11.—9366 *ay g.*] god euer 8, god ay þare 11.—9367 *in a v.*] *om.* Y.—9368 In a vers þus openly A, D 11.—9372 *And*] *om.* Y; *of l.*] and lightnes 11.—9373 werkis A (*except* 22283); *ay*] euer 8, *om.* 11.—9374 *In*] In þe Q.—9375 *Bot*] *om.* 11.—9378 *And*] *om.* Y.—9379 *ay*] euer 8, 11; *wh.*] williþ 8; *sall*] to 8.—9382 haue þan A.i.—9384 *ma*] alkyn 11; myght A (*except* D 8), D 11.—9385 *he of g. f.*] of god 8.—9386 payn A.i; *þan*] *om.* Y; *gr.*] der Y (*except* 11304, 22283).—9387 *here*] ȝow 8; *I . . men*] ȝe herde what þai 11.—9388 *p. . . þ.*] þat in heuen 8, Ioyes of h. þ. 11.—9389 *þe*] *om.* 11; *m. þ.*] her 8.—9390 *ful*] ay Y (*om.* D. 8, 11304); *parf.*] endeles 11.—9391 *with outen e.*] Within and oute 11.—9392 *in*] haue in X.i, *all*] *om.* Y.—9393 *be . . sere*] Gret torment of many 8.—9395–9470 *om.* 11.—9396 *In*] *om.* A.—9397 abowt hem in hel 8.—9398 *euer*] *om.* A.i; may A.—9399 *se*] *om.* 8.—9402 Schal þay X.i; *and of*] and X.i.

For the first part of the poem proofs for Y cannot be given; the tests for the rest are pointed out in the lines 5126, 5128, 5133, 5143, 5145, 5169, 5171; —9367, 9372, 9378, 9386, 9390, 9392, which see above. Other alterations in l. 9344, Gret joy vnto hem self shal be (*h. s. sh.*] þaim seluen sh. 32578, hym self sh. 11304, heme þay schul D 8).—9353 and 9357 *man* om.—9358 all *om.*—9361 *þare . . and*] es more to fele or.—9366 god ay (D 8, A.iii, 22283: euer).—9368 In a vers of metir þus sch.—9388 joyes.

From Y were copied the middle of D 8, the end of D 11, and X.i, the source of an important group of MSS.; in the beginning X.i includes all three Dublin MSS. of the class Y. For alterations of X.i see lines: 1) 1837, 1841, 1899, 1901, 1910, 1926, 1927, and 1854 *þi*] *om.*—2) 5128, 5130, 5134, 5145*, 5155, 5168, 5169, 5178, 5187, 5191, 5196, 5201.—5163 *þe* om. (except 657).—5170 *Als*] Bot.—5173 sall he.—5197 and 5201 *He m. s.* om.—3) 9337, 9338, 9339, 9341, 9343, 9349, 9352, 9355, 9356, 9359, 9392, 9402.—9393 *be t.*] grete tourement(es).

X.i is the source for class A, for the beginning of D 7 and D 8, the middle of D 11, and for the end of the Addit. MSS. 25013 and 11304 (and perhaps of the Corser MS.). In the genealogical scheme the beginning of D 8 and D 7 is derived from the supposed copy A.iii and the end of the Addit. MSS. 25013 and 11304 and the Corser MS. from A.iv; but A.iv, the source of the middle of D 11, and A.iii are perhaps only one copy, which would then be called A.iii.

The two copies of A.iv have the following alterations in common: 1836 mon.—1890 *þe, hand*] *om.*, and see lines 1841, 1861, 1881, 1882–3, 1894.

Alterations introduced by the scribe of A.iii are: 9335 *þus*] þis.—9338 þore more joy es þan.—9339 *sall m.*] may.—9340 *cete*] contre.—9349 joye.—9351 *man*] soule.—9358 saule a. bodi.—9379 *sall* om.—9391 *w. e. f.*] for þair syn and.—9400 *be . . þam*] last wit þaim.

The writer of A altered his original in these lines:

1) 1841, 1842, 1854, 1855, 1858, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1902, 1920, 1924, 1925.—1852 *sall*] may.—1855 þe saule.—186[illegible] flyttes (fihteþ 22283, strayes D 11).—1867 *spares . . wham*[illegible] of all men A.i, of all landus A.ii (inne a. l. 657, of ech[illegible]h londe 11304, in all places D 11, of hem alle 1205).—187[illegible] þus *om.*; full ryghte.—1880 þe *om.*—1890 sall all.—190[illegible] *Thurght*] out of.—1914 *If*] And (*om.* 11304) þen if; *ty*[illegible] om.—1918 *as lang . . suld*] whils it myght (while hit *a*.ii, [illegible] while hit 11304, 1205).—1926 *For*] *om.*; *sall*] alle (ba[illegible]ath 2394, 1205, *om. a*.ii) sall.

2) 5131 Euen *om.*—5151 þer (1205 where) salle alle m[illegible].—5165 he s. *om.*—5166 men *om.*—5177 *schew him right* D [illegible] *11*] sytt in syght.—5196.—5204 scharp *om.*

3) 9345–8, 9368, 9373, 9384, 9396, 9398.—9361 *joy* on[illegible].—9389 *men* om.

Two further copies were made of A. The one, A.i, [illegible]ontains the following deviations:

1) *Beginning* (MSS. Addit. 32578 *and* Harl. 2394): **1867** Of all men has he p.—1880–1 *hase*] has he; tas] takes he.—1882 *þat . .*] no mercy he schewys.—1888–9 seculers: powers.—1890 sall *om.*—2) *Middle* (MSS. 32578 *and* 6923): **5167**

þat] þe.—5173 *ayre*] ayre þan.—5174 *on*] in.—5192 *on* A] als on.—5197 Lokes; *se*] may se.—5201 Loke(s).—5203 For yhow had j þar m. b.—5204 sar was i b.—3) *End* (MSS. 32578 *and* D 8): 9339, 9358, 9382, 9386, 9398.—9357 þ. ilkone shal haue in h. (i. h. *om.* 32578).

A.ii, the other copy of A, is characterized by the lines; 1838 *hard*] last; *last*] *om.*—1867 (see under A).—1875, 1881, 1895.—For the rest of the poem certain alterations of A.ii cannot be given, since the MSS. of group a.ii follow different sources. Only very few of the lines 5126–5204 being preserved in D 7, it is difficult to find its exact place in the genealogical tree. As it is a very bad MS., it did not seem worth while to make fuller extracts, in order to compare them with the MSS. of the British Museum. All that I can say of the place of the middle part of the MS. is this: In line 5128 it has *Crist* instead of *man son* as C.ii; C omits 5147–8, and D 7 omits 5130–48, but as D 7 preserves the reading *goþ out* in l. 5126, where C alters to *comes*, the coincidence with C.ii in line 5128 seems to be merely accidental. Apart from this, D. 7 has three alterations in common with class a.i: 5126 goþe oute (=X.i); 5128 *ryght* om. (=X.i), add in the same line *schal* is put before *þe* as in class a.i.

The two subdivisions of A.ii are a.ii and a.i. As to the former, which is formed by the beginnings of D 11 and MS. 11304, compare lines 1836, 1860, 1870, 1872, 1910–11. —1852 men may.—1855 *þe saule* A.] saule.—1866 *landes*] *singular* (D 11 countre).—1874 *þe* om.—1899 *þe d.*] it 11304, he D 11.

The tests for a.i are: 1845 a *om.*—1853 ay *om.*—1881 rych.—1882–3 *om.*—1886 *h.*] grete.—5128 sall *after* swa.—5132 he *after* m. Alterations for the end of the poem cannot be ascertained, as the only two MSS. of this class, *i.e.* Harl. 1205 and Addit. 22283, both belong to the subdivision *a*.

This group has the following peculiarities in the beginning and the middle:

l. 1885 *ne r. tyll*] to knyght | 1905 *þe* om. | l. 5126 *l.*] leyt | 5147 *deme*] dome | 5148 *als h. s. s.*] shal be his come | 5149–50

þe dom he schal þenne holde (þe d. þ. he schal h. 1205) anentes þe vale (dale 1205) of I. tolde. | 5151 *men* om. | 5152 *c. s. th.*] witneseþ | 5155 *togeder* after *men* | 5158 *he th.* om. | 5165 *I*] he | 5170 *at* om. | 5174 *als* om. | 5183 *of I. es s.*] þere is swete | 5191 *sall*] wol.

Whilst it is certain that these alterations were introduced by the writer of *a*,[1] it must, at least for the present, remain doubtful where the deviations in the end of the poem were made.

9353 *ilk m.*] | vche | 9363 *þare* om. | 9374 *gr.*] ay (euer) | 9395 *in* om.—9397 about þam *after* sal.

As Harl. 1205 and Addit. 22283 are also the only MSS. of class a having the end of the poem, as well as the only ones of A.ii, each of these alterations may have been made either by the writer of *a*, or of a, or of A.ii. *a*.ii, which derives from *a*, is the source of Addit. 22283, and the beginning of Lansd. 348; they show the following common alterations: l. 1839 *sall fra þe b.*] schal forþe | l. 1841 *þai l. ay*] euer þey wold | 1844 *and*] *om.* | 1847 *bih.*] schal | 1855 *frýst . . s.*] hem boþe | 1857 *if*] *om.* | 1860 *for*] *om.* | 1864 partyng | 1880 *he says*] *om.* | 1894 *kn. þ.*] wyteþe | 1897 *it*] hym | 1898 *for here* om. | 1900 *þe*] *om.* | 1903 *w.g.*] groweþ | 1904 *and*] *om.* | *suld*] to | 1905 *l.*] wrapped | 1907 *f.*] faste | 1922–23 *om.* | 1927 *i.m.*] euele.

a.i is only represented by one MS., Harl. 1205, which may therefore be a direct copy of *a*.

The fourth MS. of Trin. Coll., Dublin, D 4, belongs to group *β*, which is such a totally corrupt copy of B that Dr. Andreae has not considered it worth while to give the readings of its derivations in full, so that I had to recur to the MSS. themselves in the British Museum, in order to fix the exact place of D 4.

The existence of X.ii can only be proved for the second part of the poem, as the beginning and the end of H Harl. 1731 follow a copy of *β*, the middle, too, being often corrected after *β*. That B and Harl. 1731 follow a common

[1] It must always be kept in mind that *a*, a, A, etc., may as well represent a series of copies by as many different scribes.

source, is evident from these facts: In l. 5132–3 the rymes are transposed.—Line 5147 is preceded by the heading "Of þe stede þat crist shal come to deme jnne."—5190 full *om.*

Harl. 1731 must be a copy of the source of B, as it has the original text, instead of the alterations of B in line 5126 *in a sch. t.*—5127 *and scheweꝺ it* om.—5130 na . . him] *withouten.*—5131 even o.] *aȝenes.*—5186 *swa*] *om.*

Other alterations found in the MSS. of B are: 1837 of deþ is.—1849 to-gyder.—1856 anoþer skil is for.—1864 departyng, cleped.—1872 He ne sp. r. ne p.—Instead of 1890–91 b repeats 1868–9 and 1874–5, β only the latter two.—Line 1902 is preceded by the heading "How a philosophir discryeþ deþe."

For the end of the poem the class X.ii is represented by MSS. of the subdivision β and only one MS. outside of it; thus the present materials do not suffice to ascertain whether the common alterations of β and that single MS. (Lansdowne 348) are due to the scribe of B or X.ii, as Lansd. 348 may not be derived from B. Of such alterations the lines 9335–9402 afford only one instance, as β is shortened considerably; this is in l. 9366, where *loue* is altered to *preyse.*

b, the better subdivision of class B, is characterized by the following readings: 1890–1 (see under B).—1852 as þou myȝt se.—1862 is þe m.—1906 þe m.—1914 sone.—1915 pul; *all*] *om.*—1918 *a*] *om.*—1925 may dr.—5134 *and*] *om.*—5157 *yhit*] *om.*—5168 *with outen*] *om.*—5171 *þan*] *om.*—5182 *þam*] *om.*—5188 *fast*] *om.*—5197 *als*] may.—5204 *with*] *om.*

But the following alterations, which are found in Lansdowne 348, cannot be ascribed to the writer of b with certainty, as they may just as well have been introduced by B or X.ii: 9347 *ilk, þai*] *om.*; *se*] be.—9352 can.—9359 *mare, na*] *om.*; *ir.*] endyng.—9360 *for*] bot; þai sall, *at*] *om.*—9361 *fele and*] *om.*—9362 *s. be*] is.—9364 *of*] and.—9375 *in h.*] *om.*—9387 *I r. h*] ȝe herde.—9401 *als . . b.*] þei schul se.—9402 *þai s. s.*] *om.*; *of sm.*] sm. to be.

There are no proofs for the position of the end of Lansdowne 348 in the pedigree, but presumably it was copied from X.ii, or perhaps from B, or from b: a comparison with

β leads to no result, as its text is too corrupt, and the verses 9335 seq. are not preserved in the two MSS. of b; but as the alterations of Lansd. 348 neither agree with A, nor C, nor Z, we may with probability suppose that it derives from X.ii (or B, or *b*).

I now give all the various readings of D 4 compared with Harl. 4196 (Z). This list also shows most of the various readings of β, which are generally easily made out by a comparison of D 4 and Addit. MS. 11305. It will be seen at once that almost all the alterations found in D 4 were introduced already by the scribe of β, only a few being added in the next copy φ, which is the common source of β.ii and D 4.

1836 *aght* . . *þe*] a man dredeþ.—1837 peynis β; *þe*, *þat*, *swa*] *om.*—1838 And deþ is jcluped þe l. e.—1840 for to φ —.—1841 coueyteþ to-g. euer.—1842 And non β.—1843 gret β —.—1844 sadder φ; beþ to-g. in loue β.—1845 *oft p.*] þoruȝ godis *grace* aboue β.—1846 *and*] & þe lengur β.—1847 By-twene hem is (shal be 11305) β.—1848 Ac φ.—1849 to-gedere þan +ani.—1850 For (β) wh. hi goþ; or+in β.—1851 Euir to-gedere hi wolde be stille β.—1852 & þis is o skele as me (as a man 11305) may se β.—1853 Whi+*þat* φ; *ay to-g.*] in o company β.—1854 For þe bok saiþ þat (For almighty 11305) god w*ith* (thorugh 11305) his g*race* & wit β.—1855 F. þe b. & þe s. to-g. he (*without* he 11305) kn. β.—1856 Anoþer skele is for no*n* of hem may noþi*n*g do.—1857 *þat* oþ*er* wole assenti.—1858 dridde+is β; schulleþ boþe to-gedir.—1859 at . . .] & to his dom þanne (*without* þanne 11305) be ynome β.—1860 þe ferþe is for whanne hi comeþ jn þer ifere β (thider *for* jn þer 11305).—1861 Hi sch. afterward i*n* o co*m*pany be eu*ery*-where β.—1862 & þer-fore (+the 11305) more is hare peyne & care β.—1863 *þat* on φ; *þat* oþer φ.—1864 departynge c. *þe*] clepeþ (!).—1865 þe wich (þat 11305) fleeþ ab. as do þe wyndes (a man*n*ys 11305) breþ β.—1866 londis+boþe —1867 no ma*n* (thing 11305) ower β.—1868 eny man β.—1869 Wher *þat* deþ (he 11305) c. he suffreth no ma (+to 11305) l. β.—1870 For loue for (ne 11305) har for nissche ne for (*without* for 11305) hard β.—1871 *He*

ole of no m. take r.—1872 For he ne sp. r. ne p.—
873 Ac þe lif of hem he by-nemiþ in a drowe.—1874 So
at d. haþ+no *ϕ*.—1875 *þus sch. r.*] telleþ to (vnto 11305)
s ariȝt *β*.—1880 *þe*] *om. β*.—1881 *tase*] he ne haþ *β*.—1882
)+þe; *w. m. sch.*] men cunneþ schewe *β*.—1883 to+þe;
en *β*; to no*n* o*þer* þewe *β*.—1884 For deþ wole haue no
oþ neither 11305) reu*e*rence ne f. *β*.—1885 Ne frendschip
β; of *β*.—1886 of *β*; *to*] *om. β*; *no*] oþer *β*.—1887 of *β*;
h.] lowe ne heye of *β*.—1888 *tyll na*] of (*twice*) *β*.—1890
'here-fore (And *þer*fore 11305) seint Bernard saiþ *þus in*
s writyng *β*.—1891 *þat* (And counsailith 11305) ech ma*n*
hulde (*without* sch. 11305) be jwar of deþis comyng *β*.—
94 He saiþ wete þou wel *þat* deþ wole by þe passe *β*.
1895 *c.*] For (+why 11305) hit is c. *β*; *b.*] *om. β*.—
96 deþ schal; euerich.—1897 ȝut+what hit is *β*; *it*] *om.*
—1898 *þer* is no ma*n*.—1899 *þe d.*] þing hit.—*After l.*
99, *the following two lines are added*:

Ne ymagyne þoruȝ no wit what hit is,
Ne what schap hit haþ in liknis jwis.

00 Ac; ech man greuiþ sore *β*.—1901 *wele*] as he (+haþ
305) lerned i*n* lore *β*. *After* l. 1901, *the following head-*
g is inserted in red ink (*in all MSS. derived from* B):
How a philosofre discriueþ þe payne of deþ.'—1902
[ere he lykneþ *ϕ*.—1903 þe wich *β*; *swa*] *om. β*.—1905 þe
ich (*þat* it 11305) miȝte ate laste a rote (lyf *instead of* a r.
305) *þer* of (on 11305) bringe *β*.—1906 & þe c. ate m. out
me (shede 11305) miȝte *β*.—1907 & to ech a (*without* a
305) i. a r. schulde diȝte *β*.—1908 & *þat* ech a v. *þat* is on
che v. of 11305) a ma*n*nis b. *β*.—1909 *H.*] Also h.—1910
; *þat* to ech a (& to eu*er*y 11305) to fyngur & h. also *β*.—
911 pulke t. gr.+þer-to.—1912 & *þat* on ech a l. *þat* is on
ny a s.—1913 A rote of þulke (the 11305) t. schulde *þer*-on
byde *β*.—1914 *þa*nne ȝif þulke (that 11305) t. were p. a-boute
.—1915 So *þat* þe rotis aresin & schewed hem w*ith*-oute *β*.
-1916 *þa*nne schulde þe flesch *þer*-w*ith* (must þe rotes wiþ
e fl. 11305) aryse *β*.—1917 & ech (eu*er*y 11305) v. & s. in
ys wyse *β*.—1918 *a*] þan a *β*; *in h.*] *om. β*.—1920 I holde
; more+strong *β*.—1921 & hardur i*n* þe tyme ac (in his

tyme but 11305) hit nis noȝt long *β*.—1922 whilis he was alyue *β*.—1923 of d. he wolde discriue (dyde skryue 11305) *β*.—1924 Wher-f. ech *β*; hit is afore jseid *β*.—1925 *a. t.*] May gretly *β*; *bytter*] *om.* *β*.—1926 gode+men *β*.—1927 & ech a mannis body hit (is 11305) wele clene waste *β*.

2) 5126 He saiþ as þe lyȝtninge (+out 11305) goþ in a [illegible] sch. t. *β*.—5127 *fra*] Bleue (clene 11305, euene 2281) fro *β* [illegible]; *a. sch. it in*] in to B.—5128 *m. s.*] crist.—5129 (1.) *and*] *om.* [illegible] *β*.—5130 *he*] *þus* (and 2281) he; *with*-oute eny lette adou[illegible]n *β*.—5131 Aȝens þe m. of o. *in* his *pro*pre persou*n* *β*.—513[illegible]2 in his m. he st. to heuen.—5133 *in h.*] wel euene.—513[illegible]4 such+a *β*; þanne vp stey *β*.—5135 *doune* . . .] & dem[illegible]e þorw good fey *β*.—5136 Vuele me*n* & goode.—5137 *Al*[illegible]] For (As 11305) *þus* *β*.—5142 is here vp itake anon *β*.—514[illegible]3 *into* *β*; *in* *β*; &+*in* *β*.—5144 he schal *β*.—5145 *Als*] R[illegible]ȝt as (*β*) now; *vp*] *om.* *β*.—5145b (+And 11305) So he sch[illegible]al c. in þe f. of m. *β*.—5146 & alle þing deme as he well can [illegible] *β*. —*After* l. 5146 *the following heading is added in red ink*: '[illegible]f þe stede þat crist schal deme jnne' X.ii.—5147 adoun for to [illegible] *β*. 5148 In+þe *β*.—5149 *In a p.*] On þe erþe þanne (On e[illegible]þe 11305) *β*.—5150 In þe vale of iosaphat as hi*m* self wolde [illegible] *β*. 5152 As god vs (to vs god 11305) telliþ by I. his p. *β*.—51[illegible]6 jn+to *β*.—5157 *þer*-to *β*.—5158 As bi þe same p. god te*ll* [illegible]iþ vs *β*.—5163 to the d. aryse *β*.—5164 c.+*in* alle wyse *β*.—[illegible] 5165 *he s.*] *om.* *β*; *namely*] *in* my p*ro*pre p*er*sone *β*.—5166 Me[illegible]n to d. *β*; w.+echone *β*.—5167–8 *om.* *β*.—5169 for to *β*.—[illegible] 5170 As+þe *β*.—5171 *Cr.*] Wher-on cr. *β*; *þan d.*] *om.* *β* [illegible]β. 5172 For by-fore (afore 11305) he haþ þe ki*n*de of ma*n* (o[illegible] of þe erþe 11305) jnome *β*.—5173 *B. vp*] Ac; sitte+as a lor[illegible]rd *β*.—5174 h. wr. s.+þis word *β*.—5177 Lo+he saiþ *β*; hi*m* [illegible]im schewe *β*; *þan*] *om.* *β*.—5178 In *β*; *and* . . .] with alle hi[illegible]his angelis arewe *β*.—5179 *Euen*] *om.* *β*; *n.*] as hit were i[illegible]in houynge *β*.—5180 *se h. b.*] hi*m* ise in do*m* sittynge *β*.—5181[illegible]181 Ac þe skele; sitte *þere* *β*.—5182 Bi þis sawe ech man may[illegible]ay lere.—*After* 5182 *the following heading is added in red ink*: [illegible]*nk*: Whi god wole þe dom ȝeue i*n* þe vale: Of iosaphat more þa[illegible]*an* i*n* eni o*þer* stede.—5183 F. *þat* (thilke 11305) v. is iset i[illegible]*in* awey lete (!) *β*.—5184 þe+heye *β*.—5185 *þat* o*þer* *β*.—518[illegible]*86*

e wich is (stondith 11305) amidde β; *swa*] *om.* β.—5187 :+also β.—5188 *fast* . . .] & of (*without* of 11305) seint iarie β —5189 Also *per* is þe cite of B. β.—5190 N. fer fro e cite of I. β.—5191 Wher-f. cr. on *þat* d. schal s. þere β.—192 þe (+harde 11305) dom to ȝeue & segge (*without* & s. 1305) on (in 11305) þis manere β.—5193 here+is; *all n.*] *m.*—5194 I+þe wich (þat 2281) is φ.—5195 wuried.—5196 tok fl. & b. *with*-out vilenie β.—5197 *lo* . . . *yhe*] also lo ȝe iowe β.—5198 þe cite of B. β.—5199 jwrappid & ȝut honowrid asse β.—5200 cribbe+I was ileid β; *ane, ane*] *om.* φ.—5201 igge+also β (also say 11305).—5202 þe cite of I. nei at oure h. β.—5203 many+an hard φ.—5204 *sare* . . .] al iboute bi-sett (y-bett 11305) β.

3) 9329 For þulke (that 11305, þys 1731) coroune is þe coroune of blis β.—9330 & (*without* & 11305, 1731) þe stone is ioye *þat* neuir schal mis β.—*Then* 9363 *follows* (*in* β): & hi schulliþ be *þere* (be fedde 11305) & jcloþid in cloþe β.—9364. *With* a yoiful siȝt *þat* schal no *þing* to he*m* be loþe.—9365 . . . *þare*] & hi schulliþ þe (þer 1731) worche in φ.—9366 eu*e*re p*r*eise; sesing.—9368 *es*] he β; *þus*] *om.*—9371 *With*] He saiþ (That is 1731) w. φ.—9372 *with*+þe; *þai s. be*] be clenli β.—9373 *ay l.*] of god þe p*r*eisi*n*ge β.—9374 *whilk*] þe wich φ.—*Then* 9335 *follows*: hi schulliþ.—9336 *with*] & eu*e*re liue i*n*.—9337 *blysful*] *om.*; heuene+*þat* ha*þ* no*n* ende.—9338 Whedir god vs g*r*aunte *þat* we mowe wende.—*Then the following heading comes*: Of þe contrarie of *þat* blisse.—*After which the MS. goes on with verse* 9439: þe si*n*fulle schulle fele as I haue told: 9443 Owtrarious (!) hete & aft*er*ward to moche cold.

Almost every line has an alteration made by β.

1) 1857 peynes; *þat*] *om.*—1842. 1843. 1844. 1845. 1846. 1847. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1853. 1854. 1855. 1858. 1859. 1860. 1861. 1862.—1864 *þe*] *om.*—1865. 1866. 1867. 1868. 1869. 1870. 1875. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887. 1888. 1890. 1891. 1894. 1895. 1897.—1899 *þe*] þing.—1900. 1901.—1902 lykneþ.—1903. 1905. 1906. 1907. 1908. 1910. —1911. þer-to *added*.—1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918. 1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927.

2) 5126. 5127. 5130. 5131. 5134. 5135.—5137. þus *added.*— 5142. 5143. 5144. 5145. 5145b. 5146. 5148. 5149. 5150 [illegible] 5154. 5156. 5157. 5158. 5163. 5164. 5165. 5166. 5167-8 [illegible] 5169. 5170. 5171. 5172. 5173. 5174. 5177. 5178. 5179 [illegible] 5180.—5181 skile; sitte þere.—5183. 5184. 5185. 5186 [illegible] 5187. 5188. 5189. 5190. 5191. 5192. 5196. 5197. 5198. 5199 [illegible] 5200. 5201. 5202.—5203 an *added.*—5204.

3) 9329. 9330.—*The lines* 9331—62 *are om.*—9363.—936 [illegible] *which in Harl.* 1731 *runs thus*: With þe syȝt of God þat [illegible] to hem no þyng loþ; *in Add.* 11305: The sight of God is [illegible] hem not lothe.—9368. 9372. 9373.

ϕ made a small number of alterations: Cf.

1) (MSS. 2281, 1731, and D 4) 1840.—1841 tog. euer.— 1844. 1848. 1853. 1863. 1874. 1902.

2) (MSS. 2281 and D 4) 5126 *out*] *om.*—5194. 52 [illegible] 5203.

3) (MSS. 1731 and D 4) 9365, *which in Add.* 11305 [illegible] *thus*: Thei shul do there noon other thynge.—9371. 9374.

As in division β.i there are two MSS. only for the beginn [illegible] of the poem, *i.e.* Harl. 1731 and Harl. 2281, we cannot gi [illegible] instances for the rest. That D 4 is not a copy of β.i [illegible] evident from the numerous deviations of Harl. 1731 & 228 [illegible], in which D 4 does not share. In β.i the lines 1870-1 [illegible], 1888-9, 1898-9, the red heading after 1901, 1922-3, 1926- [illegible] are om., but they are preserved in D 4—1883 *elde of*] old [illegible] β.i.—1914 *tyte*] ouer β.i.—1915 *So* B] *om.* β.i; *ar.* & *sch.* [illegible] B] most arise and shewe β.i.

Royal 18 A. v. and Addit. 11305 form a separate group [illegible] β.ii, for which Dr. Andreae gives these two tests: 1837 *of* [illegible] *þe d.*] therof.—1884 *twa*] þo.

All the sources are now described.

Dr. Andreae showed that at least 19 sources must hav [illegible] existed, from which the British Museum MSS. were copied [illegible] My investigation of the four Dublin MSS. has added at lea [illegible] three more supposed sources to the list: 1) ϕ as the sourc [illegible] for D 4 and β.i. 2) Y as the source for the middle of D 8 [illegible] the end of D 11, and the class X.i. 3) a.ii as the source f [illegible] the beginning of MSS. 11304 and D 11. To this, perhap [illegible]

..iv has to be added as the source of the beginning of D 7 nd D 8.

As yet no MS. has been found which is the source of any ther existing one. The whole number of sources whose xistence is proved is 23 (the original being included); this umber has been found by special inquiries into the materials ' 22 existing MSS. It is remarkable that not one of all e 23 sources of the 22 remaining MSS. is known, and at only these 22 apparently last copies are preserved. is fact would be surprising if we did not suppose that a nsiderably larger number of MSS., both sources and actually t copies, have been lost, or have not yet been found.

There are a great number of MSS. in other libraries, ecially at Oxford. But it is most likely that the vast jority of those once existing are irretrievably lost, as it is y improbable that the want of sources left by the examition of the first 22 MSS. will be supplied to any great ent by the about 20 other MSS. which still remain to be amined.

All this shows that Richard Rolle's poem was one of the st popular works of the end of the Middle Ages; and at, therefore, a new edition of it, with all the many variaons of its different copies, is much to be desired, though it ay result in no great improvement of Dr. Morris' text. hoever has an opportunity of examining one or more of e remaining MSS. should not hesitate to contribute his are to the work.

While the above paper was in the hands of the printer, r. Furnivall provided me with extracts from two MSS. of e poem which are preserved in the Lichfield Cathedral ibrary. I beg to repeat the expression of my gratitude to m for his great kindness, and add that I shall be equally liged to anybody else who, not wishing himself to take the ouble of classifying, will send me[1] extracts of other MSS.,

[1] Address *Herrn Dan. Bülbring, Voerde in Westphalia, Germany*, or send m to Dr. Furnivall, who will be glad to forward them.

a great many of which are dispersed in public and priva[illegible]e libraries over all England.

The two MSS. at Lichfield have the numbers 6 and 1[illegible]. MS. 6 is written on vellum, in a large and bold hand of abo[illegible]t 1410. MS. 18 is on vellum, in two hands of the late 14[illegible]th century, A filling lf. 1–58, and B lf. 59–110. I first g[illegible]ve all the various readings of the same 300 lines as abo[illegible]ve. Where no number is put to the variation, it is common [illegible]to both MSS., the spelling being that of MS. 18, whose langu[illegible]ge is very curious; only in a few lines where the reading of [illegible] 18 is added in parenthesis, is the spelling of 6 given.

1) [lf. 71 MS. 6; lf. 26*b* MS. 18] 1836 men (a man MS. 6) schulde dr. ded in here (on his 6) h.—1837 *þat* 6; peyn[illegible]s 18; *þe, þat*] *om.*; *swa*] wol.—1838 laste schour and (of þe [illegible]) ende.—1840 departyng; for to.—1841 to-gyddere euere f[illegible]r to.—1842 *n.*] And neyther (no*n* 6); w.+gladly.—1843 is [illegible]e loue be-twyxyn (eu*ere* by-twene 6).—1844 saddere; *twa*..[illegible] þey (two 6) ben to-gyddere i*n* loue.—1845 *oft p.*] be god[illegible]is grace a-boue.—1846 more+is þe 18; and+þe lengere.—1847 *bih.*] By-twene (þat be-twyxyn 18) hem schal be.—184[illegible]18 [lf. 71*b*, MS. 6] Ac 6.—1849 Louyn+hem 18; to-gyddere[illegible]; þan+a 18, +deþ a 6.—1850 *Wh.*] And qwedir; gon; or+[illegible] i*n*.—1851 Euere to-gyddere þey woldyn dwelle stille.—185[illegible]2 For (Ac 6) þis is o sk. as men (me 6) may se (yse 6).—185[illegible]3 Qwy+þat; euere in o cu*m*panye.—1854 For god wele (sey[illegible]þ 6) thoru is grace and is (*om.* 6) wyt.—1855 þat fyrst þe soul[illegible]le (body 6) and þe b. (soule to-gadere 6) kn.—1856 *þe t.*] þ[illegible]at oþe*r* 6; no thyng.—1857 toþer (*þat* oþer 6)+wele.—185[illegible]58 thr.+skil is; *b. tog. s.*] schole (+boþe 6) to-gyddere.—185[illegible]59 þe+dredful 18; *at* . . .] and to hys dom þonne y-nome 6.—[illegible] 1860 f.+skil is; *er c.* þ.] comyn i*n* fere.—1861 ay . . [illegible]] after-ward in o cu*m*panye ben euere (eu*ery* where 6).—18[illegible]62 þerfore þe more is here peyne and kare.—1863 *þat* on 6; [illegible] *þat* oþer 6.—1864 departynge; *be*] *þer* 6; clepyd; *þe*] *om.*[illegible] 1865 fleoþ+al 6; *fra* . . .] as doth þe breth.—1866 l.+b[illegible]*þe*. —1867 *And*] He ne 6; no thyng þat he hath ou*er* p.—1[illegible]68 ne+for 18; *þat m. m.*] þan ony man 18, *þat* eny man [illegible]*ay* 6.—1869 *he*] þat ded; he+ne 6; suffryth no ma*n* l. (a-l[illegible]*ue*

6).—1870–1 *om.*—1872 [lf 72, MS. 6] For he ne sparyth ryche ne (no 6) poure.—1873 *ne . . .*] be-nemyth þe lyf wyth- (byn. lyȝff off hym 6) inne a throw.—1874 *þe*] So þat; haþ+ no 6; *of*] o 18.—1875 Austyn 6; *þus sch.*] tellith vs wol 18, þer-off vs telleþ a 6.—1880 seth+þat 18; naþ 6.—1881 *tase*] math 18, ne haþ 6.—1882 *wise*] *om.*; conneþ schewe 6.—1883 Ne to hold men for here days fele (*fele*] beþ bote fewe 6).—1884 Deþ (Both 18) wole haue no reuerense ne f.——1885 Ne frenschepe of k. ne of (*of*] *om.* 6) e.—1886 Ne of p. byschop ne oþ*er* pr.—1887 *tyll*] of; *man of h.*] low ne hey.——1888–9 *om.*—1890 þer-fore (+seynt 6) Bernard seyt þus in þis (hys 6) wrytynge (=1874).—1891 For eueri (ech 6) man schulde be war of ded*is* com*m*ynge (þretnynge 6) (=1875).—1894 seth (seyþ 6) þ*a*t ded wole be þe passe.—1895 For it is comoun; *men*] *om.*—1896 *ilk*] ouer al iche (*in* 6 ou*er* alle *comes before* vysyte).—1897 But (And 6) ȝet qwat it is no man discrye (dysc*ri*ue 6) kan.—1898–9 *om.*—1900 iche þing felyth sore.—1901 *þus . . .*] tellit as he hath leryd (y-lerned 6) in lore.—1902 *is preceded by a line in red*: How a phylesophre discrijt ded.—1902 *For*] Here; lyknith.—1903 myt so.—1905 þat it myte at þe laste lyf þer-on brynge.—1906 *out . . .*] at þe mouth out come myte.—1907 euery a i. (þoute 6) a rote schulde dyte.—1908 And þat iche v. þat (þe wuch 6) is in (+a 6) manys b.—1909 *a r. f.*] rotis 18; *fast*] harde 6.—1910 And to iche (+a 6) f. and hond also.—1911 þe tre gr. +þ*er*-to.—1912 And on iche a l. þat is on ony s.—1913 *With*] þe; þe tre schulde þer-on abyde.—1914 Bot (As 6) if þat iche (þulke 6) tre were ouer al (*o. al*] *om.* 6) pullyd a-boute.—1915 þat þe rote (rotes 6) muste a-ryse and schewyn hy*m* with-oute.—1916 þanne schulde þe rotis þer-wyth sone a-ryse.—1917 And iche a veyn schewe (*sch.*] and synowe 6) also in his wyse.—1918 *a*] þanne; *in h.*] *om.*—[lf. 28, MS. 18] 1919 *þis*] it 18; *suld*] om. 18.—1920 *And*] *om.*; I holde 18; more+strong.—1921 And hardure in his tyme but (as 6) it lastyth (ys 6) not long.—1922–3 *om.*—[lf. 73, MS. 6] 1924 *ilk*] ich a 18, ech 6; it is a-forn i-seyd.—1925 May gretly dredyn þe lorde d. br.—1926–7 *om.*

2) [lf. 127, bk. MS. 6; lf. 69, MS. 18] 5126 lytynge

(euenynge 6)+he seytȝ; in+a.—5127 Clene fro; *and sch.* [illegible]
in] in-to; west*is* 18.—5128 manis.—5129 (1) *and*] *om.*; fo[illegible]
to.—5130 *doune*...] witȝ-outyn any let a-doun.—5131 A-ȝen[illegible]
þe m. of o. *in* his p*r*opir persoun.—5132 Qwer+þat; in+his[illegible];
vp e.] in-to heuene.—5133 *þe*...] his f. wol euene.—51[illegible]4
In sweche forme as he þanne vp stey.—5135 He schal a-ȝ[illegible]n
come and deme thorw good fey.—5136 *and ill*] men and bad [illegible]e
18.—5137 aungel 18.—5142 is here take vp (vp y-take 6) a-
non.—5143 i*n*-to 18; in flesch and in bon.—5144 werd*is*—
5145 seyn now (*n.*] *om.* 6) hym i*n*-to.—5145* And so he
schal (schal he 6) come a-ȝen i*n* (aȝen c. into þe 6) forme of
man.—5146 And alle þing deme as he wel can.—5147 *is*
preceded by Of þe stede þat cryst scal deme Inne, *in red.*—
5147 adoun for to.—5148 In+þe; *seme*] come 6.—51[illegible]9
schal+þanne.—5150 þe qweche is þe uale of iosaphat as [illegible]e
(*he*] hym sylf 6) wolde.—5151 Qwer+þat.—5152 tellitȝ [illegible]e
poule his (ioel þe 6).—5155 i schal *before* alle men.—51[illegible]6
i*n*to.—5157 *says þus*] tellitȝ us 18.—5158 As god be [illegible]e
p*r*ophete seytȝ þus (schewyþ to vs 6).—5163 to þe do[illegible]m
a-ryse.—5164 *in*] *om.* 6; co*m*+i*n* alle wise.—5165 *he*...] [illegible]i
chal syttyn i*n* my p*r*opir p*er*sone.—5166 *all*...] as þey be [illegible]en
worthy þo men eu*e*richone.—5167–68 *om.*—5169 for to.—
5170 As+þi.—5171 Qwer-on crist schal not fulleche come [illegible]e.
—5172 Be-fore he hatȝ þe kynde of erde be-nome (y-nom[illegible]ne
6).—5173 *B. vp*] Ac vp-on 6; sitte+as a lord.—5174 In; [illegible] as
holi writ seytȝ þis word.—5175 Lo he seytȝ oure l. schal hy[illegible]m
schewe.—5176 In a qwit cl. witȝ his aungel i*n* (angeles a 6)
rewe.—5177 aboute 6; þe 18; *n.*] as it were honge (*h*] in
heuynge 6).—5178 *se*...] hym se in dom stronge 18; [illegible]se
hym in doun syttynge 6.—5181 Ac 6; skil; sitte þere.—
5182 *here*...] be þis sawe here.—5183 *sett*] set (*om.* 18) in
a way lete.—5184 þe+hey.—5185 in þat o*þer*.—5186 þe
qweche stondyn i*n* (stont a 6) mydd*is* of (*om.* 6) þe werd
(world 6) wyde.—5187 And+also.—5188 *fast*...] and also
(*a.*] *om.* 6) of oure lady marie.—5189 *in þat c.*] also in [illegible]at
place.—5190 *full*] *om.*; fro+þe cete of.—5191 god; on [illegible]at
day *before* þere 18, *before* schal 6.—5192 þe grete dom to [illegible]ue
in þis manere.—5193 her+is; *all now*] *om.* 18, now 6.—5[illegible]94

iosaphat+þat is.—5195 Qwer+þat; my modir *before* berijd 18.—5196 Of quam i tok fl. a bl. with-outy*n* uelanie.—5197 *lo h. als*] also her; *now*] stonde 6.—5198 þe cete of ierusalem (+þe 6) qweche is ny to ȝou (ȝowre honde 6).—5199–5202 *om.*—5203 for ȝow *before* y 6; many+a.—5204 *sare* . . .] al a-boute beset (*bes.*] me yset 6).

3) *This test-passage is neither in MS.* 6 *nor in MS.* 18; *after l.* 9199 (And to siluer and to gold þat is of meche valu) *both MSS. go on with* 4 *lines for Dr. Morris'* 9200–9474, 2 *lines for Dr. Morris'* 9475–9532; as follows:

But (Ac 6) al the rytchesse þat euere in þe werd was
Is to þe lest ioye of heuene not wortȝ a nas
For þer is al þing þat ony man may crave
Or ell*is* desyre in thout for to haue.
Now is þe laste p*art* of þis bok mad
And all þe materis þer-of ben to ȝou (+be6) rad.

Lines 9535–45, 9569–70 *are omitted.*

That both MSS. belong to the β version is at once evident from a comparison of the above variations with the readings of the Dublin MS. 4 in the lines 1842. 1845. 1846. 1847. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1854. 1855. 1858. 1859, etc.—5129. 5130. 5131. 5134. 5142, etc.

The lines 1840. 1841. 1844. 1853. 1863. 1902. show that the two MSS. belong to ϕ.

Both MSS. omit the lines 1870–1, 1888–9, 1898–9, 1922–3, 1926–7, as the two MSS. of β.i do. Besides there are many other common alterations.

Harl. 2281 and 1731 (=β.i) leave out the red heading after 1901, which is preserved in the two Lichfield MSS. Common alterations of the latter two (f. i., in lines 1910 and 1913, and most distinctly towards the end of the poem) moreover show that the Lichfield copies are derived from a separate source.

Their pedigree therefore is:

L 6, L 18 } β.iii.
L 2 (Harl. 2281), L 3 (Harl. 1731) } β.i.
} ϕ.i—ϕ—β—B—X.ii—Q—U.

XVII.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, June* 7, 1889.]

Chess. The etymology is known to be from A.F. *esche*[illegible]s, really the pl. of *eschec*, check. But it is interesting to kn[illegible]w whether the *c* in the ending *cs* was lost in E. or in A[illegible]F. The answer is, the latter. For the A.F. form *esches*, [illegible]e William of Wadington, *Manuel des Peches*, l. 4106; Roman[illegible]e of Horn, 2551 (in both MSS.). In fact, the pl. *esches* is qui[illegible]te regular. Similarly, *blans* was the pl. of *blanc* in Norma[illegible]n. See Gaston Paris, Extraits de la Chanson de Roland, p. 43.

Cieling. I have shewn that a possible origin of this word is from O.F. *ciel*, heaven. Perhaps this is illustrated by a passage in the A.F. Romance of Horn, l. 2709: '*Cielee* iert la chambre par art dentailleor De un umbrelenc bien fait; bon fu linginneor.' I find that Godefroy quotes this from Michel's edition; my quotation is from that by Brede and Stengel. See also *celé* in Godefroy. I do not, however, fully understand the passage.

Clever. The E.Friesic word is *klüfer* (Koolman), explained by 'gewandt, geschickt, aufgeweckt, anstellig, lebhaft, munter, behende.'

Coble, a kind of boat. This word is given and defined by Halliwell. He refers us to Morte Arthure, l. 742; but in that passage *coblez* seems to mean 'cables.' Mätzner and Stratmann give no example. But in the Lindisfarne MS., Matt. viii. 23, the Lat. *in nauicula* is glossed by 'in lytlum scipe *uel* in *cuople*.' Johnson's Dict., s.v. *cobble*, quotes '*cobles*, or little fishing-boats' from Pennant (no reference). See Jamieson and Brockett.

Cosset, a pet-lamb, a pet. Used by Spencer and Ben Jonson; see Nares. In Webster's Dictionary, a derivation is suggested from the word *cot*. This does not seem very

ly at first sight, but there is some evidence for it. ıner gives an A.S. *cot-sǽta*, a 'cot-sitter,' or dweller in a with no reference. But here we get help from Schmid's ısary to the Anglo-Saxon Laws and from Ducange. The inised plural *cotseti*, synonymous with *villani*, occurs in Laws of Henry I., cap. 29; ed. Thorpe, i. 532; and in, spelt *cothseti*, in the same, cap. 81; ed. Thorpe, i. 589. mid remarks that the same plural occurs repeatedly in nesday Book, spelt *coscez*, *cozets*, and *cozez*, where *z* ;inally stood for the sound of *ts*. See also *coscez* in ;ange, where we even find a form *cossatus*, with a sug- ted derivation from *cot* and *sit*. The A.S. *cote*, a cote, ears as *cot-* in composition; see the A.S. Dict. Perhaps *et* meant at first 'a dweller in a cot'; and, as applied to ımb, a pet-lamb kept in the house. So the G. *Hauslamm* ıns both a house-lamb and a pet. Hence the verb *cosset*, pet. See *Cot-lamb*. For the pronunciation, cf. *best* for ıt, and *boatswain*; *bless* for *bletsian*, etc. But difficulties ıain.

Costrel, a bottle. Used by Chaucer, L. G. Wom. 2666. ıo spelt *costret*; see Mätzner. It is from the O.F. *costerel*, ed to *costeret*, *costelet*, all given by Godefroy, and sig- ying a pannier, basket, jar, esp. a jar or measure of oil wine, as in the phrase 'un *costelet* de vin et de olie,' a asure of wine or oil. All are diminutives of O.F. *coste*, neasure of capacity, used for fruits taken to market, a ınier or basket of a certain size. 22 *costes* went to the *id* (Lat. *modius*); so it was not very large. Ducange es '*costa*, cista, calathus, F. *panier*.' It seems natural to nect it with Lat. *costa*, rib, side, but I cannot say that connection is clearly made out. Lewis and Short quote *a corbium* from Pliny, 16. 18. 30, § 75. Littré, s.v. *côte*, es that this term is used in basket-making to denote the jections (*nervures*) formed by the flexure of small osiers ınd the larger ones; which perhaps explains the word.

Cot, Cot-lamb, a pet lamb. In Grose's Prov. Dict. (1790), find '*cotts*, lambs brought up by hand; cades.' In right's Vocab. ed. Wülker, col. 749, l. 1, we have the form

kodlomb in a Vocabulary of the 15th century. If these ca[illegible] can be connected, then *kodlomb* would stand for *cot-lamb*, *i.*[illegible] a lamb brought up in a cot. See *Cosset.*

Crack, a mischievous boy. Shakespeare has the word twic[illegible]. I believe it is short for *crack-rope*, a contemptuous term for a rascal, occurring in Dodsley O. Plays, ed. Hazlitt, iv. 63. [illegible] the same way, *wag* is short for *wag-halter*, and is an equiv[illegible]lent term. Thus Cotgrave has: '*Babouin*, a craftie knave, a *crack-rope*, a *wag-halter*.' Todd's Johnson has *crack-rope*, without a reference, defined as 'a fellow that deserves hanging.' It means rather 'a fellow that has escaped the gallows, because the rope broke.' It seems to have been usual not to hang a man a second time in such a case.

Craier, Crayer, Crare, Cray, a kind of small ship. Shak. has 'sluggish *crare*'; Cymb. iv. 2. 205 (old edd. *care*); see also *craier* in Halliwell; *cray* in Todd's Johnson and Nares. M.E. *crayer*, *krayer*; Morte Arthure, 738, 3666. From O.F. *craier*, *creer*, a vessel of war; spelt *craier* in 1339, and *creer* in 1334, according to Godefroy, and apparently a Norman word. Low Lat. *craiera*, in a charter of Edw. III. A.D. 1360; also *creyera* (Ducange). Widegren gives the Swed. *krejare*, a small vessel with one mast; but this is evidently a late form, and does not help us. Beyond this I cannot go. The suggestion, in Webster, that it is derived from the G. *krieg*[illegible], or Du. *krijg*, war, is in no way borne out. It does not accoun[illegible] for the spelling, and we should rather expect the word to b[illegible] of English origin. I would propose to derive it from th[illegible] A.S. *crecca*, M.E. *creke*, *crike*, a creek. This word was Latin[illegible]ised as *creca*, and meant both a creek and a port or harbou[illegible]. A Low Lat. **crecarius* would give the O.F. forms exactly, a[illegible] might mean 'a ship frequenting the harbours.'

Cross. The great difficulty of accounting for the fo[illegible] *cross* is well known. Mr. Mayhew points out to me that *cr*[illegible] is also the O.Irish form, found in the 'Leabhar Breac,' [illegible] Atkinson; see the Glossary. Of course this Celtic *cro*[illegible] is from the Latin *crux*. In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, we f[illegible] *cros*, a cross, a hindrance; *crosaim*, I cross, stop, hin[illegible] debar; *crosanach*, cross, perverse; *crosog*, a small cross, [illegible]

erseness, etc. I find A.S. *cros*, as in 'Normannes *cros*'; in Birch, *Cart. Sax.* iii. 367 (A.D. 963–984).

Cudgel. I have suggested that this word is of Celtic origin, but it is probably Teutonic. I have given no example earlier than Shakespeare. It occurs, however, once in Middle English, and, in fact, as early as in the Ancren Riwle, p. 292, l. 1, where it is spelt *kuggel*. Further, the A.S. form is properly *cycgel*, of which the dat. pl. is spelt *kycglum* in the Hatton MS. of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Sweet, p. 297, l. 1. The acc. pl. *kigclas* occurs in Cockayne's *Shrine*, p. 163. The remarkable spelling *quodgell* is quoted from a piece called 'Pasquin in a Traunce' in the volume on 'Dialect' in the Gentleman's Magazine Library; reprinted from the Gent. Mag. for 1820, pt. 1, pp. 115, 116. The A.S. form is not given in any Dictionary.

Cullis, a very fine and strong broth, strained and made clear for patients in a state of great weakness (Nares). This is a common word in old dramas; Nares gives several examples, which could easily be multiplied. The M.E. form is *colis* (see Mätzner); also spelt *kolys, colice, colysshe*. This is from an O.F. *colis, couleis* (see *couleis* in Godefroy), later *coulis*. Cotgrave gives '*Coulis*, masc. a cullis, or broth of boiled meat strained;' and the adj. *coulis*, gliding, whence *potage coulis*, lit. gliding pottage, *i.e.* gliding through a strainer, used in the same sense as *coulis* alone. It was therefore originally the masculine form of an adjective, answering to Low Lat. **colaticius*, from *colare*, to flow, to strain through a sieve. Similarly *port-cullis* means 'gliding gate'; and the only difference between *cullis*, broth, and the *cullis* in *port-cullis* is that the former is masculine (*colaticius*), and the latter feminine (*colaticia*); see *coulis, coulisse* in Cotgrave. And see Wedgwood.

Dogger, a kind of fishing-vessel. It occurs in Hexham as a Du. word; he has: '*een Dogger*, a Fishers Boat;' also 'a Sling or casting-net; also, a Satchell.' He gives also: '*Dogge*, an English Mastif; *een Dogge-boot*, a great Barke.' Also: '*Dogger-zandt*, a Shelve of white sand, or a Quicksand in the Sea.' He also notes the verb: '*Doggen*, or

doggeren, to Dogg one, or, to follow one secretly.' But th word is said not to be old in Dutch. Again, the Icel. Dict has: '*Dugga*, a small (English or Dutch) fishing-vessel [mentioned] A.D. 1413, where it is reported that thirt English *fiski-duggur* came fishing about Iceland that summer Hence the word seems to belong neither to Dutch nor Ice landic, but rather to English. Minsheu's Dict. (1627) gives '*Dogger*, a kinde of ship;' and says it is mentioned in th Statutes of 31 Edw. III.; Stat. 3, cap. 1; which is perha the earliest notice of it. Perhaps it is connected wi *dog*; but evidence is wanting. When Hexham defin *Dogge-boot* as 'a great *Barke*,' one wonders whether he s the joke. The Du. *Dogger-zandt* answers to E. '*Dogger-bar*

Dot. I have marked *dot* as Dutch, because I could fin no early example. However, there is an A.S. *dott*, a littl lump; see Bosworth's Dictionary, new edition; and *Dot* i the Supplement to my Dictionary.

Draught-house, a privy (2 Kings x. 27; cf. Matt. xv. 17). Some connect this word with *draff*, husks, refuse; but this is wholly a mistake. *Draught* is short for *with-draught*, precisely as *drawing-room* is short for *with-drawing-room*, th prefix being lost owing to lack of stress. *With-draugh* means 'a place to which one withdraws,' and is a translatio of the O.F. *retrait*. Cotgrave gives: '*se retrahir*, to retire or withdraw himself;' whence '*retraicte*, fem. a retrait retiring, withdrawing'; and '*retraict*, masc. an ajax, privy house of office.' In the Curial of Alain Charretier, a Englished by Caxton, ed. Furnivall, p. 7, l. 23, we are tol how the courtier has to dance attendance all day long upo the prince; 'he shal muse ydelly alday, in awaytyng tha men shal open the dore to hym, of the chambre or *wyth draught* of the prynce.' Here the original French has, a noted at p. viii, *l'uys du retrait;* and M. Paul Meyer draw attention to Caxton's habit of rendering some of the word of the original by two consecutive synonyms. Hence *wyth draught* and *chambre* are both translations of the same F masc. sb., as to the meaning of which there is no doub It must seem very strange that a courtier should wait up

a prince under such circumstances, but the matter is put out of doubt by no less an authority than Lord Bacon, in his Life of Richard III., ed. Lumby, p. 82: 'Whiche thyng this page wel had marked and knowen . . . For vpon this pages wordes king Richard arose. For this communication had he [the king] sitting at the *draught*;' to which Bacon adds the contemptuous comment, 'a conuenient carpet for such a counsaile;' see the whole passage. This is a clear instance of a page bringing a message to a king by actually venturing into his *retrait*. In some cases the prefix was not lost, but preserved in a corrupted form. The *th* in *with* was assimilated to the *d* in *draught*. Hence the form *widdraught*, spelt *wyddrought* in Clark's edition of Willis's Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 245. Next, one of the *d*'s was dropped, and we get the form in Phillips' Dict., viz. '*wydraught*, a water-course, or water-passage, a sink, or common shore;' where the reference is, by a slight change, to the *withdrawal* of refuse or of water. In this form, it is extremely common in old leases, which mention 'sewers, drains, *wy-draughts*,' etc.; and '*wy-draught*, a sink, or drain,' is in Halliwell's Dictionary. Some years ago, I was asked to explain this prefix *wy-*, but I gave it up; it is now perfectly clear. Hence *draught* is merely short for *with-draught*, and *draught-house* for *with-draught-house*. Dr. Furnivall's glossary explains *with-draught* as *with-drawing-room*; which is quite correct radically; only we must make a distinction as to the sense in which *with-drawing-room* is used, and not consider it as all one with the modern *drawing-room*. The G. word *Abtritt* is formed with an analogous development of meaning. In the New Testament, we also have mention of 'a *draught* of fishes,' which is merely another use of the same word. The derivation is from the verb *to draw*.

Draughts, a game. The game of *draughts* means the game of *moves*. This we know from Caxton's Game of the Chesse, and the Tale of Beryn. *Draught*, in the sense of 'move,' is a translation of the F. *trait*. See my note to Chaucer's Minor Poems, p. 255, l. 653. Wedgwood has a similar note,

and cites Ital. *tiro*, a move, from *tirare*, to draw. Cf. 'a *drawn* game.'

Faldstool. A.S. *fældestol*; A.S. Leechdoms, ed. Cockayne, vol. i. p. lxxii, l. 3.

Fanteague, a worry, or bustle, also, ill-humour; Halliwell. To be 'in a *fanteague*' or 'in a *fanteeg*,' *i.e.* to be in a state of excitement, is a familiar expression. The word is in Pickwick, chapter xxxviii., where *fanteegs* means 'worries,' or 'troubles.' It is clearly from F. *fanatique*, adj., 'mad, frantick, in a frenzie, out of his little wits;' Cotgrave. Hence it is allied to *Fanatic*.

Firk, to beat. Used by Shakespeare; see Nares. Nares remarks that it is said to be from the Lat. *ferire*. But it is the M.E. *ferken*, to convey, also to drive, etc.; see Mätzner. Further, it is the same word as the A.S. *fercian*, to convey. Ettmüller reasonably supposes it to be derived from *faran*, to go, fare.

Fit. This difficult form is commented on by Wedgwood in his book of 'Contested Etymologies.' We must, however, distinguish between the senses. It is best to take the easiest first. *Fit*, s. a portion of a poem, now obsolete, is certainly the A.S. *fit*, *fitt*, a song, poem, or verse. I do not think this is disputed. *Fit*, s. a sudden attack of illness, is derived by Wedgwood from 'G. *ft!* an interjection representing the sound of something whisking by,' etc. But it is plainly the M.E. *fit*, a contest, an attack, a bout, sufficiently illustrated by Mätzner; and from the A.S. *fit*, *fitt*, a contest, allied to *fettian*, to contend. I think Wedgwood has been troubled by my supposition that the A.S. *fitt*, a verse, and A.S. *fitt*, a contest, are the same word. If it will simplify matters, I am willing to dissociate them. But when we remember that a *fit* or poem was, I suppose, so much as was sung at once, I see no difficulty in supposing that, as the harp passed round at the feast in olden times, each singer contributed his *fit*, or portion, to the *fit*, or contest. The allusions to contests in singing are surely common in many languages. We next come to the adj. *fit*, and to the verb to *fit*. First as to the verb. Of this Mätzner gives no example; yet *fitten*, to set

in order, or array, occurs at least five times in the Morte Arthure. It is probably derived from the adjective, and we shall see presently that Wedgwood takes the adj. to be of F. origin. There is a very strong objection to this when we find that Hexham gives the M.Du. *vitten*, 'to accommodate, to fitt, to serve;' which would seem to be a Teutonic word. Kilian gives the same, and says it is Flemish. I see no insuperable difficulty, as Wedgwood does, to the connection of M.E. *fitten*, to set in order, with the Icel. *fitja*, to knit together, to cast on stitches in making a stocking. On the contrary, the notion of casting on stitches is closely allied to that of *fitting* or preparing the work, if indeed the ideas are not identical. To knit a stocking is the same thing as to fit it together. In provincial English *fit* commonly means 'ready.' Lastly, as to the adj. *fit*. It is, apparently, quite a late word, only found, as yet, in the Promptorium Parvulorum and in later books. I see no difficulty in supposing that it is derived from the verb, and merely means *fitted* or prepared. In the Morte Arthure, l. 2455, an army is said to be 'Faire *fittyde* one frownte,' *i.e.* well arrayed in the front. Wedgwood's proposal is to say that '*fit* is a shortening of the O.E. [*i.e.* M.E.] *feat*, or *fete*, neat, well-made, good (Halliwell), from F. *faict*, *fait*, made, fashioned, viz. after a certain pattern or certain requirements.' There is no good evidence that the M.E. *fete* is an old word; the quotations suggest that it arose in the fifteenth century. The proper word for 'well-made' was *fetis*, used by Chaucer, and answering to Lat. *factitius*. Perhaps *fete* was suggested by it, as the Anglo-F. *fet* meant no more than 'done' or 'made,' like the Latin *factus* which it represents. At the same time, I am by no means disposed to reject this suggestion; whilst I also hold to my former view. So many E. words result from two or three sources, that I think it very likely that the use of 'fit' as an adjective was due to some confusion between the verb *fit* above, the adj. *fetis*, well-made, and the A.F. *fet*, made. In any case, Wedgwood makes one good point, in which I at once concur, viz. that the compound verb *to refit* certainly arose, primarily, from the M.E. *refeet*, representing

A.F. *refet*, Lat. *refectus*; precisely as our *benefit* represents A.F. *benfet*, Lat. *bene factus*. See, in the Prompt. Parv., the entry: "*Refecyd* [probably an error for *refetyd*], or *refeet*, or *refeted*; refectus;" and the examples in Way's note. When Dr. Bradley is at work upon *fit*, he will have to consult the slips for *refit* at the same time. I also note here that several other words which may or may not be from the same root should be examined, as they may yield further information. I would instance Goth. *fetjan*, to adorn; G. *fitze*, O.H.G. *fizza*, a skein; Dan. *fid*, *fed*, a skein; Norweg. *fit*, the end of a texture or piece of woven stuff; Icel. *feti*, a strand in the thread of a warp. See also the article on E. Fries. *fetse*, a fragment, in Koolman.

Fives, a disease of horses (Shakespeare). Put for *tives*, which is short for *avives*. See *Avives* in the New E. Dict.

Flabbergast, to scare. Probably for *flapper-gast*, i.e. to scare away with a fly-flap. Cf. M.E. *gasten*, to scare, in Stratmann and Mätzner. Also: '*Flappe*, instrument to smyte wythe flyys: *Flabellum*;' Prompt. Parv. And see the quotation, in Richardson, from Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 201.

Flaw, a gust of wind (Shakespeare). Cf. Swed. *flaga*; M. Du. *vlage* (Hexham); Du. *vlaag*; Low G. *flage* (Bremen. Wört.); M.E. *flai* in Mätzner; and *flag* (3) in Wedgwood. Allied to *flake* and *flag*.

Furlong. In Murray's Dict., s.v. *acre*, we learn that an *acre* was, originally, a piece of land 40 poles long and four poles wide. Thus the rood, or the fourth part of an acre, was a piece of land 40 poles long and one pole wide. The pole, or 5½ yards, represented the breadth between two furrows; and the 40 poles represented the length to be measured along the furrow. Thus the *furlong*, or length along the furrow, was 40 poles, *i.e.* 220 yards, or an eighth of a mile. The length of 40 poles was chosen, precisely because it was an exact fraction of a mile. Hence the relationship of acre to mile is clearly seen. This matter was explained to me by Dr. Murray. In Halliwell's Dictionary, we learn that the proper country-name for the

ground between two furrows was a *land*. This explains the phrase 'nine land's length' in the passage from Piers Plowman, quoted in my Dictionary, s.v. *furlong*. The reference is to the rood, which was a *land* in breadth and a *furlong* in length; so that 'nine lands' length' means 'more than a mile.'

Gallant. There is no doubt that this is the F. *galant*, allied to the verb *galer*, to riot, rejoice, be festive. I give the usual derivation from M.H.G. *geil*, mirthful; but the difference of vowel-sound is, perhaps, insuperable. I note, accordingly, the derivation given by Schwan (Grammatik des Altfranzösischen, p. 52), from O.H.G. *wallōn*, G. *wallen*, to wander, rove, go on pilgrimage. I find that Godefroy gives *galand* with the sense of vagabond, or (as he says) 'sorte de brigands.' Perhaps further search may settle this question. The derivation here proposed involves no phonetic difficulty.

Gambeson, a quilted jacket. See *Gambison* in Godefroy, and *gambais* in Diez. Diez derives it from O.H.G. *wamba*, the belly. Mr. Wedgwood refers us to the Gk. *βαμβακίον*, a fabric stuffed with cotton; and I think his article should receive due attention. The O. Span. *gambax*, quoted by Diez, certainly looks like the Low Lat. *bombax*, whence our *bombasine*. The Arab. *gonbāz*, cited by Diez from Freytag, looks like another perversion of the same word. Perhaps the word found its way from Gk. into Arabic, thence into Spanish, and thence into other European languages. I think the form of the suffix is quite enough to shew that the O.H.G. *wambeis* was a borrowed word, and that we cannot in this case rely upon the initial *w* as original. It is remarkable that Ducange, who (s.v. *gambeso*) favours the G. origin, actually supposes, s.v. *bambacium*, that *gambacium* was an alternative spelling of the latter word.

Gambol. Cf. F. *jambe*. Diez and Scheler think these words are derived form a Low Lat. *camba*, the leg. The acc. pl. *cambas* occurs in a Latin prayer printed in Cockayne's A.S. Leechdoms, vol. i. p. lxxi, l. 20. It is glossed by A.S. *hamme*, the hams. Ducange only gives the derivative *cambia*, leg armour. The E. *ham* is from the same root as *camba*.

Garnep, a small mat (Nares). From F. *gardenappe* [illegible] Cotgrave and Godefroy. From F. *garder* and *nappe*, becau[illegible] it keeps the cloth clean.

Gay. The F. *gai* is derived by Diez, who follows Murato[illegible], from O.H.G. *gâhi*, quick, whence also G. *jäh*. But a [illegible] more satisfactory original is the O.H.G. *wâhi*, M.H.G. *wæ*[illegible], which has the precise sense of gay, pretty, artistically array[illegible]. The Bavarian form is *wæh*, gay, pretty; Schmeller, ii. 8[illegible]0. The change of initial from *w* to *g* is regular, as in O[illegible]. F. *gaimenter*, to lament, from the older form *waimenter*, appe[illegible]ing in M.E. *waimenten*. The O.H.G. *wâhi* is from the stro[illegible]g verb *wehan*, to shine; see Schade. The etymology of *jay* is affected by this change. This etymology is due to M[illegible]r. Mayhew; see N. and Q., 7 S. vii. 325. See *Jay*.

Ghoul. Not Persian, marked in my Dict., but a Persi[illegible]an word borrowed from Arabic, as Mr. Robertson Smith infor[illegible]ns me. So in Palmer's Pers. Dict., col. 443: "*Ghūl* (Ar[illegible]b. Pers.), an ogre, a demon of the waste."

Gigging. Chaucer has *gigging of scheeldes* (Kn. Ta. 164[illegible]), which Morris explains by 'clattering,' as if it were *jiggi*[illegible]*g*. But the *g* is hard. To *gig* a shield is to fit it with a n[illegible]w strap or handle, formerly called a *gig*. Cotgrave gives *guig*[illegible]*es*, 'the handles of a targuet or shield.' Godefroy explains *gu*[illegible]*ige* as the strap by which a shield was hung round the neck, a[illegible]nd gives numerous examples. Other spellings are *guigue*, *gu*[illegible]*ce*, *guiche*, *guinche*, and even *grince* (probably corrupt). The word is evidently of Teutonic origin. Perhaps the word merely meant 'fold' or 'bend.' Cf. Swed. *vika*, to fold, to double, to plait; Icel. *víkja*, to turn; G. *wickel*, a roll, *wickeln*, to roll round, wrap up; but this is uncertain.

Gite, Gyte. This word occurs twice in Chaucer, C.T. 39[illegible]52, 6141. Simkin's wife wore 'a *gyte* of red'; the Wyf of Bath wore 'gaze scarlet *gytes*.' Tyrwhitt explains it by 'robe,' but it may have meant 'cap' or 'veil,' or 'head-covering,' which suits the context even better. Nares shews that it is used thrice by Gascoigne, and once by Fairfax. The sense is uncertain there, but seems to mean 'robe'; Hazlitt's Glossary to Gascoigne omits the word altogether. I presume that the

g is hard; hence the scribes prefer *y* to *i* in writing it (cf. M.E. *gyde*, E. *guide*). It is doubtless of French origin. Godefroy gives: '*guite*, chapeau.' Roquefort has: '*wite*, voile.' The F. Gloss. appended to Ducange gives the word *witart* as applied to a man, and *witarde* as applied to a woman. Hence, perhaps, the O.F. *wiart*, which Roquefort explains as a veil with which women cover their faces, evidently the same as O.F. *guiart*, explained by Godefroy as a dress or vestment. The form of the word suggests that it is of Teutonic origin; but the source is not apparent. It is probably the same word as the M.E. and Scot. *gyde*, *gide*, a dress, robe, of which Mätzner give two examples, and Jamieson three.

Glory, Hand of. One of the Ingoldsby Legends is called The Nurse's Story; or, the Hand of Glory. It introduces the line—'Lit by the light of the Glorious Hand.' This 'glorious hand' was supposed to be a dead man's hand, which gave a magic light. This fiction is due to a mistaken popular etymology. We find the O.F. *mandegloire* in Godefroy; it was supposed to signify 'hand of glory,' but, as a fact, it is a variant spelling of *mandragore* (Shakespeare's *mandragora*), and means a mandrake, the plant so often associated with magic. We even find the very spelling *maindegloire*; Godefroy cites, from the Glossaire des Salins, the entry: 'Mandragora, *maindegloire*.' This is an excellent example of the way in which legends arise from making up a tale to explain a word. It is a caution to beware of such tales as these. The identification of the *hand of glory* with the *mandrake* is clenched by the statement in Cockayne's Leechdoms, i. 245, that the mandrake 'shineth by night altogether like a lamp.' The corruption of Lat. *mandragora* to F. *mainde-gloire* is noticed by Trench (Eng. Past and Present); but he does not notice the E. translation of the latter.

Goluptious. 'Cooking for a genteel fam'ly, John, It's a *goluptious* life!' 1862: *Verses and Translations*, by C. S. C(alverley). Perhaps it is a corruption of *voluptious*, i.e. *voluptuous*. The sense of the word is precisely the same as that of *voluptuous*.

Gourd, a species of false dice; Mer. Wives, i. 3. 94. See Nares, who suggests that it is named 'in allusion to a *gourd*, which is scooped out;' which is not a probable guess. Godefroy's O.F. Dict. gives the sb. *gourd*, in the sense of 'a cheat' (*fourberie*), which is much nearer the mark. I suppose, too, that this sb. is allied to the O.F. adj. *gourd*, 'numme, astonied, asleep, . . . drowsie, slow, heavy, sluggish;' Cotgrave. Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) has *gordo*, 'grosse, fat, heavy, . . . foolish.' From Low Lat. *gurdus*, a dolt, a numskull; Lewis and Short. Perhaps the dice were loaded, and so sluggish in action, not falling truly. Cf. F. *engourdi*, torpid.

Hale. Mr. Mayhew points out to me that this is not necessarily a Scand. form, but simply the Northern English, corresponding to A.S. *hāl*. Cf. *haly* for *holy*, *hame* for *home*, etc. We have the Scand. form in the word *hail*, as a salutation.

Havoc. This word occurs several times in Shakespeare, but does not seem to be much older. Richardson quotes an example from Udall. I have supposed it to be of English origin, but Mr. Mayhew thinks it is French; and, strange as this may seem, he is certainly right. The corresponding O.F. word is *havot*, which, by the common confusion between *c* and *t*, is occasionally written and printed *havoc*, of which Godefroy, s.v. *havot*, gives an example. Moreover, the sounds of *t* and *c* were probably confused, the word being not clearly understood. Even the native M.E. *bakke* has been turned into *bat*. The equivalence of E. *havoc* with the O.F. *havot*, which had the sense of 'pillage, plunder,' is verified by its peculiar use. Thus Shakespeare has the phrase 'to cry havoc,' which is obviously a translation of the O.F. *crier havot*, to cry out plunder, *i.e.* as I suppose, to give the signal for plundering. Of this phrase Godefroy gives two clear examples. The etymology of *havot* is obscure; but I take it to be allied to F. *havet*, a hook, especially a hook or crook made of iron, which would be extremely useful to men bent upon plunder. This F. *havet* is of Teut. origin, and is either a F. adaptation of G. *Haft*, a clasp, rivet, crotchet, or from

the same root. The root is clearly the Germanic HAF, cognate with the Aryan KAP, as seen in *capere*, the primary notion being 'to seize.' Hence *havot* has to do with seizing, or grasping, the very notion whence that of spoiling and plundering naturally arises. It is now easy to see that from the same root comes F. *haver*, which Cotgrave explains by 'to hook, or grapple with a hook;' and the F. sb. *havée*, which he explains by 'a gripe, or a handful; also a booty, or prey;' and even the F. adv. *havement*, which he explains by 'greedily,' covetously.' Cf. also E. Friesic *haffen*, to devour greedily (Koolman); E. Friesic *heffen*, to catch up, orig. to seize. The latter is a strong verb, and is cognate with A.S. *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, and the Lat. *capere*.

Hog. Kemble's Charters contain the place-names *Hocgetwistle* and *Hocgestún*. We have *Hogston* in Oxfordshire, and *Hogsthorpe* in Lincolnshire; besides other traces of it.

Ill. The Icel. *íllr*, ill, properly has a long *i*. Mr. Bradley suggests that it is short for **íðlr*, idle, cognate with A.S. *ídel*. Otherwise the A.S. *ídel* has no Scandinavian cognate. And the equation of Icel. *íllr* with A.S. *yfel* is impossible. But the connection in sense is not made out.

Ive, or Herb Ive. In Chaucer's Sec. Non. Ta. 146, Partlet advises Chanticleer to eat some *erbe yve*. I find no explanation of this in Tyrwhitt or Morris. I used to think it was the same as 'ivy,' but it is nothing of the kind, as the word is French. Cotgrave has: '*Ive*, fem. The herb Ive; *Ive arthritique*, Field cypress, herb Ive, Ground-Pine, Forget-me-not.' Now Field-cypress and Ground-pine are both names for *Ajuga chamæpitys*, a kind of bugle. Littré explains the mod. F. *ive* by *Teucrium chamæpitys*, a kind of germander, a very closely allied labiate plant. The explanation 'ground-pine' will, I suppose, do very well. Britten's Plant-names duly gives *Herb Ive*, with three explanations, viz. *Plantago Coronopus*, or buck's-horn plantain; *Ajuga Chamæpitys*, or ground-pine, as above; and *Senebiera Coronopus*, or lesser wart-cress. A Glossary called Sinonoma Bartholomei, ed. J. L. G. Mowat, Oxford, 1882, at p. 17, has: '*Cornu cervi*, i. herbive;' where *cornu cervi* answers to 'buck's horn.'

Wright's Vocabularies give the Latin names as *ostriago* or *ostragium* and *erifeon*, but the senses are unknown; also the A.S. name as *liðwyrt*, which Mr. Cockayne doubtfully interprets as the 'dwarf-elder,' which does not suit. The etymology of the F. *ive* is unknown. There is no reason for connecting it with E. *ivy*, nor with E. *yew*, both of which Littré mentions, but does not seem to favour. Halliwell explains *Herbive* by forget-me-not, quoting from Gerarde; but the name of 'forget-me-not' is sometimes given to the ground-pine (see Britten), which brings us back to the same result as before. Thus the likeliest solution is the A.S. *ivyn* *Chamæpitys*, as regards the sense, but the origin of the F. *ive* remains obscure.

Jay. The etymology of *jay* is from the O.F. *iay*, *gay*, mod. F. *geai*; and this is supposed to be from O.H G. *gāhi*, M.H.G. *gæhe* (G. *jähe*), quick; hence, lively. This is already in my Dictionary; but it is necessary to notice it here, because it must be dissociated from *gay*. See *Gay*.

Lake. I have supposed this word to be borrowed from Lat. *lacus*, with which the A.S. *lagu* is cognate. Prof. Earle, in his A.S. Charters, p. 465, says—"It is important to observe that a *lake* is not [rather, *was* not] a pool, but a stream of running water. Thus a boundary often follows the course of a lake (A.S. *andlang lace*), and such a stream is called a boundary-stream (*gemǣr-lacu*). . . This *lake* for running water is a genuine English word, and it is still widely current in the W. of England, in Devon and Somerset, and probably Dorsetshire. If we are now familiar with the word as meaning a pool, it is one of the thousand proofs of the deep tinge our language has taken from the Romanesque." If this be so, our A.S. *lacu*, a lake, a running stream, has been more or less confused with the Lat. *lacus* and F. *lac*, from which it was originally distinct. Cf. Ship-lake, Mortlake, both on the Thames. The G. *Lache* now means a pool, lake, or puddle; but, according to Weigand, it was once applied to running water. The theories about the G. *Lache* are various. Kluge dissociates it from Lat. *lacus*, but makes a difficulty of connecting it with the adj. *leck*,

leaky. But the Icel. strong verb *leka*, to leak, with the pt. t. *lak*, seems sufficient to furnish the root-form; see the Teut. root LAK, to drip, in Fick, iii. 261. The stem *lak* perhaps accounts both for A.S. *lac-u*, as above, and the verb *leccan*, for **lac-ian*, to moisten. From the same stem we have also the Lowl. Sc. *latch*, a pool, a swamp, in Scott's Guy Mannering (see Jamieson); also Yksh. *lache*, a muddy hole, a bog (see Halliwell). The orig. sense of *leka* was to drip, or ooze drop by drop; hence the A.S. *lacu* may have meant a stream formed by wet draining away from land, a sluggish stream or gutter, from which the transition to the sense of pool or swampy place was easy. The Bremen Wörterbuch assigns to *Lache* the double meaning of 'swamp' and 'brine'; and the latter agrees with the Swed. *laka*, pickle, juice, sap. We may also note here the prov. E. *letch*, a wet ditch or gutter, and the river *Lech* in Gloucestershire, near which is *Lechlade*. See *Latch*. (I make the above note by way of suggestion only.)

Lampas, a disease in the mouth of horses. It occurs in Cotgrave, and in Fitzherbert's Husbandry, ed. Skeat, sect. 81: 'In the mouthe is the *lampas*, and is a thycke skyn full of bloude, hangyng ouer his tethe aboue, that he may not eate.' It is from F. *lampas*, 'the *lampasse*, or swelling in a horse's mouth;' sometimes spelt *lampast*. Littré discusses it, and shews that it is also spelt *empas*, as if *l* stood for the article. He hesitates as to the original form. But this is settled by the occurrence of Ital. *lampasco*, with the same sense; see Florio. Besides which, Godefroy gives *lampas* as the O.F. form; so that *empas* is a corruption. It is probably allied to F. *lamper*, to swallow in great gulps, a nasalised form of F. *laper*, to lap, spelt *lapper* in Cotgrave. The F. *laper* is of Teut. origin; cf. M. Du. *lappen*, *lapen*, 'to lap or licke like a dogge;' Hexham. The insertion of *m* may have been suggested by Lat. *lambere*.

Lampers, Lawmpas, a kind of thin silk. Halliwell gives *lampors*, a kind of thin silk; and, in his edition of Nares, cites a quotation for it dated 1559. This form is probably an error for *lampers*, as that is precisely the M. Dutch form.

Hexham gives: '*lampers*, fine silke Cloath or Linnen; '
lampers, a Covering Garment, or a Veile;' whence mod. I
lamfer, crape. I find a much older form, viz. *lawmpas*,
the following examples: 'half a pes of *lawmpas*,' and,
volet [piece] of *lawmpas* neu'; both in Testamenta Ebo
censia, i. 130. This is from the F. *lampas*, which see
Littré. I suppose that the M. Du., though probably borrow
from French, has preserved an older form. I suggest t
the original form was *lampers*, and that it is composed of t
word which we spell *lawn* in English, and of the word *pe*
used in Chaucer's Prologue. It may have been spelt *lam*
by confusion with F. *lampas*, a disease of horses. See *Per*

Latch, to moisten. In Shak. M.N.D. iii. 2. 36, we have t
words: "Hast thou yet *latch'd* the Athenian's eyes With t
love-juice, as I did bid thee do?" Here *latch* means
moisten, or to distil drops. Perhaps it should be *letch*; fr
A.S. *leccan*, to moisten, irrigate; from the same root
Swed. *laka*, Dan. *lage*, to distil, also to pickle. Other relat
words are E. Fries. *lekken*, to drop, drip, leak; wher
lek-fat, a vessel to catch drops, answering to prov. E. *lat*
pan, a dripping-pan. The Swed. *laka på*, to put hot wa
into a mashing-tub (Widegren), is precisely the prov.
latch on, to put water on the mash when the first wort l
run off (Halliwell). The prov. E. *latch*, to catch, is fron
different root; but may have influenced the form of the l
common verb. See *Lake*. With the above we may a
compare prov. E. *leche*, a deep rut, used in Yorkshire (Ha
well); also, in the same county, *leck*, to leak, *leck on*, to p
on (obviously the Northern equivalent to *latch on*), *leck off*
drain off; also *letch*, a wet ditch or gutter; and the E
Anglian *letch*, a vessel for making lye. All these are rela
words, from the same root. The Teut. root is LAK, to d
drip; Fick, iii. 261. See my letter on this word in
Academy, May 11, 1889, p. 323.

Lea (1), untilled land. A.S. *léah*; which see in the *A*
Dict. M.E. *ley*, *lay*; see my Dict. Also spelt *ley*, *le*
Often called *lay-land*, whence popular etymology connec
it with the verbs *lay* and *lie*, and with the notion of ly

fallow. Even Stratmann suggests a derivation from *liggen*, to lie; which appears to be wrong. Cognate with O.H.G. *lōh*, and Lat. *lucus*; see Schade. I believe that the account in my Dict. is correct; but I wish to point out the confusion that has arisen from two false connections, viz. one with the verb to *lie*, and another with *lea*, a pasture. See below.

Lea (2), **Lee**, a pasture. I believe that this word is a totally different word from *lea*, untilled land, and has arisen from mere confusion. I take the more correct spelling to be *lee*, and that it is really a mistaken form, due to cutting off the *s* from the word *lees*, a pasture. The correct form is preserved in *Lees*, a place in the N.E. of Staffordshire, and in the surname *Lees*. We have a similar loss of final *s* in *sherry*, *pea*, *Chinee*, *shay* for *chaise*, etc. This I take to be the word used by Gray: 'The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the *lea*,' i.e. over the pasture, not the fallow-land. I write this article chiefly by way of warning to Dr. Murray, believing that the words *lea* and *lees* have been almost inextricably confused. A good example of this is given by Nares. He quotes a passage from W. Browne, containing the word *lease*, a pasture, and remarks that 'the same author, with the carelessness of his time, in p. 66, writes it *leyes*;' whereas the unfortunate culprit is probably right, seeing that *leyes* means *leas*, the plural of *lea*. Nares only quotes one of these passages, but the other is in Richardson. The former passage suggests that *lease* is singular, and speaks of a river's overflow, which "makes that channel which was shepherd's *lease*," i.e. a shepherd's pasture. In the other passage, *leyes* is plural: 'Whilst other lads are sporting on the *leyes*,' Britannia's Pastorals, bk. i. song 3. We get a further trace of *lees*, a pasture, in Cowel's Interpreter; he gives us, s.v. *Ley*, the remark: 'We also term pasture by a frequent name in several counties *leys*, and so it is used in Domesday.' When we get back to the M.E. period, all confusion ceases. *Lea*, fallow-land, is the M.E. *ley*, A.S. *léah*; entered under *leye* in Stratmann. But *lees* or *lese*, pasture, is the M.E. *lese*, or *lesue*, entered under *lesue* in Stratmann; from an A.S. form *lǽs* or *lǽsu*. Of the M.E. form one example may suffice,

viz. from Will. of Palerne, l. 175, where we are told that William learnt 'to kepe alle her bestes, and bring hem in the best *lese*.' The form *leasow*, from the stem of the oblique cases of *lǽsu*, is common in Shropshire, pronounced *lezzer*, glossic [lez·u']. I think there must have been two distinct forms in A.S., both feminine, viz. *lǽs*, gen. *lǽse*, and *lǽsu*, genitive *lǽswe*. In Bosworth's Dictionary, the latter of these forms is not given; but all the examples are entered under *lǽs* only. The nom. pl. *lǽswe*, pascua, is given in Wright's Vocab. 80. 49 (or, ed. Wülker, 325. 25), as well as *lǽsa*, pascua, in Ælfric's Grammar, 13. Somner, in his Dictionary, s.v. *læswe*, shows that he understood the matter; he explains it by '*pascuum*, feeding-ground or pasture, a *leese* or common.' The derived verb is *lǽswian*.

Liana, Liane, a sort of cordage formed by climbing plants. In Stedman's Expedition to Surinam, i. 232, are described the *nebees*, or 'ligneous ropes' that abound on the trees; at p. 231 he speaks of 'the *nebees*, called by the French *liannes*, by the Spaniards *bejucos*, and in Surinam *tay-tay*.' The word is French; see *liane* in Littré. The E. spelling *liana* probably arose from a notion that the word was of Spanish origin, which is not the case.

Limpet. It is now found that this word is of Latin origin. The Lat. *lempreda* is sometimes found as *lempreda* or *lemprida*, and passed into A.S. as *lempedu*. Thus we find the gloss 'lemprida, *lempedu*,' in Wright's A.S. Gloss., ed. Wülker, col. 438, l. 17. The A.S. *emp* passes regularly into *imp*, as in E. *limp*, connected with A.S. *lemp-healt*. This, with loss of the suffix, gave the form *limped*, which naturally became *limpet* by association with the common F. suffix *-et*; cf. also A.S. *abbod* with the E. *abbot*. We still want an example of the M.E. form. *Lamprey* is a doublet, from the French.

Marry Gip. An exclamation in Ben Jonson; see Nares, who speculates wrongly as to its origin. The older phrase is 'By *Mary Gipcy*,' in Skelton, ed. Dyce, vol. i. p. 419, l. 1455. *Gipcy* or *Gipsy* means 'Egyptian,' and *Mary Gip* means St. Mary of Egypt, *Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca*, whose day is April 9. Dyce remarks that this is the origin of *the*

phrases *marry gep, marry gip, marry guep, marry gup.* We even find *marry gap* (Nares). But *guep, gup, gap,* with hard *g,* ought to be separated from *gep, gip=jep, jip.*

Marten. The older form is *martern.* I derive this from O.F. *martre,* with excrescent *n* after *r,* as in *bitter-n* for *bitour.* But the *n* may be adjectival. I find 'couertur *martrin,*' a coverlet made of marten's skins; Rom. of Horn, l. 726 (ed. Brede and Stengel).

Maunder, to drivel. The verb to *maunder* was a cant word, meaning to beg, and occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher; see Nares. Secondly, it meant to grumble, in which sense it also occurs in the same; see Nares. This sense of grumble easily arises from that of whining like a beggar. Thirdly, it came to mean to talk idly, to drivel; not a very different sense. The verb seems to have arisen from the sb. *maunder,* a beggar; so that *to maunder* was to act as a beggar. Again, *maunder,* a beggar (also in Nares) was made from the verb *maund,* to beg, used by Ben Jonson (Nares). Nares suggests that it meant, originally, to beg with a *maund,* or basket, in one's hand for the reception of victuals. This is one of those desperate guesses in which I have no faith. *Maunds* were baskets for flowers, herbs, or household merchandise; and the explanation is very forced. It is much more likely that the verb *to maund* is of F. origin. The F. *mander,* to command, sometimes meant to demand also (see Godefroy). It may easily have been confused with *mendier* (Lat. *mendicare*), to beg; for the O.F. *mendier* was sometimes spelt *mandier,* and the adjectives *mendi,* indigent, and *mendien,* begging, were also spelt *mandi* and *mandien* respectively (Godefroy). Hence I suspect that the E. *maunder* depends upon a confusion of the Lat. verbs *mandare* and *mendicare,* and has nothing at all to do with A.S. *mand,* a basket.

May-weed, a plant; *Matricaria inodora, Anthemis cotula,* etc. I make a note that *May* is here short for *maythe,* A.S. *magepe.* See Britten's Plant-names and the A.S. Dict.

Mazzard, the head (Shakespeare). See Nares, whose suggestion is perfectly right, viz. that it "was made from *mazer*; comparing the head to a large goblet." But, almost

immediately afterwards, Nares quotes two passages in which he says it is "corrupted to *mazer*." Of course these two passages prove the exact contrary, viz. that *mazer* is the original form. The etymology of *mazer* is known; see my Dictionary. Wedgwood takes the same view.

Mean, to moan; Mid. Nt. Dr. v. 330. Ignorantly changed to *moans* in some modern editions; but it is quite right. *Mean* is the A.S. *mǽnan*, to moan; whereas *moan* should answer to a sb. **mán*, as yet undiscovered. So also we say to *feed*, not to *food*. It has the correct vowel-change.

Meese, Mees, a mansion, manse, plow-land, etc. Nares gives a quotation for *meese*, and says it means 'meads' or 'meadows'; but it means 'mansion.' Halliwell gives '*Meese*, a mead, field, or pasture,' which is still worse, and quotes 'a certain toft or *meese-place*.' In Cowel's Interpreter we get a glimpse of the truth; he gives: "*Mease*, messuagium, seemeth to come from the F. *maison*, or rather *meix*, . . interpreted . . *mansus*." He adds, "in some places called corruptly a *Mise* or *Miseplace*.' The hints at F. *meix* and Lat. *mansus* are both right. *Meese* is much the same as *manse*; see Low Lat. *mansus* in Ducange, who remarks that the word is found of all three genders, viz. *mansus*, *manse*, *mansum*. His account is so full that little more need be said. The O.F. forms are various. Cotgrave gives '*mas de terre*, an oxe-gang, etc., having a house belonging to it;' also *meix*, *mex*, with the same sense. Godefroy gives *maise*, *meise*, *meize*, *meyse*, *meze*, *mase*, a herb-garden, habitation, both masc. and fem. The form in Cotgrave is masculine. The masc. forms answer to Lat. *mansus*, *mansum*, the fem. to *mansa*. All from Lat. *manere*, verb. Thus the notion of *meads* or of *mead* is pure fiction. See *Chemis* in N.E.D.

Melocotone, a quince; hence, a peach grafted on a quince. Nares gives the spellings *male-cotoon*, *melicotton*, and explains it as 'a sort of late peach.' His examples shew that it was a kind of peach, and the same is true of the pl. *melocotones* in Bacon's Essay 46. Etymologically, the word means 'quince,' as will appear; but, as the term was applied also to a peach

grafted on a quince, the sense of 'peach' is, apparently, the only one in English authors. Mr. Aldis Wright has kindly helped me with this word, which I at first identified with the Italian form. Mr. Wright says: "It comes from the Span. *melocoton*, which is a peach grafted on a quince. Hence it is sometimes called a yellow peach, and sometimes a yellow quince; so that Nares is right in describing it, though his etymology is naught. [Nares thinks it has to do with *cotton*, which is not the case.] In Percyvall's (1591) and Minsheu's (1599) Spanish Dictionaries *Melocoton* is defined as a peach. In Captain Stevens' it is called 'the melocotone peach,' and he is followed by Pineda and Delpino." Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623) has: '*Melocotón*, a peach.' Pineda (1740) gives two entries: '*Melocoton*, the Melocotone Peach;' and '*Melocoton*, s.m. a yellow quince, or the quince-tree in which the Peach is grafted.' The cognate Italian word is given in Florio (1598); '*Melacotogno*, the fruite wee call a quince;' compounded of *mela*, 'any kinde of apple,' and *cotogno*, a quince. The Low Latin Dict. of Ducange has: '*Cotonum* (or *Cotoneum*) *pomum*, Ital. *cotogno*, F. *coing*,' i.e. a quince. I suppose that *cotoneum* is a mere variant of *cydonium*; see *Quince* in my Dictionary, and in the Supplement to it.

Milk. The A.S. strong verb is not given in Bosworth's Dictionary. But it is duly given in Toller. The verb is *melcan*, pt. t. *mealc*, pp. *molcen*.

Mite, a small coin. I have given the derivation from the M.Du. *mijte*, *myte*. As a fact, I now suppose that we did not take it immediately from Dutch, but from the O F. *mite*, which occurs, according to Godefroy, as early as 1332. He tells us that it was an O.F. name of a Flemish coin.

Molland, high ground. In Halliwell and Wright's additions to Nares. It stands for *moor-land*.

Montanto, Montant, terms in fencing. Ben Jonson has *montanto*, and Shakespeare *montant*; see Nares. Schmidt says the latter is the F. *montant*, which Cotgrave explains by 'an upright blow or thrust.' I draw attention to the form *montanto*, to remark that it is not Italian, but Spanish, and a

corruption of *montante*, just as *tomato* is of the Span. *tomate*. Minsheu's Span. Dict. gives: *montante*, 'a two-handed sword.' The Span. *montar* means 'to mount a horse'; so *montante* is a 'mounting-sword,' *i.e.* a horseman's sword. A two-handed sword is just suited for a horseman, and its best use is to cut straight downwards. Hence Span. *montante* and F. *montant* meant 'a downright blow,' which is precisely what Cotgrave meant by 'upright blow.'

Monnets. Halliwell and Wright's additions to Nares quote a passage from Saunders' Physiognomie (1653) to this effect. 'Little ears denote a good understanding, but they must not be of those ears which, being little, are withall deformed, which happens to men as well as cattel, which for this reason they call *monnets*; for such ears signifie nothing but mischief and malice.' The explanation given is 'small deformed ears,' which is palpably wrong; the context clearly shews that the term was applied to *cattle* that had small deformed ears. What is the precise joke I do not quite understand; but I believe that the word is simply the O.F. *monnet*, variant of *moinet*, a monk, dimin. of *moine*. We also find the fem. *moinette*, a nun. The tonsure gave a peculiar look to the head and ears.

Not-pated, having the hair cut short; 1 Hen. IV. ii. 4. 78. Schmidt is in some doubt as to the sense; but there need be none. See *Nott*, *Nott-pated* in Nares, who says that it is from the verb 'to *nott*, to shear or poll, which is from the Saxon *hnot*, meaning the same.' He has got the right idea but gives it the wrong way about; and it is extraordinary to find him speaking of the A.S. *hnot* as being a verb. The A.S. *hnot* is an adjective, meaning close-cut or shaven; hence *not-pated* is formed at once, without any verb at all. Final the verb to *not* or *nott* is formed from the adjective, and is a much later word. I find no example of it in M.E. For the adjective, see *hnot* in Stratmann.

Omelet. Spelt *aumelette* in the Gazophylacium Anglicanum, 1689. A cross-reference for this spelling is not given in N.E.D.; but is important for the etymology, as it is spelt *aumelette* also in Cotgrave. See my Dictionary.

Ostrich. There is an early example of this word in 'plumes d'*oustrich*'; Testamenta Eboracensia, i. 227; A.D. 1398.

Pers, blueish gray; also, a thin stuff of that colour. M.E. *pers*, Chaucer, Prol. 439. From O.F. *pers*, blueish gray, in Bartsch's Chrestomathie. Low Lat. *persus*, *perseus*, blueish; see Ducange. And see *pers* in Littré. It seems to have denoted all kinds of blueish colours; and, according to Ducange, alluded to the colour of the peach. It came to mean quite a dark blue, quite the colour of indigo. Florio, s.v. *perso*, says it meant 'a darke, broune, black mourning colour. Some take it to be properlie the colour of dead marierom [marioram]; for *Persa* is marierom. Some have vsed it for peach-colour.' He also gives *persa*, 'the herbe Margerome.' The flowers of marjoram are purple. The words relating to colours are usually very vague. In Ælfric's Glossary, we find: '*perseus*, blæwen,' i.e. blueish; see Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülker, col. 163, l. 29. In any case, it is highly probable that the word is ultimately derived from the name of the country which we call *Persia*.

Picaninny, Pickaninny, a negro or mulatto infant. Webster guesses this to be from Span. *picade niño*, which gives no sense; I can only find *picado*, pricked, stung. Following this, Ogilvie makes a better guess, viz. from Span. *pequeno niño*, i.e. young child. But I doubt this too, in some measure. I find that J. G. Stedman, who wrote an Expedition to Surinam in 1796, tells us, in vol. ii. p. 257, that he considered himself to be a perfect master of the language spoken by the black people in Surinam. In fact, he married a mulatto woman of unusually fine character, who saved his life, by careful nursing, three several times. He tells us that, in this dialect of the slaves, the word for 'small' was *peekeen*, and for 'very small' was *peekeeneenee*, vol. ii. p. 258. The word is obviously a diminutive of Span. *pequeño*, small; so that *niño*, a child, has nothing to do with it. The Span. diminutive suffixes are numerous, and words involving them may be formed at fancy. Del Mar's Span. Grammar (Lecture 7) gives the masc. suffixes *-in*, *-illo*, *-ito*, *-ico*, etc.; so that *pequeñin* is a possible form; fem. *pequeñina*.

Pompelmoose, Pomplemoose, a shaddock. We learn from Stedman's Expedition to Surinam, i. 22, that this is merely the Surinam name for the shaddock. Ogilvie says the name is 'probably of Eastern origin.' As Surinam is in Dutch Guiana, I suspect that the Eastern language from which it is derived is Dutch. The shaddock is something like a huge orange; cf. Du. *pompoen*, a pumpkin, borrowed from F. *pompon*. The Du. *moes* means greens or potherbs; Hexham explains it by 'pottage or pulse.' I think these words may give the clue. See *Shaddock*.

Pull. Somner gives the A.S. *pullian*, without a reference. There are two references for it in Bosworth and Toller's Dict.

Puss, a cat. Mr. Wedgwood cites Du. *poes*, puss; Low G. *puus*, a call-name for a cat; Low G. *puus-katte, puus-mau*, a pussy-cat; Lith. *puš, puiš*, a call-name for a cat; and suggests that it was originally a cry to call or drive away a cat, from an imitation of the noise made by a cat spitting. In any case it was probably imitative. I wish to add that we also find Norweg. *puse, puus*, a call-name for a cat; Swedish dial. *pus, katte-pus, kisse-pus*, a cat. Hexham gives M.Du. *poesen*, to kisse, or to busse, which is also imitative. Cf. also *buss*. Aasen also gives Norweg. *purre*, a call-name for a cat; evidently related to E. *purr*.

Quassia. We are told that *quassia* was named after a certain negro known as Graman Quacy. The standard passage is the following: "But besides these, and many other artful contrivances, he had the good fortune, in 1730, to find out the valuable root known by the name of the *Quaciæ bitter*, of which he was actually the first discoverer, and from which it took its name. . . . It has this valuable property, that of being a powerful *febrifuge*, and may be successfully used when the bark is nauseated, as is frequently the case. In 1761 it was made known to *Linnæus* by Dr. *d'Ahlberg*, formerly mentioned; and the Swedish naturalist has since written a treatise upon it. By this drug alone *Quacy* might have amassed riches, were he not entirely abandoned to indolence and dissipation," etc. (1796), J. G. Stedman, Expedition to Surinam, ii. 347. Stedman knew

im, and drew his portrait, which is engraved in the book ; p. 348, with the title, 'The celebrated Graman Quacy.' 'raman is a negro corruption of grand man or of great man. e must have been born about 1700, as he could remember aving acted as drummer in 1712. He was born in Guinea, id carried off to Surinam as a slave; but he obtained his eedom, and amassed a competent living by practising as a edicine-man and selling amulets. Stedman saw him in 777, when he must have been nearly 80 years old; but 'uacy could not tell the year of his own birth.

Quean, a wench. Mr. Mayhew draws my attention to the istake I have made in confusing this word with *queen*. he E. *queen* is the A.S. *cwén* (for **cwōni*), cognate with O. ax. *quán* (for **quāni*), from primitive Teut. **kwēniz*, whence lso Goth. *kwens*, strong sb. fem., a woman. See Sievers, ram. § 68, note 1. The E. *quean* is the A.S. *cwene* (with hort *e*, but marked long by mistake in Bosworth), O.Sax. *uena*, O.H.G. *quena*, Goth. *kwino*, weak sb. fem.; primitive 'eut. **kwenōn*; see Brugmann, § 437, *a*. The short *e* in the pen syllable of the A.S. *cwe-ne* regularly gave rise to a long pen *e*, represented by *ea* in Tudor English; whence our resent spelling.

Refit. See *Fit* (above).

Reveille. I have already noted that this word represents the F. imper. pl. *réveillez*; see Phil. Soc. Trans. 1885–6, p. 321. I now add that I have received the following note from M. H. Gaidoz: 'C'est évidemment le premier mot d'une aubade, et une abréviation, par apocope, de *réveillez-vous*. Je me souviens d'un couplet de ce genre que j'ai entendu hanter dans mon enfance (il rime par assonance):

Réveillez vous, belle endormie!
Réveillez vous, car il fait jour!
Mettez la tête
A la fenêtre,
Vous entendrez parler de vous!'

N.B.—This verse is quoted by Dryden, *The Assignation*, ii. sc. 3, with *Eveillez* for *Réveillez*; also *belles endormies*; *est jour*; and *d'amour* for *de vous*.

a circlet (Shakespeare). Nares refers us to the Ital. it does not give us the etymology of that word, nor well explain it. It is certainly the same word. o has: '*Rigolo*, a little wheel under a sledge, called a also a rolling round log, as they use in gardens to allies,' *i.e.* a garden-roller. A truck is a small wheel d of a solid disc. The word is allied to *regola*, and ed from the Lat. *regula*, which not only meant a rule, a a measuring rod, but also a disc of an oil-press; see is and Short. In Italian, the use of *ri-* for *re-* is very mon.

Robbins. Phillips, ed. 1706, gives '*Robbins*, *Robins*, i in affairs, certain small ropes that are reeved, or put throug gh velet-holes of the sail, under the head-ropes, and serve to make fast, or tie the sails to the yards.' It is a corrupti ion of *Ro-bands*, where *ro* is the E. form answering the Lowl. Sc. *ra* or *rai*. In the Compl. of Scotland, ed. Murray, p. 40, we find: 'than the maister . . . cryit, tua men abufe to the mane *ra*, cut the *rai-bandis*,' etc. The word is comm non Teutonic, viz. Icel. *rá*, Swed. *rå*, Dan. *raa*, E. Fries. *rá* (Koolman), G. *rahe*, meaning 'a yard' of a ship; and the compound occurs in E. Fries. *rå-band*, Dan. *raaband*, Sw ed. *råband*, which Widegren explains by 'rope-band.' The E. form would be *ro-band*, though we have no early examp le of it; probably because the old form **ro* was displaced by 'yard.' That the E. word once had a long *o*, is shown by its corruption into *rope-band*; and the reason why I here make a note of the true etymology is because both Webster and the Imperial Dictionary actually take the corrupted form *rope-band* as the true original! This corrupt form occurs, as noted above, in Widegren (1788), who says he took it from Croker, *i.e.* the Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by the Rev. H. T. Croker (1766). *Ro* or *ra* may be from a Teut. root RAH; Fick, iii. 250. Cf. Skt. *rach*, to arrange, compose.

Scamble, to struggle (Shakespeare). To *scamble* is probably allied to *scamper* and *shamble*. See *Shamble* in my Dictionary.

Scour, to run hastily over; in the phrase '*scour* the country.' I think this is quite distinct from the common

verb to *scour*, though the Dictionaries confuse them. The phrase is old. Jamieson refers us to Blind Harry's Wallace, vii. 795–7: 'The spy he send, the entre for to se; Apon the moss a *scurrour* sone fand he; To *scour* the land Makfadzane had him send.' Jamieson dismisses the right etymology in favour of the common one, which connects it with the ordinary verb *scour*. But the use of the sb. *scurrour*, as the name of the person who *scours*, gives us the right clue at once; and there is no difficulty. It is from the O.F. *escorre*, *escourre*, to run; Lat. *excurrere*, to run out, to make excursions. For the sense, cf. Lat. *excursor*, a scout, spy; the precise sense of *scurrour*. Hence, in Pope's famous line—'Not so, when swift Camilla *scours* the plain'—my belief is that the lady merely made a swift excursion, and that there is no reference whatever to her use of a scrubbing-brush. I may add that there are two F. verbs spelt *escourre*; Cotgrave gives the other one, from Lat. *excutere*.

Scur, Skirr, to run rapidly over. Shak. has '*skirr* the country round.' *i.e.* run rapidly round the country; see Schmidt on Macb. v. 3. 35. Beaumont and Fletcher spell it *scur*, in the phrase '*scur* o'er the fields of corn'; Bonduca, Act i. sc. 1. Webster refers us to the verb to *scour*, to which I do not object; but he mixes up the two verbs of this form, and then, to add to the confusion, gives two etymologies. For *scour*, in the sense to run rapidly, he refers us to the Low G. *schüren*, and there is also an E Fries. *scheren* with much the same sense. But both these references are useless. The word is not Teutonic at all, but French, and I have explained it above. The verb to *scur* plainly goes with the sb. *scurrour*, a scout, in Blind Harry, spelt *scurrer* in Berners; see *Scur* in Richardson. The frequentative form is *scurry*, used in North's Plutarch, p. 862 (Richardson). I suggest that the *ou* in *scour* is long, as representing the O.F. verb *escourre*; whilst the *u* in *scur* is short, as being associated with the M.E. *scurrour* above. See *Scour*.

Shaddock. In Stedman's Expedition to Surinam (1796), i. 22, is the remark: 'I was particularly struck with the *shaddock* and awara; the former of these, which is of a very

agreeable flavour, between a sweet and an acid, is produced from a tree supposed to be transplanted from the coast of Guinea, by a Captain *Shaddock*, whose name it still retains throughout the English West India islands, but is called *pompelmoose* in Surinam.' Guinea may be an error for China, as that seems to be the real home of the tree. See *Pompelmoose*. I have enquired in Notes and Queries for the date at which Captain Shaddock lived, but the only answer was, that he is mentioned, in connection with the fruit, in Sir Hans Sloane's Hist. of Jamaica, 1709–25. Perhaps he lived in the seventeenth century.

Share, the fork of the legs. A provincial word; see Nares and Halliwell. The A.S. form is *sceare*, not in Bosworth's Dictionary; but at p. lxxii of Cockayne's Leechdoms, vol. i., we find Lat. *inguinam* (*sic*), glossed by *þa sceare*. At p. lxxiv, l. 30, it occurs again, spelt *scare*.

Shire. The usual connection of this word with the verb to *shear* must be given up. The *i* was originally long; cf. 'procuratio, *sciir*'; Corpus Gloss., 1625. There are, also, two forms; viz. *scīr*, fem., gen. *scīre*, which is the usual form, and the weak fem. *scīre*, gen. *scīran*. There is a good account of these in Schmid's ed. of the A.S. Laws; Gloss. p. 651. The earliest occurrence of the word is in the A.S. Chron. s.v. 709, where the pl. *biscop-scīra* means 'bishop-provinces,' *i.e.* dioceses. The word *scīr* also means 'care' or 'business'; we even find *ágif þine scíre*, give an account of thy stewardship, and the compound *tún-scíre*, lit. 'town-business,' *i.e.* business of the farm, both in Luke xvi. 2. The Northumbrian text has *groefscire* as a gloss to 'uilicationis,' and the verb *gescira* as a gloss to 'uilicare.' The corresponding O.H.G. word is *scira*, care, employment; see Schade. The A.S. *scirian* is to distribute, impart, appoint, allot; it is given by Grein under *scerian*, a spelling which does not occur amongst his eight examples. All the evidence leads us away from the verb to *shear*, and suggests a base of the form SKÎR, meaning perhaps to appoint or allot. It is remarkable that the G. *Schirrmeister* sometimes has the sense of 'steward.' This word is related to G. *Geschirr*, implements, harness, gear; an obscure word.

Skirr. See *Scur*.

Skirret, Skerret, a plant closely allied to the water-parsnep. Britten (Plant-names) says it is the *Sium sisarum*, often called *water-parsnep*, though the latter is the *Sium latifolium* or *angustifolium*. M.E. *skyrwyt*; in Wright's Vocab. 567. 31 and 41, and 580. 38. Webster considers this word to be a contraction of *sugar-root*, which I believe to be a mistake; I also think he is mistaken in supposing that *skirret* is short for *skir-wort*. On the contrary, *skir-wort*, occurring in Gerarde's Herbal, is probably due to a popular etymology of the *cray-fish* character, which delights in putting a sense into *half* the word, irrespective of the other half. The M.E. form *skyrwyt* goes to shew that this is so. We do, indeed, find that the Dutch for 'skirret' is *suiker-wortel*, the German *sucker-wurzel*, and the Swedish *socker-rot*, but I suppose that these forms arose from a popular etymology, or else have nothing to do with *skirret*. The change from Du. *suiker-wortel* to M.E. *skyrwyt* is too violent, and we should never have taken it from Swedish. Much more likely, the M.E. *skyrwyt* was a bad adaptation of the O.F. name for it; the form *eschervis* is given by Godefroy. The Mod. F. form is *chervis*, and Cotgrave has: '*Chervis*, the root *skirret* or *skir-wicke*.' The F. *eschervis* may have been taken from the Span. *chirrivia*, and both from the Arab. *karawīa*, the identical word which has also produced F. *carvi* and E. *caraway*. This is the opinion of Scheler and Devic, s.v. *chervis*. The fact of an Arabic origin accounts for the strange forms which the word assumed. Moreover, the plant is foreign, being a native of China, Corea, Japan, etc.

Sounder, a herd of wild swine; see Nares. Neither Webster nor Ogilvie give the etymology. The fact is, that the word is slightly disguised by the insertion of an excrescent *d* (as in *sound* from F. *son*). The Old Northumbrian form is *sunor*; see Luke viii. 32 in the Lindisfarne MS., where it translates Lat. *grex*; cf. O. Mercian *suner*, Matt. viii. 32, in the Rushworth MS. The word even found its way, from English, into Anglo-French. I find "un *sundre* de pors," a sounder of pigs, in the A.F. version of Horn, l. 4658.

Sparver, the canopy or tester of a bed; Nares. Nares could not find it in any Dictionary; it may now be found in Godefroy's O.F. Dict., s.v. *espervier*.

Stalwart. Formerly *stalworth*. The solution of A.S. *stælwyrð* is given by Sievers, O.E. Grammar, ed. 1887, § 202 (3), note 2, p. 106. The *æ* has been shortened before the following *lw*, as in *Acton* from A.S. *āc-tūn*; and *stæl* is a contraction for *staðel*, *staðol*, a foundation. Cf. *gestælan* in Grein, short for *gestaðelian*, to found, establish. So also M.E. *melen*, to speak, answers to A.S. *mælan*, which may be short for *mæðlan*. *Stalwart* means, accordingly, 'foundation-worthy,' *i.e.* firm, steadfast.

Stammer. The Dictionaries do not give us the A.S. form of this verb, which is *stomrian*. 'Me thinceth thæt me stomrige tunge *stomrige*,' it seems to me that my tongue stammers;' Cockayne's Shrine, p. 42, l. 3 from bottom.

Stop. Some Dictionaries give an A.S. *forstoppian* or *forstoppan*, but without a reference. The imp. s. *forstoppa*, stop up, occurs in Cockayne's Leechdoms, ii. 42. It is, however, of Lat. origin. The legal word *estop* is from A.F. *estoper*, also from Latin; see Gloss. to Britton.

Stour, a conflict. This is M.E. *stour*, occurring in Chaucer's Monk's Tale, C.T. Group B, 3560; and still earlier, ab. 1330, in Specimens of English, part 2, p. 91, l. 55. From A.F. *estur*, O.F. *estour*, a conflict, combat, attack; also spelt *estor*, and earlier *estorn*. The form *estorn* is altered from **estorm*; cf. Ital. *stormo*, 'a noise, a storme, a vprore, an hurlyburly, a broile, a quoil,' Florio. See also *estour* in Cotgrave, who gives as one sense 'an assault upon a town,' which is a sense found also in E. *storm*. Hence the derivation is from a Germanic form *storm*, as seen in A.S. and O.S. *storm*, Icel. *stormr*, a storm, also, a conflict. See *Sturm* in Kluge and Schade, and *stormo* in Diez. The loss of *m* after *r* in French, at the end of a word, is regular; thus the Lat. *uermem* gives Ital. *verme*, F. *ver*, a worm; see Schwan, Gram. des Altfr. p. 62, § 219. In the A.F. Romance of Horn, l. 1624, we have *lestur*, the conflict; and, in l. 1572, *la uile est esturmie*, the town is stormed.

Transom. I have suggested that E. *transom* is a corrup-on of Lat. *transtrum*. This is verified by the following ıtries in Florio (1598): '*Transtri*, crosse or over-thwart ɜames, *transtroms*.' And again—'*Trasti* . . . Also a *tran-me* or beame going crosse a house.' Torriano, s.v. *transtri*, ives the spelling *transom*.

Twitch. Somner gives no reference for the A.S. *twiccian*; e find, however, the pt. pl. *twiccedan*, in the Shrine, ed. ockayne, p. 41, l. 2. Also the pr. s. *twiccaþ*, in Wright's Voc. ed. Wülker, 533. 37.

Tybalt, prince of cats (Shakespeare). The allusion is to *Tybert* or *Tibert*, the name of the cat in Reynard the Fox. take *Tybalt* to be a shorter form of *Theobald*, which again short for *Theodbald*. The variant *Thetbald* occurs as the ıthor of *Physiologus*, of which the English Bestiary is a ınslation. The A.S. form is *Théodbald*, which occurs in ɜda, Hist. Eccl. bk. i. c. 34. It is spelt *Teodbald* in the .S. Chron. an. 1140. Bardsley's English Surnames gives ɜ old spellings *Thebold*, *Thebald*, *Tebald*, *Tebaud*, *Tibaud*, *Tibot*, and the modern *Tibbald*, *Tibbat*, *Tebbot*, etc.

Vagrant. I once suggested that *vagrant* is a corruption of ɜ A.F. *wakerant*, wandering. I now find that this A.F. ɔrd is the very word used to denote *vagrants*, in the Liber Albus, ed. Riley, p. 275, in the Statute "De *Wakerauntz* par ɔet," *i.e.* concerning vagrants by night.

WORDS DISCUSSED:—chess, cieling, clever, coble, cosset, costrel, cot, cot-lamb, ıck, crnier (crare), cross, cudgel, cullis, dogger, dot, draught-house, draughts, ıd-stool, fanteague, firk, fit, fives, flabbergast, flaw, furlong, gallant, gambeson, ınbol, garnep, gay, ghoul, gigging, gite, glory (hand of), goluptious, gourd, ıe, havoc, hog, ill, ive, jay, lake, lampas, lampers, latch, lea (1), lea (2), liana, ı pet, marry gip, marten, maunder, may-weed, mazzard, mean (moan), meese, ɜlocotone, milk, mite, molland, montanto, monnets, not-pated, omelet, ostrich, rs, picaninny, pompelmoose, pull, puss, quassia, quean, refit, reveille, rigol, bbins, scamble, scour, scur, shaddock, share, shire, skirr, skirret, sounder, ırver, stalwart, stammer, stop, stour, transom, twitch, Tybalt, vagrant.

XVIII.—ON LATIN CONSONANT-LAWS. By E. R. WHARTON, M.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, December* 20, 1889.)

(1) COMPARATIVE Etymology is so complex a science that not even a work of genius like Brugmann's 'Grundriss' can exhaust all the problems that arise. We may here confine ourselves to points in the Latin consonant-system in which Brugmann's remarks may be supplemented by fresh ideas, or in which he has too hastily adopted the views of other philologists, or in which—and this is the one defect of his system—he has paid too little attention to the influence of dialect. Latin, like every other language, at least every written language, is a congeries of dialects, each with phonetic laws of its own: no one of the classical Roman writers except Caesar was by birth a Roman, and each doubtless imported traces of his own native idiom, Livy his 'Patavinity,' Catullus his (apparently Gaulish) *bāsium gingīva salīva*.—The references are to the sections of vol. i. of the 'Grundriss.' The references to the Romance languages are from Gröber's articles in Wölfflin's 'Archiv.' 'B.' denotes Bezzenberger's 'Beiträge.' The letters are taken in the following order: Semivowels (**j**, **v**), Liquids (**m**, **n**, **l**, **r**), Mutes (labials, dentals, palatal and velar gutturals), and the Sibilant (**s**). Letters of the 'Ursprache' are given in capitals.

(2) Initial J drops before **i**, *dējiciō* and other compounds of *jaciō* are properly spelt *dēiciō*, etc. So, I would suggest,

iciō 'strike' stands for *jiciō from *jeciō or (with 'pretonic' **a**, 'Latin Vocalism,'[1] sec. 5) *jaciō* 'throw' (for the meaning cf.

[1] I may be permitted to append a note on some points in that essay. Sec. 2, for *similis* read *simplex*: sec. 3 fin., on *calix* see 'Loanwords in Latin' 10. Sec. 6, *aboleō* etc. from *alō* are 'survivals' of the older spelling, in which the unaccented vowel became **o** (*oppodum Hecoba marmor*), later **ū**.—The change from **u** to **o** was apparently rustic, Cato has *jogālis* beside *jugum*. Sec. 7 fin., add *sevērus*, from SEGV-, see sec. 8 of this essay. Sec. 8, **enc** appears in *juvencus*: the **a** in *nanciscor* is pretonic. *Congius* shows that **o** may remain before **n**, and that *longus* is pure Latin. Sec. 10, *foetus* is post-classical for *fētus*, root DHĒ-, cf. *fēlō* 'suck': the **oe** in *foedus* 'dirty' and *soera*, **ū** in *fūscus sūra*, may be from **oi**. Sec. 13, to the instances of **ī** from **ē** add *occīdō* (Plautus) beside *occēdō* 'go

βάλλω, which means both 'throw' and 'strike'): Lucretius' *īcit* and *īcimur* borrow their long vowel from *eicit* (a disyllable in 3. 877) for *ējicit*:

igitur 'therefore' means properly 'it is added,' and stands for *jigitur from *jugitur, an 'Aoristic' form of *jungitur* (as *tagō* of *tangō*):

bīgae 'pair of horses' for *bi-igae comes from a form *igum (cf. Old Slavonic *igo*) for *jigum from *jugum* 'yoke'; while *bi-jugus* comes straight from *jugum*:

Īverna 'Ireland' in Mela beside *Jūverna* in Juvenal points to an intermediate form *Jīverna.

So New Umbrian *ivengar* 'juvencae' is for *jivengar from *juvengar.

(3) Original J[1] between vowels drops out (134); but in three cases it remains, lengthening (see Seelmann 'Aussprache' p. 104) the vowel before it:

(*α*) in onomatopoeic words, *ēja* (so it should be written, not *eia*: a diphthong *ei-* is unknown to classical Latin) and its derivative *ējulō* 'I wail':

(*β*) in Reduplication: I would derive

jējentō 'I breakfast' (for *ji-jentô, the second j changing the i to e) from *jantō* (another form of the word, see Nettleship's 'Contributions to Latin Lexicography': the third form, *jentō*, is a blending of the two preceding forms, it owes its e to the reduplicated form), which is, I would suggest, from *jam* in the sense of 'at once,' breakfast being a meal taken immediately on rising:

jējūnus 'fasting' (for *ji-jū-nus) beside Sanskrit *yu-* 'to bind,' cf. our 'fast' in the sense of abstinence beside 'fast' in the sense of fixt, strict (see Skeat):

to meet,' and *sīn-ciput* from *sēmi-*. The ū from ō was really (cf. sec. 2 fin.) ū̄, representable by ī, *sīspes* from *sōspes* and (I would suggest) *renīdeō* 'show the teeth' from *nūdus* i.e. *nōdus, *nō(g)vidus, Lithuanian *nūgas*. *Jōcundus* (Catullus) comes from *jovô*, the older form (preserved in Faliscan) of *juvō*. Sec. 14, *plērus* goes with *pleō* 'I fill' (Festus quotes *plentur*).

[1] As distinguished from j before which a g has dropped, *mājor ājō*. So *bōja* (as it should be written, not *boia*) 'collar of wood, iron, or leather' (Facciolati) may = *bog-ja, though the derivation is quite unknown: the sense, as well as the form, is against any connexion with *βόειος*, quasi 'of cowhide.'—I may observe that c before j becomes g and drops: *pējor* = *pegjor or *pec-jor from *pecō*, *pūlējum* 'fleabane' = *pūlegjum (cf. the late form *pulegium*) or *pūlec-jum from *pūlex* 'flea,' and, I would add, *bājulus* 'porter' = *bagjulus or *bac-ju-lus beside *baculum* 'staff' ('supporter') and Hesychius' *βάκτης* 'strong.'

(γ) in terminations, e.g. *plēbējus* (so it must be spelt, not *plēbeius*), *ējus* (whatever the origin of the termination here).

(**4**) Medial DJ in Latin became **di**, e.g. *acupedius* (135): prima facie we should expect initial DJ to be treated in the same way, and there is really no proof that it ever became J. Brugmann's only instance is *Jovis* beside *Ζεύς* (for **Διεύς*); but (1) in no other case does the Latin name of a deity correspond with the Greek name, *Jūnō* cannot go with *Ἥρη* nor *Neptūnus* with *Ποσειδῶν*, and (2) the spellings *Diovis* for *Jovis* (Gellius 5. 12. 8 derives both 'juvando'), *Diuturna* for *Jūturna* (Stolz, 'Lateinische Grammatik' 66[1]), only prove that in some sub-dialect initial **j** was pronounced like English **d** in *dew*, as in a late inscription (Seelmann p. 239) we have *codiugi* for *co(n)jugi*.—How DJ could become **j** in *Jovis* (135) but **di** in *diēs* (188), Brugmann does not explain; not to add that inscriptions and the Romance languages prove the **i** in *diēs* to have been properly long (which does away with the connexion with Sanskrit *dyāus* 'sky, day').

(**5**) The existence of a 'spirant' J (our authorities do not tell us how they would have us pronounce it), distinct from the original semivowel J, is neither proved nor probable. Greek in some six words[2] represents original initial J by ζ, *ζειά ζέω ζημία ζυγόν ζύμη ζώνη* go with Sanskrit *yavas yas- yam- yugam yūshas* and Zend *yāh*. respectively; but in these words I would rather suggest the presence of some alien language, the ζ need no more be original than Lat. **dj** for **j** in *Diovis* (above). A peculiarity confined to one out of the eight branches of the Aryan family—and in all the other branches this 'spirant' J is treated in just the same way as the ordinary semivowel J—may fairly be assigned to foreign influence.

(**6**) Latin V, whether original or from GV, after **ŭ** remains **i** in

[1] Stolz adds *Dianus* (in an inscription) for *Jānus*; but in *Diānus* the **i** must have been long, as it was in *Diāna*.

[2] To these I would add the terminational -ζε 'at' (in ἔραζε χαμᾶζε 'on the ground,' θύραζε 'to the door,' Ἀθήναζε 'to Athens') or -ζην (in Thucydides' βύζην 'closely') beside Latin *jam* 'now, *at* this time.' The common view is that θύραζε stands for *θύρας-δε, and that ἔραζε χαμᾶζε follow its analogy: but (1) no instance of ζ from **zd** is worth much, ὄζος (593) may go with Lithuanian *ŭgis* (B.B. 4. 359), ἵζω for *ἕζω is no more strange than ἵππος beside *equus* (in which Brugmann 387, sees nothing surprising), Διόζοτος is only a Boeotian form for Διόσδοτος (Gustav Meyer 'Griechische Grammatik' [2] 283), and (2) 'analogy' hardly enables us to conceive a *Plural* from ἔρα, a form *ἔρας-δε becoming ἔραζε (or *χαμᾶς-δε becoming χαμᾶζε).

classical Latin only if **j** precede, *juvenis juvó*, or if **i** from original J follow, *exuviae fluvius* (cf. Vergil's *fluvjorum*) *pluvius puviō* ('strike,' Festus); otherwise it drops, *exuō fluō pluit*, *duo* beside Umbrian *tuva*, *dēnuō* for *de novo* (modern Latin, not classical), *viduus* from *viduvus for *videvos (cf. ἠίθεος, i.e. *ἠ-ϝίθεϝος). So *sovos* beside ἑ(ϝ)ός became *suvus and then *suus*, *tovos beside τε(ϝ)ός became *tuvus and then *tuus*, *pover* (Corssen 'Aussprache'[2] 1. p. 362) became *puver and then *puer*.

(7) The assimilation of V to a preceding L (170) must have been Oscan: *sollus* 'whole' (Oscan according to Festus) must= *solvus and go with οὖλος (i.e. *ὄλϝος). So *mella* for *melva from *medva seems to go with μέθυ 'wine' and Lithuanian *medus* 'honey' (Stokes, Neoceltic Verb Substantive, p. 7); *mollis* is for *molvis, see sec. 21; *palleō* for *palveō goes with Anglosaxon *fealu* 'yellow' and English *fallow*. So, I would suggest, the late form *mīlliō* 'a kind of hawk' beside *mīlvus* 'kite' must stand for *mīlviō: for the terminations cf. *pūmiliō* beside *pūmilus*.

(8) The fortunes of V after D or S (170, cf. Fröhde in B.B. 14. 108–113) are very complex, and show the influence of several different dialects.

(*a*) **dv-** might either remain or become **du-** or **d-** or **b-**. Thus:

dvellum (Plautus) becomes in Ennius and Horace *duellum* (in Cicero and Livy we may of course read the word either way), in ordinary Latin *bellum*:

**dvis* (corresponding to δίς) becomes in Festus *duis* (his words, 'et pro δίς ponebatur et pro dederis,' show that he took it as a disyllable), in ordinary Latin *bis*: the older form was *dis*, which remains in compounds to denote 'division,' and with it go (I would suggest) *dē* 'from' (denoting 'separation') and *dīrus* 'evil' ('different' from what should be), while *dēs* (Varro L.L. 5. 172) and *dīmus* (Stolz 66) were the older forms of *bēs* and *bīmus*:

dvonus (so apparently in early inscriptions; there is no proof that it was ever a trisyllable) became in ordinary Latin *bonus*. The derivation of both this and *dvellum* is wholly unknown, no etymology yet given is worth reviving.

Similarly medial **dv** became **du** (cf. *duellum duis* above) in *arduus* beside Sanskrit *ūrdhvas* (Brugmann should not, 306, have added ὀρθός, as this stands for *ϝορθός, Gustav Meyer 9): *svāvis* (cf.

ἡδύς) must be dialectic for *svābis, as *svādvis would become in ordinary Latin.

(β) sv- might either remain or become su- or s-. It remains in (a) *svāvis* (as it must be written), which becomes *suāvis* (trisyllabic) in Sedulius (fifth century of our era) and the Romance languages, while a form *sāvis appears in *sāvillum* 'cake of flour, cheese and honey,' and *sāvium* 'kiss' (also spelt *svāvium*), a popular perversion of *vāsium (see sec. 16) or *bāsium* (itself apparently Gaulish, 'Loanwords in Latin' 12), as though from *svāvis*; and (b) the Reflexive Pronoun Adjective *svos* (answering to ὅς 'his,' as *sovos* does to ἑός, i.e. *ἑϝός: Lucretius has *svēmus* from *svos*, while *suēmus suēvī suētus* are from *suus*) in Plautus, cf. Lucr. l. 1022 *svō*, while Festus quotes old forms *sam sās sīs* from it.—In all other words the v drops, leaving however a trace of its presence in the change of ĕ to ŏ, *socer* beside ἑκυρός (172. 3[1]): *sē* 'himself' is for *svē (cf. Sanskrit *sva-*), *sī* for *svī (Oscan *svai*, 'Latin Vocalism' 15), *sordēs* for *svordēs (the *or* representing a 'sonant' r: the fuller form SVARD- appears in *svāsum* 'dark colour,' sec. 15, cf. Gothic *svarts* 'black,' and, I would add, ἄρδα 'dirt').

(9) In (apparently) the popular dialect vi when unaccented (i.e. when not in the initial syllable) fell out, wholly or partially but why sometimes wholly, *amāstī* from *amāvistī*, *trahō* from *trāvehō*, sometimes partially, *claudō* from *clāvidō (cf. *clāvis*), *gaudeō* from *gāvideō (cf. the Participle *gāvīsus*), our authorities do not stop to explain. I can only suggest that the older dialect changed āvi to au, *claudō gaudeō* (*clāvis gāvīsus* must belong to some other dialect), the later to ā, *amāstī trahō* (from *trāhō, an intermediate *h* not preventing the usual shortening of vowel before vowel).

(10) To Brugmann's instances (208) of the change of MJ to ni I would add *lanius* 'butcher,' one who breaks up meat, from a root LAM- 'to break,' which appears in Old Slavonic *lomiti* 'to break,' English *lame* ('broken') and the slang verb *lamm* 'to beat' (for which Johnson quotes Beaumont and Fletcher).

(11) MN is a favourite combination in Latin, e.g. *alumnus lāmina*:

[1] *Sevērus* 'stern' ('fixt') must go with Lithuanian *segu* 'I fix,' not with σέβω 'I worship' (as though this were from *σϝέγϝω), or we should have *sovērus. *Sex* is not for *svex (170), it has not lost a v any more than ā̆ξ or Gothic *saihs* has, though there are perplexing by-forms SVEKS (Welsh *chwech*), VEKS (Fέξ and Armenian *veths*), and KVSVEKS (Zend *khshvash*).

its change to **nn** must be dialectic, cf. Umbrian *une* (for *unne) beside *umne* 'unguent.' In Varro L.L. 5. 168 for *scamnum* one manuscript has *scannum*; *ante-mna* 'yard-arm' ('opposite' the mast, *ante*, cf. ἀντί 'against') and *soll-emnis* 'appointed' (from *sollus* 'whole,' see sec. 7, + *amnus 'circuit,' Oscan *amno-*) are also written *antenna* and *sollennis*.

(**12**) NM in compounds (e.g. *immītis*) becomes **mm**, in derivatives **rm**: *carmen* must go with *canō*, *germen* with *genus* and *gignō*, *nōrma* (as I have suggested, 'Loanwords in Latin' p. 4) with *nōna*, the carpenter's square being shaped like the letter L, the 'ninth' in the Faliscan and Etruscan alphabets. In some Sabellian dialect **m** before **f** seems similarly, even in compounds, to have become not **n** but **r**: *Corfīnium*, the capital of the Paeligni, must, I would suggest, have been named from its situation on the 'confines' of the Vestini and Marrucini.

(**13**) In one dialect **r** must have been dropt after **st**: hence the spellings *frūstum mediastīnus praestīgiae* beside *frūstrum mediastrīnus praestrīgiae*, and the epigraphic *ministorum* (Corssen i. p. 245) *stavit* (Seelmann p. 330) for *ministrōrum strāvit*. *Mediastrīnus* 'hobbledehoy, between boyhood and manhood,' comes from *mediaster (which stands to *medius* as *surdaster* to *surdus*: both on the analogy of Greek Verbs in -άζω, e.g. μητράζω 'take after my mother') as, I would suggest, *clandestīnus* (for *clandestrīnus) from *clandester, *clandus (*clam*): *praestrīgiae* 'glamour,' comes, I would suggest, from *strīga* 'witch.'—So (see Kluge in Paul's 'Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie' p. 332–3) **spr-** in some Teutonic dialects became **sp-**, German *sprechen* = Eng. *speak*.

(**14**) In some nine words we find **er** from original **ri** (which sometimes stands for **ru** with a 'modified' **u**, 'Latin Vocalism' 1) or **rī**: both (1) in the accented syllable, *ter ternī* beside *tri- trīnī*, *tēstis* (i.e. *terstis) beside Oscan *tristaamentud*, and, I would add, *cervīx* 'neck' beside Old Slavonic *krivŭ* 'bent' (so Old Slavonic *vratŭ* 'neck' is from *vratiti* 'to turn'), *terō* beside *trītus* (i.e. *trūtus) and τρύω: and (2) in the unaccented syllable, *acerbus* beside Old Slavonic *ostrŭ* (with inserted *t*), *hībernus* (for *hīm-ri-nus[1]) beside

[1] In Latin **m** before **r** becomes **b**, *brevis* for *mregvis goes with Gothic *ga-maurg-jan* 'to shorten'; and so, I would suggest, before ṛ (see below), *tūber* for *tūmṛ beside *tumeō*.

χειμερινός (which differs only by having a fuller stem), *nov-er-ca* beside *vit-ri-cus* (on this see sec. 22), *quater* beside *quadru-*, *sacerdōs* for *sacridōs from *sacrodōs. Two other instances commonly given must be rejected: *cernō tergō* cannot go with κρίνω τρίβω, or the Perfects would be not *crēvī tersī* but **crīvī* **trixī*.—Brugmann (33), following Osthoff ('Morphologische Untersuchungen' 4. 1–3), would confine this phenomenon to unaccented **ri** between consonants,[1] supposing, e.g. *tēstis* to follow the analogy of *cóntēstor*. But (1) it cannot seriously be pretended that *tēstis* is a younger word than *contēstor*; (2) unaccented **ri** remains between consonants in *vitricus*, as unaccented **rī** does in *aprīcus*; (3) in *terō* the **er** is not between consonants, and yet this word cannot go with τείρω, or we could not account for *trīvī* or *trītus*. I would rather suggest that the retention of **rĭ**, accented or unaccented, may be due to Oscan influence, cf. *tristaamentud*, and its change to **er** to some other dialect, which preferred close syllables as conversely (281) Old Slavonic prefers open ones. In Umbrian, as in Latin, both dialects appear, we have *tripler* beside *tertiam*.

Similarly Brugmann explains the Nominatives *ager ācer* as standing for *agros *ācris, the **er** representing a sonant **r**. I would rather suggest that in these words the **e** was originally long (with *ācēr cf. *patēr* in Aen. 5. 521), and that the termination is due to the desire to distinguish Nominative from oblique cases by forming it from a fuller stem. So in Umbrian we have Nom. Sing. *pacer* 'pacified' from the longer stem, Nom. Plur. *pacr-er* from the shorter: conversely in ἀγρός, Gothic *akrs*, Sanskrit *ajras*, the Nominative follows the analogy of the other cases. On Brugmann's principles it is difficult to see why, if *agros became *ager*, *agrom (*agrum*) did not become *agerm (or *agerem).

(15) The combination **rs** (571) before a consonant loses the **r**,

[1] Stolz in 'Wiener Studien' 9. 304 sq. holds that **er** represents a sonant **r** developed within the Latin language, **or** or **ur** one inherited from the Ursprache: I would rather suggest that, as in other cases of the change from **o** to **u** ('Latin Vocalism' 2 fin., cf. *similis* beside ὁμαλός, *īlicō* from *locus*), so here also the **u** was a 'modified' **u**, representable by **i**, which in the unaccented syllable would before the **r** become **e**, as in *ūber* beside οὖθαρ, *inferus* compared with *infrā*, and (see sec. 22) *iterum uterus*. So **l** is represented by **ol**, **ul**, or **il**, e.g. *stabilis* (beside *stabulum*) *rutilus* (see sec. 22).—It is only in the unaccented syllable that the combination **ir** is forbidden ('Latin Vocalism' 6): hence we may see that this change from **ri** to **er** is no metathesis, or we should have **tir* **tīstis* **cirvī* **tirō* instead of *ter tēstis cervīx terō*.

d in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened: *fāstīgium* p'=*farstīgium (cf. Anglosaxon *byrst* 'bristle'), *pōscō*=*porscō m *porc-scō (cf. *precor*): while before **n** the **s** also goes, *cēna*= sna from *cērsna (Umbrian *çersna-*). Before a vowel the **rs**, if ginal, becomes **rr**, *horreō* 'bristle'=*horseō (Sanskrit *harsh*); t if the **s** represent either **x** (from original **kth**, 554 fin.) or **ss** om original **tt** or **dt**), the **rs** remains, *ursus* beside ἄρκτος and nskrit *ṛkshas*, *dorsum* (I would suggest) for *dort-tum (cf. Irish *im* for *dort-men: δειρή 'neck' can hardly be connected), *rsus* for *mord-tus. But in some (perhaps rustic) dialect **rs** from (for **rtt**) before a vowel was treated just as before a consonant, **r** dropping and the preceding vowel lengthening, *prōsa rūsum um* for **prōrsa rūrsum sūrsum* from **prōrt-ta* **rūrt-tum* **sūrt-tum* ntractions, i.e., of *prō-vorsa re-vorsum sur-vorsum*, all from *tō*), and see *svāsum* (i.e. *svard-tum) sec. 8: later the **s** was tten double and the vowel before it pronounced short, *russum*, *um*, *pessum* (from **persum*, as Plautus' 'Persa me pessum dedit,' sa 737, proves: the further derivation is not so clear, if it= rd-tum from *perdō* it is difficult to get for it the meaning wn,' which seems to have been the original one).

16) Apparently one dialect made B into **v**, another made V into but many of the words in which these changes occur are etymo- ically so obscure that we cannot always tell which sound was original one. The commonest change was from V to **b**: for *le* (quoted from Cato) the ordinary form was *bubīle*, and from vulcus (from the same root) must have come *bubulcus*: the nge was most common after **r**, *arvīna* 'fat' (i.e., I would gest, 'accretion,' from *arvus Adjective of *ar*, *ad*) appears in stus as *arbilla*, *corvus* has another form *corbus* (which reappears the Romance languages), *curvus* must also have (according to the mance languages) been spelt *curbus*, *ferveo* seems more original n *ferbeō* (the Perfect however is always *ferbuī*, a dialectic form ained to avoid the collocation *vu*), *sorvum* ('service-berry'; so lt in one manuscript of Pliny) if it goes with Sanskrit *sravā* 'a nt' must be older than *sorbum*, *urvum* 'ploughshare' (Oscan *vú* 'bent') than *urbum*: so *gilvus* is in late Latin spelt *gilbus*. On other hand *sēbum* 'tallow,' if it is really a dialectic spelling for *ebum* and goes with our *soap* (see Kluge under *seife*), must be

more original than *sēvum*; and *morbus* than *morvus*, the spelling substantiated by the Romance languages. But whether *bāsium* (apparently Gaulish), *batillum* ('fire-pan'), *berbēx* ('wether': so one manuscript has in Petronius 57), are more original forms than *vāsium (whence *sāvium*, if I am right above, sec. 8), *vatillum*, *vervēx*, etymology does not tell us.

(17) The combination **bl** in Latin is found at the beginning of a few words, *blaesus blandus blateró blatiō blatta*, and in compounds, *ē-blandior ab-lātus* etc.; but otherwise in no pure-Latin word but *pūblicus*, in which it represents BD, as Umbrian *pupδike* show (*poplicus*, from *populus*, must be quite another word).—The combination **bl** is common enough in terminations, where ('Grundriss' 2, p. 202) it represents original DHḶ, e.g. *stabulum stabilis*;[1] otherwise it is found only in *scabellum* or *scabillum* 'bench' (presupposing a form *scabulum, whence would come *scabel-lum*, the second vowel becoming *e* before a double consonant), where it represents original BH-Ḷ, cf. Sanskrit *skabh-* 'to support.' But what are we to make of *scamillus* in Vitruvius, and Terentius Scaurus' 'alii scamillum [*scapillum* is only a conjecture, and apparently a figment] alii scabillum dicunt'? I can only suggest that before terminational l one dialect retained the **b** at the end of the root (*scabellum*), another changed it to **p** (*scapulae* 'shoulder-blades,' i.e. as I would suggest, 'supporting burdens'), a third made it into **m** (*scamillum*): thus I would connect (*α*) *stipula* 'stalk' and *stimulus* 'stake' (so Caesar uses the word) beside Old Slavonic *stŭblo* or *stĭblo* 'stalk, trunk of a tree'; (*β*) *con-cipuló*[2] 'finish off' and *cumulus* 'heap' (both from KVUB-, cf. KVOUB- in Anglosaxon *heāp*, English *heap*), cf. *cumulō* in the sense of 'finish.'

(18) An epigraphic form of *et* is *ed* (Corssen I. p. 194); it appears, I would suggest, in *edepol* as a condensed expression for 'ē Castor ed e Pol,'[3] O Castor and O Pollux, and in *ideō* 'therefore' for *ed eō* 'and by that.' This change of final **t** to **d** seems to be Oscan,

[1] Cf. Umbrian *staflarem*. There is no particular reason in such cases for supposing the forms with ḷ to be younger than those with l: rather they belonged to a different dialect.

[2] Plaut. Truculentus 621 (Schoell) quem ego jam jam concipulabo (another reading concipilabo). Festus takes the word as = 'seize,' *corripio*, apparently deriving it from *concipiō* 'take hold of'; but there are no parallels to such a formation.

[3] With *ē*, *ĕ*, cf. the Greek interjections ἦ, ἔ, respectively.

orssen l. 195: parallel to it is the Latin change of *ap (whence *veriō*) *op (whence *opīnor* 'I put before myself, think,' and, I ould suggest, *oportet* 'the occasion arises, it is necessary,' from *ior*) *sup (whence *supīnus*) to *ab ob sub*; *volup* on the other hand as preserved its p.

(19) The change of **d** to **l** in Latin must have come from some eighbouring sub-dialect, beside Umbrian *fameðias* 'families' we ave Oscan *famel* 'slave,' whence Latin *famulus*: in Umbrian, *ibðiçu* 'trebling' and *tripler* 'three' (cf. Latin *triplex*) appear on e same tablet of the Eugubine Tables, but whether they are alectic forms from the same stem it is hard to say, nor does the rmination **bdo** (or **plo**) appear in other languages. Brugmann 69) gives nine examples of the phenomenon, *lacruma lēvir limpa* e. *lympha*) *oleō solium solum-solea ūlīgō* (doubtful: why not from *vilis* rather than *ūvidus*?) *mālus*: Stolz (51 and 9) has nine more, *ipēs calamitās impelimentum larix laurus lingua mulier praesilium les* (from μισθός, Bartholomae in B.B. 12. 90; but on Brugmann's principles, 594, the Latin form should be *mistes): other ilologists have added (besides proper names, *Aquilōnia Capitōlium ovensilēs Pollūx Silicīno*: in *Ulixēs* the change was apparently ready made in Greek, Ὀλυτεύς, Gustav Meyer 171) the following teen instances, *an-cīle* (caedō) *baliolus* ('dark,' badius) *cassila* assida 'helmet') *con-sul* (sedeo) *dēlicó* (dēdicô) *largus* (cf. δολιχός) *ādia* ('banquet,' dautia: lautus 'sumptuous' must be connected) *lipontus* ('rope,' also spelt medipontus) *reluvium* ('agnail,' cf. luvia) *simila* ('wheat-flour,' σεμίδαλις, itself doubtless foreign) *mus* (cf. New Umbrian arsmor 'ceremonies': it must go with *ad*, not 3) *mella* (μέθυ, see sec. 7) *pūblicus* (see above) *sella* (sedda, Terens Scaurus in Keil 7. 13) *ūltrā* (cf. Sanskrit ud 'out'). I would rther add the following 18 instances, making altogether (without per names) 51 or, excluding doubtful cases, 48:

ad-ūlor from *audiō*, cf. *ob-oediō*:

al-acer from *ad*+a byform (with short vowel) of *ācer*; *al-apa* 'slap' from *apiscor* 'reach'; *al-ūta*, 'Loanwords in Latin' 3:

lanista beside *danista*, 'Loanwords' 7:

mīlvus 'kite,' for *smīdvus, cf. English *smite* (?):

poliō, cf. ποδέω 'beat':

scālae, *scādae, cf. *scandō*:

sileō 'settle down' from *sedeō*; and *sili-cērnium* 'feast (see sec. 15 on *cēna*) at which they sat':

soleō 'go my way,' and *solvō* 'let go,' beside ὁδός 'way':

squālor (i.e. *squādor) beside *squā-ma* 'scale' (for *squād-ma) [illegible]:

strigilis 'flesh-brush' from *στρεγίδα Accusative of *στρεγίς [illegible], a by-form of στρεγγίς, see Liddell and Scott under [illegible]r στλεγγίς:

with **d** from DH,

caelebs 'bachelor' from *caedō* in the sense of 'separate,' [illegible]f. Gothic *skaidan* 'to divide':

melior beside *medius*, 'moderate' (a λιτότης, saying less th[illegible]n one means):

stilus 'stake,' for **studus*, cf. Anglosaxon *studu* 'pillar':

and, with **d** from **sd**, ZDH,

mēlēs or (Caper in Keil 7. 110) *mālēs* 'marten' beside An[illegible]o-saxon *meard*.

(**20**) The change of **d** to **r** appears in Umbrian (Old Umbrian [illegible]as both *teðtu* and *tertu* 'dato'; New Umbrian has *arfertur* 'adfert[illegible]r' beside *arsfertur* and Old Umbrian *aðfertur*, and *tribrisine* besi[illegible]de Old Umbrian *tribðiçu*), Marsian (*apur*), and Volscian (*ar*); it remains in the modern Neapolitan dialect, Seelmann p. 31 1. Brugmann's instances (369) in Latin are

apor (Festus) for *apud*:

ar (for *ad*), used by Plautus, and familiar in the compoun[illegible]s *arbiter arcēssō*: Priscian's *arger* for the ordinary *agg*[illegible] (i.e. *ad-ger) reappears in the Romance languages: [illegible] would add *arma* and *armentum* 'cattle,' both meanin[illegible] 'appendages.'

Stolz (51) gives five more words: *cūr* for *quō-d Ablative of *qu*[illegible]i or *quis*; *maredus* for *madidus*; *merīdiēs* for *medīdiēs* (which Var[illegible]o L.L. 6. 4 had seen at Praeneste: on this see below); *quirquir* Var[illegible]o L.L. 7. 8 for *quidquid*; *simitur* in an inscription for *simītū-d (c[illegible]f. *simītū* 'together'). He might have added *glārea* 'gravel' besi[illegible]le χλῆδος 'rubbish,' and *medula* (Isidore, Origines 12. 7. 69) f[illegible]r *merula* 'blackbird' (which unhappily does away with the ingenio[illegible]s connexion of *merula* with our *ousel*). In these two, as in *Larīn*[illegible]m for Oscan *Ladino-*, the **r** (instead of **l**) from **d** might be accoun[illegible]d for by a desire to avoid two **l**'s close together; but our ot[illegible]er

instances are against this explanation, and show that this r from d is merely dialectic. Varro L.L. 5. 110 derives *perna* ('ham') 'a pede,' which must point to a dialectic form *pere*: Consentius (Keil 5. 392) marks *perēs* as barbarous, but it remains (see Seelmann as above) in the Neapolitan dialect. I would add the following 12 instances:

careō 'want' beside κεκαδών 'depriving':

hirūndō 'swallow' for *hedūndōn beside χελῑδών for *χεδῡδών (it seems impossible to dissociate the words): with λ from δ see sec. 19 on Ὀλυτεύς, with *ī* from a long 'modified' u cf. ι from a short modified u in Lesbian ἴψος for ὕψος:

mereō 'have measured out to me, earn,' from MED-, Gothic *mitan* 'to measure':

plōrō 'beat the breast' beside *plōdō* 'beat':

varius 'dappled' beside *badius* 'brown' (whence also *baliolus*, see sec. 19) and Irish *buide* 'yellow': the original form must have been *gvodiós*:

accērsō 'summon' for *ac-cēd-sō from *cēdō* 'go':

mergus 'diver,' Sanskrit *madgus*: to suppose (590) that dg here comes from ZGV is preposterous:

virga 'wand' for *vidga, German *wisch* 'whisk' (see Kluge), our *whisk* ('the h is intrusive,' Skeat) and *wisp* (596):

and, with d from DH,

caerimōnia 'veneration' from *caedō* (see above, sec. 19, on *caelebs*), with the idea of separation, exclusiveness:

merus 'simple,' i.e. 'central, essential,' for *medus 'middle,' whence *medulla* 'marrow' ('in the middle' of the bone), and, I would suggest, *medeor* 'heal, stand in the way of the disease.' Irish *medōn* 'μέσον,' and the town-names Μεθώνη and Ἀθῆναι (the latter from the shorter form MDH-, sec. 26), prove that in *medius* and its cognates (as in *ali-us* beside *al-ter*) the i or j is terminational. From *merus*, not from *medius*, comes *merīdiēs*, formed from the Locative *merī-diē* (cf. *quotī-diē*):

ergā 'opposite,' and *ergō* 'on account of,' from EDH- in Sanskrit *adhi* 'up' and (with 'pretonic' a) Latin *ad-* in *adimō adsurgō āscendō attollō*, + a termination GVO ('Grundriss' 2. 91):

fīrmus (the **i** is short in the Romance languages, but in the town-name *Firmum*, which must have meant 'the strong-hold,' Latin inscriptions make it long) from *fīdō*, 'trust-worthy.'

(**21**) There is no proof that LD ever became **ll** in Latin (369 9). *Sallō* 'I salt' stands for *sal-nō as *fallō* (Stolz 103) for *fal-nō (th the Participle *salsus* no more proves that *sallō*=*saldō than *fals* lsus proves that *fallō*=*faldō, which nobody has yet pretended): it it is very unlikely that Latin had two words for salt, *sal* and **sald* dus. So *percellō* 'throw down'=*per-cel-nō, cf. Lithuanian *kálti* 'to strike' (Fröhde in B.B. 3. 306): *perceldō could not give a Perf fect *perculī*. *Mollis* for *molvis, see sec. 7, goes with Gothic *ga-m alr-jan* 'to crush' and English *mellow*, not with Sanskrit *mṛdus*, w with which Brugmann connects it (though this on his principles co uld only give *mollvis, *molvis, and he has before, 170, dou ted whether **lv** ever becomes **ll**).

(**22**) On the Latin aversion to the combination **dr** I have tou hed in 'Latin Vocalism' 5 note: the aversion appears even in borrowed words, κέδρος became in Old Latin *citrus* (Naevius has *citrōsus*: *cedrus* first in Vergil), *Cassantra* and (with **t** from the oblique cas s) *Alexanter* were the old forms of *Cassandra Alexander* (Quintilian 1. 4. 16): *quadru-* may be Celtic, and to it *quadra* owes the preserv tion of its **d**, in all other words the **d** before **r** becomes **t**. Thus I would explain

atrōx from *at-rus (as *ferōx* from *ferus*: the **a** is 'pretonic ') beside *odium*:

nūtrīx or *nōtrīx* (Quintilian) from *nōt-rus beside νήϊνμος (ō an Ablaut of ē) 'refreshing' and Sanskrit *nand-* 't to enjoy':

taetrum 'foul' beside *taedet* 'it wearies':

ūtrem (from *ōtrem) 'skin' beside Lithuanian *ūda*:

and, with **d** from DH (as it may be in *ūtrem* also),

palpetra 'eyelid' (Caper in Keil 7. 110, beside *palpebra*, whic h must belong to another dialect: the Romance languag es substantiate both forms) with a termination DHR i, 'Grundriss' 2. p. 202:

vitricus 'stepfather,' which I would explain as 'belonging to the widow,' **vit-ra* a byform of *vidua* from a root VID

The same law obtains before a sonant **r**, represented (see sec. 14, ote) by **er**: *uterus* is for *ud-ṛus beside Sanskrit *udaram*, and, I ould suggest, *iterum* 'again' (coming *back*) for *ed-ṛum (with **d** rom DH) beside Anglosaxon *ed-* 'back' and Sanskrit *adhi* 'up' see sec. 20, fin., on *ergā*, and for the transition of meaning cf. *ἀνά* up, back'). So, I would add, **d** (from DH) before **ḷ** became **t**, *utilus* is for *rudḷus (cf. *ἐρυθρός*).

(**23**) The Oscan assimilation of **x** to **ss** ('Loanwords in Latin' 7) ppears in *assis* (Vitruvius, see Key) *nassa* (whence the Romance rms) *tossillae* (see Nettleship: the form *tonsillae* is due to a popular nnexion with *tonsa* 'oar,' the tonsils being compared to poles) *issāgō* ('germander,' Facciolati; the form does not seem to occur Pliny) beside *axis naxa toxillae trixāgō, amussis* from *ἄμυξις*, *usillus* (for *paussillus) beside *pauxillus*, and, I would suggest, *ssimus* for *peximus from *peccó* (see sec. 3, note, on *pējor*). So, would suggest, the curious triple forms *assula astula acsula* plinter,' *pessulus pestulus pexulus*[1] 'bolt,' point respectively to iginals *ad-tḷa ('rising up,' from *ad-*, see above) *ped-tḷus (the lt being the 'foot' of the door), in which either

(*α*) the **dt** became as usual **ss**, *assula pessulus*: or

(*β*) **dtḷ** became **stḷ** as **dtr** became **str** (e.g. *monstrum* from ONDH-, cf. *μαθεῖν*), *astula pestulus*: or

(*γ*) by a 'contamination' of **ss** (from **dt**) and **cḷ** (from **TL**) we et *ascula *pesculus, and by metathesis (see next paragraph) *sula pexulus*.

One dialect must have changed **x** (of whatever origin) to **sc**: cf. sbian *σκίφος* for *ξίφος*, Old French *vescut* 'lived' from Latin iscūtum for vixūtum (Seelmann p. 339), as conversely Anglo-xon *vaxan* for *vascan* 'to wash' and our dialectic *ax* for *ask*. Thus

aesculus 'winter-oak' is for *aeg-s-ulus from AIG-, Eng. *oak*:

ascia 'axe'=*axia, Eng. *axe* (Gothic *aqizi* is from the longer stem AGV-ES-I-):

luscus 'one-eyed,' I would suggest, =*luxus* 'dislocated,' beside *λοξός* 'slanting,' and (with the same Metathesis as in *luscus*) Irish *losc* 'lame, blind':

viscum 'mistletoe,' cf. *ἴσκαι* 'fungus,' goes with *ἰξός* 'mistletoe':

[1] Caper in Keil 7. 111 pessulum (another reading pexulum) non pestulum.

inner parts' with ἰξύς 'waist,' from the idea of soft-
ess, fleshiness.

e reason why final **ga** in trisyllables became **ca** I have
in 'Loanwords in Latin' 7 γ: Latin had in such cases an
a, *fabrica pedica juvenca* etc., but no ending **ga**, and hence
les in which the **g** was part of the root were treated as if
part of the ending, and changed it to **c**. Thus we may
n (I do not know whether any one has done it before: in
matters it is difficult to be as cocksure[1] as our masters the
ans always are) not only the loanwords *amurca spēlunca* beside
γη σπήλυγγα, but also
fulica 'coot' for *fuliga beside German *belche* (on which see
Kluge):
pertica 'pole' beside *pertingō* 'reach':
sublica 'stake' (according to Festus a Volscian word) besid
subligō 'bind on': and, I would suggest,
praefica 'hired mourner' beside *fingō* 'pretend.'
The only exception I know of is *caliga* 'sandal,' which I wou
suggest is borrowed from *κάλυγα a by-form (cf. ὄρτυγα besi
ὄρτυκα) of κάλυκα 'husk,'[2] and as a Greek word retained its **g**.

(**25**) Why does **g** sometimes remain before **m**, sometimes drop?
Brugmann (506) derives *agmen* from ĂG-, *exāmen* from ĀG-: but
(1) there is no particular reason why the root-vowel should be short
in the one case and long in the other, and (2) a vowel before **gm**
was always long by position (Marx, 'Hülfsbüchlein'[2] p. 2), the **a**
in *agmen* was just as long as the **a** in *exāmen*. The real difference,
I would suggest, was that the **a** in *agmen* was accented, the **a** in
exāmen was not (according to the Latin system, in which the first
syllable had the stress-accent, whatever the quantity of the second

[1] 'I wish I was as cocksure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything' (Lord Melbourne).

[2] This may be added to my list of instances of Roman wit, such as it was, in 'Loanwords' p. 4: together with
abdōmen 'holder, belly,' see sec. 27:
ēmolumentum 'grinding out, gain':
faenus 'harvest (from *faenum* 'hay'), interest':
lacertus 'lizard, muscle of the arm,' from some fancied resemblance:
rabula 'mad dog (from *rabiō* 'rave'), advocate':
sartāgō 'putting things in good order (i.e., I would suggest, making them *sarta*), frying pan':
scabellum 'bed-step,' and so 'castanet,' inserted in the performer's shoe:
venter 'wind-bag (i.e., I would suggest, from *ventus*), belly.'

syllable). So we have *augmen figmentum fragmen magmentum pigmentum sagmen segmen strigmentum tegmen*, but *contāminō*[1] *subtēmen* (from *tegō*) *sufflāmen* ('clog,' going with Anglosaxon *balo* 'beam'). On the other hand *ablegmina antepagmentum coagmenta exagmen* (another spelling of *exāmen*) owe the retention of their g to 'Re-composition' (see 'Latin Vocalism' 9) and so do not come under our rule; while

flāmen 'priest' is not for *flagmen (Sanskrit *brahman-*), but for *flād-men, cf. Gothic *blōtan* 'to worship':

flamma not for *flagma (*flagrō*), but, I would suggest, for *flāma ('blast') from *flō* (for the spelling cf. *damma* beside *dāma*):

jūmentum, originally 'a carriage,' Gellius 20. 1, not for *jugmentum, but (as Columella suggests) from *juvō* 'help,' or rather from a by-form *juvō whence the Perfect *jūvī*:

plūma 'feather' not for *plūgma (Anglosaxon *fleōgan* 'to fly'), but from PLŪ-, cf. Sanskrit *plu-* 'float.'

Exactly similar is the fate of g before n: it remains in the accented syllable, *cygnus dignus*, drops in the unaccented, *arānea* ('Loanwords' 7 β) *inānis* (from, I would suggest, *āgnis, going with ἀχήν 'poor,' and, with a nasal, *angustus* 'narrow': the *in* meaning no more than in *incānus inclutus incolumis* beside *cānus clutus columis*, or, I would add, *invidus* 'jealous, standing aloof' beside *dī-vidō*, *invītus* 'forced' beside *vīs*). On the other hand *apru-gnus* (Plautus: Pliny's *aprūnus* or *aprīnus* must be a different word, a direct derivative from *aper*) and *beni-gnus* keep their g to show that they are Compounds.

Before M, which in Latin in the unaccented syllable may be written um or im, a 'fixt' velar g (represented in Sanskrit by *g*, and not labialised in any language) remains, *tegumen* or *tegimen*; a labialisable velar is represented by v, which in all extant Latin drops with the following i, *flūmen frūmentum ūmeō* from *fluvimen *fruvimentum *ūvimeō, see sec. 9.

(26) The Latins modified all the original Aspirates. In their method of doing so we may trace three different dialects:

(*a*) The proper Roman dialect represented all but the Dental

[1] Festus' *tāminō* is a grammarians' word formed out of *attāminō contāminō*: the proper form would be **tagminō*.

Aspirate by **h**, itself in the popular dialect omitted: BH *hariolus* 'soothsayer' (Irish *bar* 'sage'), GH *holus* 'vegetables' (Old Slavonic *zelije*) *vehō* (cf. ὄχος), GHV *hīlum* 'gut' (Varro L.L. 5. 111, cf. Lithuanian *gysla* 'sinew'), cf. *ariolus olus via ĭlia* respectively.

(β) The Oscans represented all the Aspirates without exception by **f**: the classical Roman dialect kept this when initial—whether for BH *faba* (Old Slavonic *bobŭ*: the old Latin form was *haba*) *frangō* (Gothic *brikan*), DH *fēlō* 'suck' (cf. θηλή 'breast'), GH *fovea* 'pit' (χειά) *flāvus* (χλωρός), or GHV *fīlum* (see *hīlum* above) *fremō* (Old Slavonic *gromŭ* 'thunder')—but when medial reduced it to **b**, for BH *glūbō* (γλύφω) *ambō* (ἄμφω), DH *rubeō* (ἐρεύθω) *umbra* (cf. Sanskrit *andhas* 'blind') *arbor* (Sanskrit *ardh-* 'thrive'), GHV *nebrundinēs* 'kidneys' (νεφρός, German *niere*).—The **f** retained for DH in *rūfus* and (I would suggest) in *infit* 'begins' ('interposes,' ṂDH-, cf. MEDH- *medius*), and for GH in *infula* 'fillet' (ṆGH-, cf. NEGH-, Sanskrit *nah-* 'to tie,' Lat. *nectō*), must belong to the stricter Oscan dialect.

(γ) A third dialect reduced the Aspirates—as do all Aryan languages but Greek and Sanskrit—to Mediae: hence

BH initial = **b**, *barba* (Eng. *beard*) *battuō* 'beat' (cf. Anglo-saxon *beadu* 'combat') *bulla* (cf. *follis*) *im-buō* (ἐμ-φύω) *blaterō* (Old Norse *blaðr* 'nonsense'):

DH medial[1] = **d**, *gradus* (Gothic *grids*) *arduus* (Sanskrit *ūrdh-vas*), and *russus* (=*rud-tus, ἐρυθρός); becoming **r** in *ergā fīrmus* (see sec. 20 fin.):

GH = **g** in *gilvus* beside *helvus* and Eng. *yellow*, and so, I would suggest, in *geminī* 'twins' beside *hemō* 'man' ('fellow': for the terminations cf. *terminus termō*), *gutta* 'drop' for *gū-ta beside χέω 'pour' and Sanskrit *hu-*: *glāre* (χλῆδος) *grandō* (Sanskrit *hrād-* 'rattle') *figmentum* (Sanskrit *dih-* 'smear') *angō* (ἄγχω):

[1] Initial DH also might = **d**, but no instances seem to appear: *crēdō* besi[illegible] Sanskrit *çrad-dhā-* ('put the heart to') may have been regarded as a word of th[illegible] Ursprache and not as a compound (of course Verbs in composition keep the[illegible] initial unchanged, as a compound the word would be *crēfō from *creffō, *cred-f[illegible] *abdō* etc. I would derive from Adjectives *ab-dus etc., cf. *condō* from *condus*. Brugmann (370) makes DH after **u** always = **b**, *jubeō rubeō ūber*; but this m[illegible] be merely dialectic, *jussi* can only come from *jud-si (*jub-sī would give *ju[illegible] cf. *nūpsi*), see *russus* above, and *rutilus* sec. 22 fin., *stilus* sec. 19 fin.

GHV=**g** *glaber* (Lithuanian *glodus*) *gradus* (Old Slavonic *gręda* 'I come') *indulgeō* (Sanskrit *dīrghas* 'long') *tergum* (στέρφος 'skin'): so KHV *congius* 'quart' (Sanskrit *çankhas* 'cockle').

The classical forms show a strange mixture of these three dialects:

BH=**h** *hariolus herba horreum*, **f** *faba fānum fortis*, **b** *barba* etc. (see above):

DH medial=**b** *jubeō ruber ūber*, **d** *gradus* etc. (above):

GH=**h** *haedus holus homo*, **f** *fovea*, **g** *gilvus* etc. (above):

GHV=**h** *hīlum hordeum*, **f** *fīlum*, **g** *glaber* etc. (above).

(**27**) To Brugmann's instances (510) of the loss of initial **h** I would add

abdōmen or *abdūmen* from *habdus (cf. *albūmen* from *albus*) *habidus 'holding':

abundō (in Plautus also *habundō*, see Key, who rightly remarks that *ab-undus* from *unda* should mean '*without* water') from *habundus Gerundive of *habeō*:

ālūcinor (also spelt *hālūcinor*) 'prate' from *hālūcus Adjective of *hālō* 'breathe out': for the form cf. *cadūcus* from *cadō*.

The Romans made several attempts to represent by their spelling the quantity of a vowel. One resource, apparently borrowed from Oscan (Corssen l. 15–17) was to double the vowel: besides epigraphic forms, for which see Corssen, we have *bee* (Varro, to express the cry of the sheep, for which the Greeks used βῆ: hence came the form *bēlāre* 'to bleat,' which remained in the Romance languages instead of *bālāre*) *peena* (Festus, for *pēna, i.e. *penna*) *veemens* (=vēmens): cf. Oscan *aasas tristaamentud eestint teer-* beside Latin *ārae tēstāmentō exstant* (or rather *ēstant) *terra* (for *tēra), Faliscan *vootum* for *vōtum*.—Another method, found also in Umbrian, was to employ **h** as a mark of vowel-length:

(*a*) The **h** was written after the vowel: the Interjections *ā ō prō* are also written *ah oh proh*, for *vā we have *vah*. So in Old Umbrian we have *ah-* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *ahtu*[1] for Lat. *actui*; in New Umbrian *trah-* for Lat. *trā-* (i.e. *trans*), *aviehclu* 'augural' beside *aviēclu*, *eh-* for Lat. *ē* (Preposition), *screhto* for *scrētō (Lat. *scrīptum*); in Volscian *covehriu* 'meeting' for *co-vēriō *co-vīriō

[1] In this, as in *screhto*, the **h** seems a mere mark of vowel-length.

(on the dialectic change of ī to ē see 'Latin Vocalism' 11) from *vīros (Sanskrit *vīras* 'hero,' cf. Lat. *vĭr* 'man'):

(β) The two methods were combined, the vowel written twice and **h** inserted: *aha* (in Plautus a monosyllable) was another way of writing the Interjection *ā*, *vaha* must stand for *vā or *vah* (see above),[1] *ehem* (when a monosyllable) = *ēm* (Interjection), *mehe* (Quintilian) = *mē*, *vehemens* (in poetry always a disyllable, Lachmann on Lucr. 2. 1024) = *vē-mens* ('senseless,' cf. *vē-cors*). So in New Umbrian we have *aha* for Lat. *ā* (Preposition), *trahaf* beside *trāf* = Lat. *trās (*trans*), *ehe* = Lat. *ē*, *comohota* = Lat. *co(m)mōta*, *preplohotatu* beside *preplōtatu* 'captivity' = Lat. *praeplōtātū ('treading down,' from *plautus* 'flat-footed').

(**28**) Despite Stolz ('Lat. Gramm.' 60) intervocalic **s** after **r**+a vowel, instead of as usual becoming **r**, drops entirely, to avoid two **r**'s so close together: *Cereālis* must be for *Cererālis, *cruor* 'blood' ('curdled,' thicker than water) for *crūr-or beside *crūs-ta* 'crust,' *pruīna* 'hoar-frost' for *prūrīna beside Gothic *frius* 'frost';[2] and, I would add, *prior* for *prīr-or beside *prīs-cus* and Paelignian *pris-mu* 'first,'[3] with *proprius* 'special' ('set in front') for *pro-prīr-us from the same root. Later, **s** in such a position became **r** as usual, *prūriō* 'itch' ('burn') beside *pruīna* above ('cold performs the effect of fire'): *crūra* and *rūra* are due to analogy.

[1] A grammarian in Keil 4. 255 says "vah sive vaha ex brevi et longa constat," apparently taking *vah* (as Priscian does) as an abbreviation of *vaha*, and wrongly connecting the final **a** of *vaha* with the Interjection *ā*.

[2] *Friô* however is not for *frīrō, or the derivative would be *friscō not *friesô*: forms like χρῖσμα (beside χρῖμα) must come not from χρίω but from a by-form *χρίζω.

[3] *minor* is another instance of a Comparative—originally doubtless a Positive, with the sense of comparison only implied by the order of the words—ending in *-or* not *-ior*.

XIX.—ALBANIAN, MODERN GREEK, GALLO-ITALIC, PROVENÇAL, AND ILLYRIAN STILL IN USE (1889) AS LINGUISTIC ISLANDS IN THE NEAPOLITAN AND SICILIAN PROVINCES OF ITALY. By the PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE, D.C.L.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONGST the languages spoken in the 69 provinces of the kingdom of Italy the following are generally and without discussion considered as Non-Italian: Modern Greek, Albanian, Romansch, Provençal, German, Illyrian (Servian), and Slovenian, but, although Frioulan is admitted by Ascoli (whom I follow in this respect) to be not Italian, other writers continue, as formerly, to consider it as such. In fact, Ascoli considers Frioulan as a Romansch dialect. With regard to Frioulan, I prefer to see in it a Neo-Latin language intermediate between Gallo-Italic and Romansch, in the same way as I consider Catalan independent of Provençal. Franco-Provençal, according to Ascoli (whom I follow entirely in this particular), is an independent Neo-Latin tongue. The other dialects of Italy which, in my opinion, may be regarded as independent Non-Italian languages, are: Central and Southern Sardinian; Genoese (forming the transition between Gallo-Italic and Italian); and Gallo-Italic. According to this opinion of mine, which I submit, with all due deference, to the consideration of modern linguists, the following are the Non-Italian languages spoken in Italy: 1, Modern Greek; 2, Albanian; 3, Sardinian; 4, Genoese; 5, Gallo-Italic; 6, Frioulan; 7, Romansch; 8, Catalan; 9, Provençal; 10, Franco-Provençal; 11, German; 12, Illyrian; 13, Slovenian.

The languages 4, 6, 7, 10, and 13 are never insulated; 5, 9,

and 11 may be insulated or not; and 1, 2, 3, 8, and 12 are always insulated. The present paper treats of the languages 1, 2, 5, 9, and 12. (*See* the Historic Notes, pp. 363–364, and Maps at the end.)

List of places in Italy in which these languages are spoken :

A. Albanian.

I. Abruzzo Ulteriore I. (Teramo) Map II.:

1. *Badessa*, an annex of Rosciano, canton of Pianella, district and diocese of Penne;

II. Molise (Campobasso) Map III.:

2. *Campomarino*, c.[1] of Termoli, d.[1] and d.[1] of Larino;
3. *Montecilfone*, c. of Guglionesi, d. and d. of Larino;
4. *Portocannone, id., id., id.*;
5. *Ururi*, c., d., and d. of Larino;

III. Capitanata (Foggia) Map IV.:

6. *Casalvecchio di Puglia*, c. of Casalnuovo della Daunia, d. of San Severo, d. of Lucera;
7. *Chieuti*, c. of Serracapriola, d. of San Severo, d. of Larino;

IV. Principato Ulteriore (Avellino) Map V.:

8. *Greci*, c. of Orsara Dauno Irpina, d. of Ariano di Puglia, d. of Benevento;

V. Basilicata (Potenza) Map VI.:

9. *Barile*, c. of Barile, d. of Melfi, d. of Rapolla;
10. *Ginestra*, an annex of Ripacandida, c. of Barile, d. of Melfi, d. of Rapolla;
11. *Maschito*, c. of Forenza, d. of Melfi, d. of Venosa;
12. *San Costantino Albanese*, c. of Noepoli, d. of Lagonegro, d. of Anglona e Tursi;
13. *San Paolo Albanese, id., id., id.*;

VI. Terra d'Otranto (Lecce) Map VII.:[2]

14. *Faggiano*,[3] c. of San Giorgio su Taranto, d. and d. of Taranto;

[1] c. *means* canton, the first d. in any description *means* district, and the second d. diocese.

[2] For Albanian in Terra d'Otranto, see p. 341.

[3] Only a very small minority (a few old people can still speak Albanian at Faggiano. *Official information by its Mayor.*)

15. *San Marzano di San Giuseppe*, c. of Sava, d. and d. of Taranto;

VII. Calabria Citeriore (Cosenza) Map VIII.:

16. *Acquaformosa*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

17. *Carpanzano*,[1] c. of Scigliano, d. and d. of Cosenza.

18. *Castroregio*, c. of Amendolara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Anglona e Tursi;

19. *Cavallarizzo*, an annex of Cerzeto, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

20. *Cerzeto*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

21. *Civita*, c. of Cassano, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

22. *Falconara Albanese*, c. of Fiumefreddo Bruzio, d. of Paola, d. of Tropea;

23. *Farneta*, an annex of Castroregio, c. of Amendolara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Anglona e Tursi;

24. *Firmo*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

25. *Frascineto*, c. and d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

26. *Lungro*, c. of Lungro, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

27. *Macchia*, an annex of San Demetrio Corone, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano;

28. *Marri*, an annex of San Benedetto Ullano, c. of Montalto Uffugo, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

29. *Platici*, c. of Cerchiara, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cosenza;

30. *Porcile*, an annex of Frascineto, c. and d. of Castrovillari, d. of Cassano all' Ionio;

31. *San Basile*, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

32. *San Benedetto Ullano*, c. of Montalto Uffugo, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

33. *San Cosimo* (*Strigàr*), c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano;

34. *San Demetrio Corone*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, *id.*, *id.*, *id.*;

[1] The only natives of Carpanzano who can speak Albanian, and that but imperfectly, are some makers of weavers' combs.

35. *San Giacomo*, an annex of Cerzeto, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

36. *San Giorgio Albanese* (*Mbuzàt*), c. of Corigliano Calabro, d. and d. of Rossano;

37. *San Lorenzo del Vallo*, c. of Spezzano Albanese, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Rossano;

38. *San Martino di Finita*, c. of Cerzeto, d. of Cosenza, d. of Bisignano;

39. *Santa Caterina Albanese* (*Pizziglia*), c. of San Sosti, d. of Castrovillari, d. of San Marco Argentano;

40. *Santa Sofia d'Epiro*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. of Rossano, d. of Bisignano;

41. *Spezzano Albanese*, c. of Spezzano Albanese, d. of Castrovillari, d. of Rossano;

42. *Vaccarizzo Albanese*, c. of San Demetrio Corone, d. and d. of Rossano;

VIII. Calabria Ulteriore II. (Catanzaro) Map IX.:

43. *Andali*, c. of Cropani, d. of Catanzaro, d. of San Severino;

44. *Caraffa di Catanzaro*, c. of Tiriolo, d. and d. of Catanzaro;

45. *Carfizzi*, an annex of San Nicola dell' Alto, c. of Strongoli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati;

46. *Marcedusa*, c. of Cropani, d. of Catanzaro, d. of Santa Severina;

47. *Pallagorio*, c. of Savelli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati;

48. *San Nicola dell' Alto*, c. of Strongoli, d. of Cotrone, d. of Cariati;

49. *Vena*, an annex of Maida, c. of Maida, d. and d. of Nicastro;

50. *Zangarona*, an annex of Nicastro, c., d. and d. of Nicastro;

IX. Palermo (Map XI.):

51. *Contessa Entellina*, c. of Bisacquino, d. of Corleone, d. of Monreale;

52. *Mezzoiuso*,[1] c. of Mezzoiuso, d. and d. of Palermo;

53. *Palazzo Adriano*, c. of Prizzi, d. of Corleone, d. of Monreale;

[1] Only a few old people can still speak Albanian at Mezzoiuso.

54. *Piana de' Greci*, c. of Piana de' Greci, d. of Palermo, d. of Monreale;

55. *Santa Cristina Gela, id.*, d. and d. of Palermo;

B. Modern Greek.

I. Terra d'Otranto (Lecce) Map VII.:

1. *Calimera*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
2. [1]**Cannole*, c. of Carpignano Salentino, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
3. **Caprarica di Lecce*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
4. *Castrignano de' Greci, id., id., id.*;
5. *Corigliano d'Otranto*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
6. **Cursi*, c. of Maglie, d. of Gallipoli, d. of Otranto;
7. **Cutrofiano*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
8. *Martano*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
9. *Martignano*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
10. **Melpignano*, c. of Martano, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
11. *Soleto*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;
12. *Sternatia*, c. of Galatina, d. and d. of Lecce;
13. *Zollino*, c. of Galatina, d. of Lecce, d. of Otranto;

II. Calabria Ulteriore I. (Reggio di Calabria) Map X.:

14. *Amendolea*, an annex of Condofuri, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;
15. *Bova*, c. and d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;
16. **Cardeto*, c. of Sant' Agata di Bianco, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;
17. *Condofuri*, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova
18. *Corio di Roccaforte*, an annex of Roccaforte del Greco, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;
19. *Corio di Roghudi*, an annex of Roghudi, *id., id., id.*;
20. *Gallicianò*, an annex of Condofuri, *id., id., id.*;
21. **Mosorrofa*, an annex of Cataforio, c. of Gallina, d. and d. of Reggio of Calabria;

[1] The asterisk indicates the localities where Modern Greek is spoken only by a minority, which is sometimes very small. (*See* Pellegrini and Morosi.)

22. *Pietrapennata*, an annex of Palizzi, c. of Staiti, d. and d. of Gerace;

23. *Roccaforte del Greco*, c. of Bova, d. of Reggio of Calabria, d. of Bova;

24. *Roghudi, id., id., id.;*

25. *San Carlo*, an annex of Condofuri, *id., id., id.*;

26. *San Pantaleone*, an annex of San Lorenzo, c. of Melito di Porto Salvo, d. and d. of Reggio of Calabria;

C. Gallo-Italic.

I. Calabria Citeriore (Cosenza) Map VIII.:

1. *Guardia Piemontese*, c. of Cetraro, d. of Paola, d. of Cosenza;

II. Messina (Map XI.):

2. *Novara di Sicilia*, c. of Novara di Sicilia, d. of Castroreale, d. of Messina;

3. *San Fratello*, c. of San Fratello, d. of Mistretta, d. of Patti;

III. Catania (Map XI.):

4. *Nicosia*, c., d., and d. of Nicosia;

5. *Sperlinga, id., id., id.*;

IV. Caltanissetta (Map XI.):

6. *Aidone*, c. of Aidone, d. and d. of Piazza Armerina;

7. *Piazza Armerina*, c., d., and d. of Piazza Armerina;

D. Provençal.

I. Capitanata (Foggia) Map IV.:

1. *Celle San Vito*, c. of Troia, d. of Bovino, d. of Troia;

2. *Faeto, id., id., id.*;

E. Illyrian.

I. Molise (Campobasso) Map III.:

1. *Acquaviva Collecroce*, c. of Palata,[1] d. of Larino, d. of Termoli;

2. *Montemitro*, an annex of San Felice Slavo, c. of Montefalcone del Sannio, d. of Larino, d. of Termoli;

3. *San Felice Slavo, id., id., id.*

[1] At Palata and Tavenna, in the province of Molise, Illyrian is now extinct.

I wish here to record my great obligations to Monsignor Raphael Rossi, Grand Vicar of the Archbishopric of Taranto, by whose mediation alone it has been possible for me to procure all the local accounts supplied by the numerous rectors of the parishes of the southern Neapolitan provinces where Albanian was still more or less spoken in 1889.

ALBANIAN IN TERRA D'OTRANTO (Map VII.).

(Second Edition,[1] partly abridged and partly very much enlarged and corrected, with the assistance of Signor Cosimo Santoro, a native of the Albanian village of San Marzano di San Giuseppe, partly at San Marzano itself and partly at Leucaspide, near Taranto, in the month of April, 1889, during my stay at the mansion of my excellent and honoured friend Sir James Lacaita, K.C.M.G., and Member of the Italian Senate).

Having had occasion, six or seven years ago, to make inquiries as to the number of the localities in which Albanian is still more or less spoken in Terra d'Otranto, I received the following very valuable, because very reliable, information from Taranto, through the kindness of the Rev. *P.* D. L. De Vincentiis, O.P., the well-known author of the "Storia di Taranto," Taranto, 1878–9, 5 vol., 8vo., as well as of the "Vocabolario del dialetto tarantino," Taranto, 1872, 8vo.

According to this distinguished writer, out of the seven villages of the diocese of Taranto, places in which alone the Albanian language has been still more or less spoken within the memory of man, *viz.* San Marzano di S. Giuseppe, Roccaforzata, Monteparano (anciently Parello), San Giorgio sotto Taranto, San Martino, Faggiano, and Carosino, there is now only one where Albanian is at present more used than Italian, namely San Marzano, while at Faggiano Albanian is to be heard only from a few old persons. In the remaining villages Albanian is quite extinct. Thus, at Roccaforzata, it has ceased to be spoken for more than fifty years, and of the village of San Martino nothing now remains but the parish church.

The same thing happens in other provinces. Thus, Albanian

[1] The first edition appeared in the "Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 1882-3-4," p. 492.

has become extinct at Santa Croce di Magliano, in vince of Molise (Map iii.); at Casalnuovo di Monter S. Paolo di Civitate, in the province of Capitanata (at Brindisi di Montagna, at San Chirico Nuovo, a Giorgio Lucano, in the province of Basilicata (Ma Cervicati, Mongrassano, Rota Greca, and Serra di L province of Calabria Citeriore (Map viii.); and a Arietta, and Gizzeria, in the province of Calabria Ult (Map ix.).[1]

In the thirteen Greek villages of the province d'Otranto (Map vii.) no Albanian is heard (as has b neously stated), but only Modern Greek, in a corrupte which, as well as the Modern Greek of Calabria Ul (Map x.) has been scientifically treated by Compare grini, and especially by Morosi (Map viii.).

With reference to the Albanian of Terra d'Otra vii.), which is still in use at San Marzano, in the Tàranto, *P.* De Vincentiis has not limited his kindn preceding information, but has also succeeded in me, from a native of that village: 1°. A list of ab words; 2°. Three phrases; 3°. A very short song, in called in Italian "Novella degli Sposi," *viz.* "Ro the Betrothed." These three documents, as stated (Go to p. 344.)

[1] This gradual extinction of a language has a mournful interest. born twenty-five years earlier, I could have heard Albanian still spoken an annex of Cellere, near Canino, formerly in the Duchy of Castro, the province of Rome. This small hamlet of about twenty families Pope Benedict XIV. to these poor Christians belonging to the diocese Albania, who were seeking refuge from Mahometan persecution under of Andrea and his sons Antonio and Don Stefano Remani, a famil still in the recollection of some of the Albanians of Pianiano about h ago, when I used to pay them frequent visits from Musignano, the of my father, the first Prince of Canino and Musignano. The three R very intelligent men, and quite fit to be the guides and administrator larger community. As they were men of some means and very cha names were still held in great veneration by the Italianized Albanians afterwards a detached portion of the Principality of Canino "Pi Simone," from the name of one of their rectors, Don Simone Sterbini. stories made him sometimes appear in these plains by moonlight, s his cloak as if to protect his cherished Albanians.

Such common words as *buk* "bread," *miš* "meat," *rruš* "grapes and some others, very few in number, were still in their memory.

As these facts are almost unknown, I have thought them worth standing their comparatively small philological importance, to be pre oblivion.

KEY TO THE ALBANIAN PHONETIC SYMBOLS EMPLOYED IN THIS PAPER.

a=*a* in *father*.	gh=Mod. Gk. γ in γάλα.	mm=strong *m*.	tth=strong *th*.
b=*b* in *but*.	ghh=Dutch *g* in *goed*.	n=French *n* in *nom*.	ts=Italian *z* in *la zia*.
bb=strong *b*.	gj=Ital. *ghi* in *la ghianda*.	nn=strong *n*.	tš=Italian *c* in *pace*.
d=French *d*.	h=*h* in *how*.	nj=French *gn* in *digne*.	ttš=strong *tš*.
dd=strong *d*.	i=*e* in *me*.	*n*=*ng* in *king*.	u=*oo* in *fool*.
dh=*th* in *thee*.	j=*y* in *you*.	o=*o* in *more*.	v=*v* in *vine*.
dz=Italian *z* in *la zona*.	k=*c* in *cat*.	p=*p* in *pear*.	y=French *u*.
ddz=strong *dz*.	kk=strong *k*.	r=*r* in *marine*.	z=*z* in *zeal*.
dž=Italian *g* in *la gente*.	kj=Italian *chi* in *la chiave*.	rr=Spanish *rr*.	zz=strong *z*.
ddž=strong *dž*.	kkj=strong *kj*.	s=*s* in *so*.	A, nasalize the preceding vowel.
e=*e* in *bed*.	l=French *l*.	ss=strong *s*.	(′)=tonic accent.
ə=French *e* in *le*.	ll=strong *l*.	š=*sh* in *shoe*.	(¯)=length.
f=*f* in *foe*.	lh=Polish *ł*.	šš=strong *š*.	(ˆ)=length with tonic accent.
ff=strong *f*.	lj=Spanish *ll*.	t=French *t*.	(¨), divides two vowels.
g=*g* in *go*.	llj=strong *lj*.	tt=strong *t*.	
gg=strong *g*.	m=*m* in *me*.	th=*th* in *thin*.	

have been very much corrected and modified in this second edition, after reading with great care the excellent article "L'Albanais en Apulie," by the lamented Dr. John Hanusz, printed in the "Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris," vi. pp. 263–7.

I. List of Words. (*See* p. 343.)

N.B.—The Albanian substantives of this list are given as a rule under the indefinite or unarticulated form, but the definite or articulated one is often given as well. In other instances this last is only indicated by numbers, 1. following the masculines ending in *i*; 2., the masculines ending in *u*; and 3., the feminines ending in *a*.

arə 1.	*gold.*
aštə 1.	*bone; stone* (of a fruit).
ballə 3.	*forehead.*
bardə	*white.*
barkə 2.	*belly.*
batthə	*bean.*
battha	*the bean.*
bekkuámi	*blessed,* m.
I Bbekkuámi	*The Blessed, God.*
bekkuámia	*blessed,* f.
Bekkuámia	*The Blessed, the Virgin Mary*
brek 3.	*pantaloons.*
brəmmə 3. (*see* brənbə)	*evening.*
brənbə 3. (*see* brəmmə)	*evening.*
budz 3. (*see* buz)	*lip.*
buk (*see* dəkrûmə)	*bread.*
buka (*see* dəkrûma)	*the bread.*
bukrə (*see* ndarə)	*beautiful.*
burblə 1.	*gun-powder.*
burr 1.	*man* (lat. *vir*).
burrík 3.	*jacket.*
buz 3. (*see* budz)	*lip.*
dardə 3.	*pear-tree; pear.*
dəkrûmə (*see* buk)	*bread.*

·ûma (*see* buka)	*the bread.*
	ewe.
ja	*the ewe.*
	sea.
.	*sun.*
	day.
.	*hand.*
.fillə 3.	*rose.*
	wood, firewood.
ə *pl.*	*wood, firewood.*
e škupettə)	*musket.*
1.	*fire.*
	yes.
1.	*angel.*
	barley.
	the barley.
	sweet.
drə 1.	*silver.*
3.	*cheek.*
	fair sub.
.	*the fair.*
	flower.
	to sleep.
	sleep, imperat.
ɜ.	*nose.*
.	the Italian "*ricotta.*"
	all.
ə 2.	*blood.*
·ə 1.	*serpent.*
3.	*breast.*
	cock.
lji	*the cock.*
ɪəsə 3.	*middle,* sub.
ŝə 1.	*milk.*
› 1.	*thorn ; bone* (of a fish).
1.	*finger.*
3.	*tongue.*
› 3.	*knee.*

gri	*rise*, imperat.
grigu	*rise up*, imperat.
grik	*mouth.*
grika	*the mouth.*
grinə	*to rise; to rise up.*
grok	*fork.*
grokka	*the fork.*
grúə	*woman.*
gruja	*the woman.*
grurə	*corn.*
grúrədə	*the corn.*
horə 3.	*town.*
jatti (*see* tattə)	*the father.*
jema (*see* məmma)	*the mother.*
jertə	*high.*
jo	*no*, adv.
kalə 1.	*horse.*
katundə 1.	*village.*
kerkjerə 3.	*lime* (lat. *calx*).
kerkjə 1.	*glass* (lat. *poculum*).
kənbə 3.	*foot.*
kjaf	*throat.*
kjaffa	*the throat.*
kjen 1.	*dog.*
kjengrə 1.	*lamb.*
kjerrə 3.	*coach.*
kliša	*church.*
klittšə 1.	*key.*
kragə	*arm* (lat. *brachium*).
kríə 3.	*head.*
krinbə 1.	*worm.*
krisí (*see* verə)	*wine.*
kukjə	*red.*
kumarə	*ass.*
kumíš	*shirt.*
kunborə	*bell.*
kunbora	*the bell.*
kupúts	*shoe.*

	skin.
	hair.
), leštə	*hairs.*
	ugly.
	tree.
	lean.
(*see* thik)	*knife.*
	fat.
	great.
	cat.
3.	*morning.*
1.	*silk.*
3.	*noon.*
(*see* jema)	*mother.*
3.	*medal.*
	table-cloth.
a	*the table-cloth.*
.	*beard.*
	good.
	flesh; meat.
ə	*the flesh; the meat.*
	apple-tree; apple.
	she-mule.
	he-mule.
kjə 3.	*frog.*
	night.
ujə)	*water.*
	man (Lat. *homo*).
	betrothed, sub. m.
	the betrothed, m.
	betrothed, sub. f.
	the betrothed, f.
ə bukrə)	*beautiful.*
	to raise.
	little, adv.
	mare.
	the mare.
kə	*apricot-tree; apricot.*

peškə 2.	*fish.*
plakkə 2.	*old man.*
plakkə 3.	*old woman.*
pləkə 3.	*dust.*
pugattə	*rich.*
pullə 3.	*hen.*
rezzə 3.	*plant.*
ruespə 1.	*toad.*
rušə 3.	*grapes.*
sandón 1.	*bed-sheet.*
si	*eye.*
síu	*the eye.*
sitə	*eyes.*
stipí	*house.*
stipía	*the house.*
stratə	*bed.*
stratti	*the bed.*
summə	*much*, adv.
šárpəkə 2.	*hat.*
šendə	*saint.*
šéndədə	*saints.*
škal	*ladder.*
škupettə 3. (*see* duf)	*musket.*
šokkjə 1.	*companion.*
šokkjə 3.	*female companion.*
šunbə 1.	*button* (of flowers); *bud* trees).
talurə 1.	*dish.*
tattə (*see* jatti)	*father.*
tə	*earth.*
teu	*the earth.*
tənbə	*tooth.*
tənbi	*the tooth.*
tərgudz 3.	*rope.*
tərloddžə 1.	*watch* (French *montre*).
thennə 3.	*moon.*
thik (*see* mafiér)	*knife.*
thikka	*the knife.*

3.	*nail* (Lat. *unguis*).
	big.
ıšə	*big*, m.
ıšə	*big*, f.
	oats.
rədə	*the oats.*
.	*young man.*
	I.
	road.
(*see* neró)	*water.*
..; 3.	*olive-tree; olive.*
ə	*poor.*
	young woman.
elə	*chin.*
arielli	*the chin.*
ə	*baby; child; boy; lad.*
ınni	*the baby; the child; the boy; the lad.*
	low.
šu	*low* m.
ıšu	*low*, f.
e krisí)	*wine.*
.	*ear.*
ı	*little.*
	black.

II. Phrases (Transl. by Santoro).

jə, zodərottə, díttənə e ırə.	Lascio, signoria, giorno-il il buono.
dzó pə gjénənə immə ə jetə mə ti.	Pensa per la-gente mia che è con te.
, ka tə japə funjə	Va, che ti do mazzate.

III. Romance (Transl. by Santoro).

nja kə u *n*gə denja, ma i pa*n*zán,	Dissi che io non voleva, ma era falso,
ti e dinjə pe*n*dzierin' ımə.	Ma tu lo sapevi pensiere-il mio.

3. Pərpara tə škoda me buz.	Davanti te passai con labbro (*muso*).
4. Klevvi pə də krəštératə tšə *n*gə tə hava mir dit.	Fu per gli cristiani (*uomini*) che non ti dissi buon dì.
5. Kamə lən kušə denja mirə,	Ho lasciato chi voleva bene;
6. Də dúa mirə, zə*n*bra immə.	Ti voglio bene, cuore-il mio.
7. Naní, piérrimi tə duákimi mirə;	Ora, ritorniamo a volerci bene;
8. Sə ti šokkjə immə ka-təjessesə, tšə do I Bekkuámi.	Che tu compagna (*moglie*) mia sarai, se vuole Il Benedetto (*Il Dio.*).

IV. The Lord's Prayer (Transl. by Santoro).

1. Tatta inə, tšə jetə*n*də kjelə:	Pater noster, qui es in cælis:
2. Tə jessi kljottə é*n*brənə itə.	Sanctificetur nomen tuum.
3. Tə vî párraddzi itə.	Adveniat regnum tuum.
4. Tə jessi bənnə si do ti, si *n*də kjelə, kəštú pər de.	Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cælo, et in terra.
5. Innə sodə búkənə jonnə pə dítnətə.	Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.
6. Lerə tə tíratə tə tónnatə, si nə ja lemmi tə tiéravə tə tonna.	Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.
7. E mosə nə špirə *n*dudə e lliggə.	Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.
8. E dikə nevé ka təkekia.	Sed libera nos a malo.
9. E kə štu kjoštə.	Amen.
E'*n*brəni Táttəsə, é*n*brəni tə i Bírriti, e Spirti Šé*n*didi. E kə štu kjoštə.	In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

V. Romance.

(A different reading according to Hanusz.)

1. Thinja, se *n*gə tə denja, e iši pa*n*zán,	Je simulais que je ne t'aimais pas, et c'était un mensonge.
2. Ku*n*dzədró ti zə*n*bra imə.	Tu as pénétré mon cœur.

3. Pərpara tə škoda njaj me buz,	Devant toi je marchais un peu fâché ;
4. Kljevə pə greštera, tsə *n*gə tə vreta.	C'était pour les hommes que je ne t'ai pas regardée.
5. U kam e ljen, ku iše mir denja,	Je l'ai laissé où il était, l'amour,
6. Tə t'mar ti, zə́*n*bra imə.	Pour te prendre, ô mon cœur.
7. Naní príremi ne día, se ne dúgemi,	Alors tournons-nous tous deux, si nous nous aimons,
8. Šokje mə ka tə jesəš, tšə do Krišti.	Afin que tu sois ma femme, ce que Dieu veut.

VI. Sunét "Sonetto." (According to Hanusz.)

1. Díe mbrə*n*b škoda e *n*gə tə pêu,	Hier soir j'ai passé et je ne t'ai pas vue,
2. E ti búkəra imə, *n*d' argalî,	Et toi, ma beauté, au métier à tisser,
3. *N*ga kopané, tš' ipnje *n*d' ajó kaš,	Chaque coup que tu donnais dans cette caisse
4. Me ška*n*dogšə zə*n*bra pə ti.	M'a brisé le cœur pour toi.

VII. Improvisation. (According to Hanusz.)

1. Denja tə dinja, tšə ka te bəše,	Je voudrais savoir ce que tu dois faire
2. Me kət tə škrúor, tšə je tə bən.	Avec cette écriture que tu es en train de faire.

APPENDIX I.

As I have received from different localities of the Neapolitan provinces the Lord's Prayer, etc., translated into nine varieties of the Albanian dialect of Italy, and wish to prevent the loss of these comparative, local, and original specimens, I add them here in the form in which I received them, without any appreciation or observation of my own, using the orthography followed by each of the native translators.

I. *Ururi, in the province of Molise, by a native of that place.*

1. Tata ione, cï ie ca chieïsa:
2. Clioft sceït emeri iote.
3. Art regni iote.
4. Ubift vuuntata iote, si ca chieïsa, chïsciu pïr det.
5. Buchïn ione ga dita ïnna sonte.
6. Rïmïtirma neve dïtirt e tona, si na ia rïmïtirmi dïbïturvet e tona.
7. E mos na ducir ca tentaziuna.
8. Ma libroua ca e chechia.
9. Chïsciu clïofit.

II. *Casalvecchio di Puglia, in Capitanata, by a native.*

1. Tata iona, cè[1] ie ndrè chiél:
2. Bōefsc[2] scét nomi iot.
3. Et vignè regni iot.
4. Tè bōehat vuluntata iota, si ndrè chiél, ksu prè dé.
5. Jèna sod bucnè iona dè nga ddita.
6. Glièna névra dtirta iona, si na glièmi dèbiturta iona.
7. E nzir ca né tèntaziunt.
8. Ruièna ca tè chechiètè.
9. E ksciu et iét.

III. *Barile, in Basilicata, by Angelo Bozza, a native.*

1. Tatta jonn, ci jei ta chjeli:
2. Chgljoft baccuar emmira jott.
3. N' chiassat regni jott.
4. Chagjoft vuluntatta jott, ta chjeli, ta scecculi.
5. Bucc' jonn nga ddit ipp niriva.
6. Bunnimi mir ddtiri jonn[illegible] ghjal' nej j bugnin[illegible] mir attiriva ci cat' [illegible] jappini.
7. Nga nej schiass' ddj[illegible] gligg.
8. Ma ghjtt sciurbissita glj[illegible]
9. Acsctu jet.

A short letter.

Faglimi sciocch

U nëngh mënd' èrda të ghiéja, sa cammn sciumn cët bègn, e ti a dij. Ti rija mijrè; u a zóra! Ma nèssër të vign' a ghiégnē.

Vi miirē—Scìhmi.

Jotte sciocch

Mincarucci.

Salute amico

Io non ho potuto venir[illegible] trovarti, perchè ho assai [illegible] fare, e tu lo sai. Tu stai ben[illegible] io l'ho appreso! Ma doma[illegible] ti vengo a trovare.

Sta bene—Vediamoci[illegible]

Tuo amico

Domenicuccio.

[1] è is pronounced as *e*; and [2] ōe as French *eu* in *leur*. (The transl.)

IV. *San Costantino Albanese, in Basilicata, by Papás N. Emmanuele.*

1. Tata in, cē jĕe ndēr kĭel:
2. Scēitrŏi ēmri it,
3. A'rt pentĭa jŏtte.
4. Kiŏft e bēēr faglĭma jŏtte, asctŭ ndē kĭel, si mbii dee.
5. Bŭken tēn, ci chee mbē crĭe, ēmna nĕve sod.
6. Se na ndēgliemi, ghiθ atà cē na kăn ftesur nĕve.
7. E mŏs na chiĕel nĕve ndē pirasmŏn.
8. Gllērĕna nĕve ca ghiθ flĕsurat.
9. Asctŭ chiŏftit.

V. *San Marzano di San Giuseppe, in Terra d'Otranto.* (*See* p. 341.)

VI. *San Giorgio Albanese, in Calabria Citeriore, by Prof. Giov. Battista Canadé, a United Greek Priest.*

1. Tat' iin, cië jee ndëë kiel:
2. Chiòft beccuar ëmri it.
3. Affëruar regghiëría jótte.
4. Chióft bëër vugliémma jótte, asctú ndëër kíel, si mbi dee.
5. Bucchen tëën, cië na taccon ngā ditta, ëmna sot.
6. Ndëgliéna neve mbëcath' tónna, si na ndëgliemi mbëcath tëtierve.
7. Mos na vëër ndë tentaziona.
8. Pôr largónna caa ghiθt' gligghat.
9. Chesctú chióft.

Ave Maria.

1. Eghëzúase Sciën Mërii,	Ave Maria,
2. Grazie piòt ti jee.	Gratia plena.
3. Jinzót ëë me tij.	Dominus tecum.
4. E becúar ti jee ndëë ghiθ' ghraat,	Benedicta tu in mulieribus,
5. E i becúar carpói bárcut' tënd Jesus.	Et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus.
6. Zogna Sciëën Mëërii, Ëmme Innit Zot,	Sancta Maria, Mater Dei,
7. Për ne cië chemmi mbëcàt parcagliès,	Ora pro nobis peccatoribus,
8. Naní e ndëë gheren vdecchies tëën.	Nunc et in hora mortis nostræ.
9. Asctú chioft.	Amen.

VII. *Zangarona, in Calabria Ulteriore II., by Giu. Canton Lanzo, from Nicastro, in Calabria Ulteriore II.*

1. Játt jón, cë[1] rrii ndër kiél;[2]
2. Ëmëri jót kióft persceitnue.
3. Ardht[3] mbrëtria jótta.
4. U bëft e vulhnessa jótta, si ndë kiél, ashtú[4] ndë dhee.
5. Buken jón ngaditshén ip neva sot.
6. Ndéi dëtirat t' on, si na ndëimi dëtirsit t' on.
7. E dhé mos bënia ngashshpirti khii.
8. Po ni á ghitt ca i lighú.
9. Ashtú kióft.

VIII. *General Italo-Albanian, by Prof. Modesto Miracco, from Santa Sofia d'Epiro, in Calabria Citeriore.*

1. Ati înë, nëdêr chïel cë jë :
2. I becuarë chioftë êmri itë.
3. Artë reghiëria jotte.
4. U bêfti e duamia jotte, si nëdêr chïel, asctú nëdêr dhë.
5. Buchen tênë të soseëmen ênna neve sotë.
6. Nëdegliena neve dëtiret[illegible] tona, si edhé na i nëde[illegible] gliemi armikvet tênë.
7. Emos na chiël nêdë tan[illegible] duamit.
8. Po glief θêronna neve [illegible] e echechia.
9. Asctú chiotë.

IX. *Unspecified Italo-Albanian, by Antonio Dorsa, from Cir[illegible]ta, in Calabria Citeriore.*

1. Tata joon, ci jee dy kial :
2. Kyft i becuar ymri tynt.
3. Arθt regghyria jote.
4. Kyftit mogliema jote, ak dy kial, sa dy δeet.
5. Buckyn tyyn gga dit jipna neve sot.
6. Dygliena neve mycat t[illegible]na, si na dygljemi a ta cy caan na japin.
7. E mos na kiel dy testim[illegible]surit.
8. E glibrarna neve ca i gligg[illegible]
9. Chysctu kyoft.

To these nine, more or less correct, Italo-Albanian translations of the Lord's Prayer, the following five may be added. They are reduced from their translator's orthography to that of which the key is given on p. 343 :

1°. Into the Italo-Albanian of Frascineto, in Calabria

[1] ë = *ə*. [2] k = *kj*. [3] dh = *dh*. [4] sh = *š*. (The transl.)

Citeriore. (*See* "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dal testo greco nel dialetto calabro-albanese di Frascineto dal Sig. Vincenzo Dorsa. Riveduto e corretto da Don Demetrio Camarda, autore della Grammatologia Albanese. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte.* Londra. 1868.")

2°. Into the Italo-Albanian of Piana de' Greci, in the province of Palermo. (*See* "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dal testo greco nel dialetto albanese di Piana de'Greci in Sicilia da un nativo di questo luogo. Riveduto e corretto da Don Demetrio Camarda, autore della Grammatologia Albanese. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte.*" Londra. 1868.")

3°. Into the Tosk or Southern Albanian of Albania. (*See* at p. 22 of the "*'Αλφάβητον 'Αλβανικόν.*" (*S. H. Weiss, anc. mais. Köhler et Weiss, grand' rue de Pera* 323. *Constantinople.* Without any date.)

4°. Into the Gheg or Central Albanian of Albania. (*See* "Dhiata e Rē e Zotit edhe Šəljbúesit t'ynə Jesu-Krištit, kəthyem prei Grekjíštesə vietər Škjip ndə gjuhə Gegənište prei Konstantinit Kristoforidit, Elbasanasit. Konstantinopol. 1869.")

5°. Into the Gheg or Northern Albanian of Scutari in Albania. (*See* "Il Vangelo di S. Matteo, tradotto dalla Volgata nel dialetto albanese ghego scutarino, dal P. Francesco Rossi da Montalto. Riveduto e corretto da *Mons.* Gaspare Crasnich, Abate Mitrato di Mirditta. *Impensis Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte.* Londra. 1870.")

The Lord's Prayer in these Five Dialects.

I. *Frascineto.*

1. Tata în, tšə jê tə kjíelət:
2. Kjoftə šəitərúar əməri it.
3. Árthətə rregjəría jote.
4. Kjoftə bəan vəljema jote, si *n*də kjíəl, edhé *n*bi dhê.
5. Bukən tón tə pərdísəmən əamna sot.
6. E *n*dəljena neve dətirat tona, si edhé na ja *n*dəljemi atire tšə kân tə na japən.
7. E mos na síelšə *n*dər ta*n*tatsiúna.
8. Po ljəšona ka i ljigu.
9. Aštú kjoftə.

II. *Piana de' Greci.*

1. Tata jinə, tšə jê tə kjíeghhiatə:
2. Kloftə šəitúar emri jitə.
3. Járthətə *n*bretría jotə.
4. U-bəftə vulema jotə, aštú si *n*də kjíeghhə, edhé *n*bi dhê.
5. Bukən tənə tə pərdítšəmen ên̂a neve sot.
6. Edhé *n*dəjena detírətə tona, si edhê na *n*dəjéjəm' atá tšə na kanə dətúarə neve.
7. E mos na bíeš *n*də tə ksevalur.
8. Po špətona ka i ligu.
9. Aštú kloftə.

III. *Tosk.*

1. Âti ynə kjə jê *n*də kjíej:
2. Ušənjtəroftə éməri yt.
3. Arthtə *n*bərətəı îa jotə.
4. Ubə̂ftə dašurimi yt, si *n*də kjíel, edhé *n*bə dhêt.
5. Búkənə t'ənə tə pərdítəšmenə ep-na neve sot.
6. Edhé falj-na fájetə t'anə sikundrə edhé na úa faljmə fajtórəvet t'anə.
7. Edhê mos na štiérə *n*d ghətsím.
8. Po špətó-na préï sə kekj
9. Amín.

IV. *Gheg.*

1. Āti ynə, kji jē *n*də kjiél:
2. Ušenjtənōft' éməni yt.
3. Arthtə *n*bərətənía jotə.
4. Ubāʌftə dašunimi yt, si *n*də kjiél, edhe *n*bə dhēt.
5. Búkənə t'onə tə pərdítšəmen' ep-na neve sot.
6. Edhe falj-na fájetə t'o sikurse edhe na úa fal in fajtórəvet t'anə.
7. Edhe mos na štiérə *n*də *n*gásəje.
8. Por špeto-na prei sə ke jit.
9. Amen.

V. *Gheg of Scutari.*

1. Atýn, tši jē n' tšiélh:
2. Šeʌitnúem kjoft emni yt.
3. Ardht redžnía jotə.
4. U baʌft vulnessa jotə, sikúr n' tšiélh, aštú n' dhē.
5. Buken tāʌ t' perditšmen epna neve sot.
6. E nnîna neve fajet e mkstet tona, sikursé nnîm na faitôrt tāʌ.
7. E mos na leʌ me rā n'tunním.
8. E na largó prei gith s'kəttsh.
9. Aštú kjoft.

APPENDIX II.

Novel IX of the First Day of Boccaccio's Decameron.

(*See* "Papanti—I Parlari italiani in Certaldo. Livorno. 1873.")[1]

Italian.

Dico adunque, che ne'tempi del primo Re di Cipri, dopo il conquisto fatto della Terra Santa da Gottifrè di Buglione, avvenne che una gentil donna di Guascogna in pellegrinaggio andò al Sepolcro, donde tornando, in Cipri arrivata, da alcuni scelerati uomini villanamente fu oltraggiata: di che elle senza alcuna consolazion dolendosi, pensò d'andarsene a richiamare al Re; ma detto le fu per alcuno, che la fatica si perderebbe, perciò che egli era di si rimessa vita e da si poco bene, che, non che egli l'altrui onte con giustizia vendicasse, anzi infinite, con vituperevole viltà, a lui fattene sosteneva; in tanto che chiunque avea cruccio alcuno, quello col fargli alcuna onta o vergogna sfogava. La qual cosa udendo la donna, disperata della vendetta, ad alcuna consolazion della sua noja propose di volere mordere la miseria del detto Re; et andatasene piagnendo davanti a lui, disse: Signor mio, io non vengo nella tua presenza per vendetta che io attenda della ingiuria che m'è stata fatta, ma, in sodisfacimento di quella, ti priego che tu m'insegni come tu sofferi quelle le quali io intendo che ti son fatte, acciò che, da te apparando, io possa pazientemente la mia comportare; la quale, sallo Iddio, se io far lo potessi, volentieri ti donerei, poi così buon portatore ne se'. Il Re, infino allora stato tardo e pigro, quasi dal sonno si risvegliasse, cominciando dalla ingiuria fatta a questa donna, la quale agramente vendicò, rigidissimo persecutore divenne di ciascuno, che, contro all'onore della sua corona, alcuna cosa commettesse da indi innanzi.

[1] The orthography of Papanti's Collection has been preserved in the following translations.

Albanian (Provincia di Calabria Citeriore).

FRASCINETO.—Thom poca sé nde motit te parit Régje i Tçiprit po tçe kjé marre dhéu i shêit ka Gufrédi i Buljonit érth sé nje zonje e Guasconjes vattè per vutte té varri Crishtit, e kur u-pruare, po sa errû Tçiper, kjé maltrattuar shum kékje ka tsa njérez te ljikje: per keté ajó e cholkjassur pâ puscím vuu nde krièt te vêje te therrít té Régji. Po i kjé thâne sé biir mottin, psé régji ish nje njèrii akj[illegible] i biérri, e i varéssur, sé jo vét te ljigat tçe i bënshin t[illegible] tiérvèt, po èdhé te shumat tçe i böjen atije si mä i nëmu[illegible] i suffrirenèj; akje sâ 'nka nje tçe kish 'ndo nje 'ndsêr[illegible] mé te' e 'ndzîre mé te ljiga e mé te shaitur. Gjégjur zon[illegible] ket shurbés, pâ sperëndse to gjénèj dçustitziè, sé te ki[illegible] piadçîr té cheljmi saje, vuu 'nder trû ti 'nkit Régjit biérrit e tije; e vatur tue kjâr ték aí, tha: "Zotti im se vinje perpara tîje sé te keem mindite per ljikte m'u-böe, po si nje piadçîr per te', te parcaljésenje te mesóshe si ti i munden te ljigat tçe ú gjégèm sé te bö[illegible] tîje, psé ú, mesuar ka ti, te mundenje èdhé ú mé patçé [illegible] timèn; e kte' ú Inzót e dii, 'nde mund' e böija, mé [illegible] zëmer t' e règaloja, po tçe ti dii e i 'mbân pa farè [illegible] missur."

Régji tçe njéra achièrna kish kjêne molje e i varéss[illegible], si kûr i sgjuat ka gjumi, tue zên ka shurbéssi zonjes tçe vindicarti sa jo mäe, u-böe mäe i tharti njèrii kunter 'nga [illegible] tçe ka ajó dit i 'nkit 'ndéren e règjeries tije.

Modern Greek (Provincia di Terra di Otranto).

ALIMERA.—Cusete, sto cerò tu pronù Vasili tu Cipru, tta o Goffrido tu Buglione iche pianta us topu vloimenu, si mia jinega calì jennimeni pu sti Guascogna pu pirte e nima tu Ieù, e sto jurisi ftazzŏnta sto Cipro, jeno cameno aise, ce i sti n'ecame; manicheđđa, utto prama toglase i dia, ipe pao ce cleo u Vasili; tupane ti en iche ti cami, ne cerò cameno, ti cino ione tosso straò, ce af ze zoì tosso imarda, pu ci pu u cannane en ecchite, alio ce macà canoni pu cannane stos ađđò, ce stu ftecù pu isane pesammeni đđe pu panu lisaria. Mazzŏnta utta pramata e jinega, e zonta cami ađđo na mi ti pari o pono, ipe, evò e na daccaso o Vasili, ce panta cleonta bro cino: "Meamu, ipe, evò ercome bro stin aftentiasu ja citto straò pu mu camane, ome na maso, se pracalò, pos canni na su diavì ticanè pu af ze tossa pramata pu socune janomena, ce tuo to telo soso masi, na mu diavì in dichimmu; possa pramata sodione isoza cami evò pos canni aftentiasu."

O Vasili pu iche stasonta af ze cinu pu en itele na cami oti, sia ti fzunnise a pu ston ipuno, nzignase pu toa na tì antrepo, eftiase calù calù cini pu camane ta straà is ega, ju s'ađđu, macari t'ione tipoti ci pu u cannane, mara aftu.

Gallo-Italic (Provincia di Messina).

San Fratello.—Dich danqua ch' ai taimp du prim Re di Cipr, dipuoi la cunquista fatta di la Terra Santa da Gufreu di Bugghian, avvon chi 'na gintiu fomna di Guascogna 'n piligrinegg annàa a u Samuorch, d' anna turnaïn 'n Cipr arrivara, da arcui scialarei hami vidaunamaïnt f attraggiera: di co rodda sanza arcuna cunsulazian dulaïnn pinsàa d' annér a ricuorriri au Re; ma ditt ghi fu p' arcu chi la fataïgha si pirdirross, pircó rau era di cuscì dibu vi ta e di cuscì pacch baï, chi chiù tasst chi li anti di hieutr c n giustizia vindichiess, hienz 'nfiniri cu 'nfam viltàa, a r au fatti, suppurtava; tant chi qualunch avaja ira arcu a, quodda cun ferghi arcuna anta o virgagna sfughieva. La chïu causa sintaïn la fomna, dispirara di la vinnitta, p' arcuna cunsulazian di la saua nuoja, pripunó di vulaïr m rdr la misieria du ditt Re; e annàa ciangiaïn davant a rau, e diss: "Signaur miea, jiea ni viegn 'nta la taua prisaïnza pi vinnitta, chi jiea aspittass di la 'ngiuria chi m' è stata fatta; ma 'n sadisfazian di quodda ti priegh chi tu m' insigni cam tu suoffri quoddi chi jiea 'ntaïn chi ti san fatti, pircó da tu 'mparaïn, jiea pazza cun paciaïnza la maja cumpurtér; chi ('u saa Diea) si jiea fer û puloss, di bauna vuogghia ti cum primintass, pircó cuscì ban purtaraur ni saï."

U Re fina addaura stat tard e dagnauss, quasi da sagn risvigghiess, cumunzaïn da la 'ngiuria fatta a quosta fomn chi fart vindichiea, durissim pirsicutaur divintáa d' agnu chi cauntra d' anaur di la saua curauna arcuna causa cumi toss da puoi in avant.

Provençal (*Provincia di Capitanata*).

Celle San Vito. — Ge disce dunc, che a lu tènc de lu primmìe Raie de Cipre, dappòie che ì fì pràie la Tèra Sant da Guttèfrè de Buglione, avvenit che na gintile fenne de Guascogne iallatte pillirìne a lu Subbulche, discì turnan, arrevà che ì fitte a Cipre, da paraie mà mmuen ì fit nammuor trì brì ngirià: pessù iglie ne pregnitte tàn e tàn delaue, ca ì pinsat allà a rèccuorre a lu Raie; me cacun le discitte c' aiève tèn perdì, pecchè ìe gliève de cùorr trì pittitte e trì pabbunc, tàn che nun sulammen ì pregnìve pà dò iustise la vinnitte de lo ngiurie de lo sàte, me s' ellè trinnammuor che ì fascìvant a ìe, se le prignìve cu tàn vìe vetuperie; tanluvaie che tut sellòe che ì tenevant da dir cache ciuose de ìe, ì sfugàvant pe le denà despiascìe e pe lu sbrugnìe. Sentan sta ciuose sela fenne, persuadì che ì potive pà avàitre la vinnitte, p' avaie un pù de cunsulaziun a lu despiascìe sinc, se mettitte ntète de mmuordere un pù lu mèsterie dè sètte Raie; e piaran se n'allatte devanc a ìe, e li discitte: "Segnaue min, gì ge vien pà devan a tì pe la vinnitte che gì m'attant de la ngiurie che m'està fèie, me p'avaie un pù de piascìe dè sèlle, ge te pràie de m'emparà cumm ti tin tàn de pasienz de suffrìe sèlle ngiurie, che gì gì sinte che ì fasciunt a tì, pecchè gì avoie mparan de ì, ge putisse pùre dò pasienz suppurtà la mià; ca ì sà Diabbenaie, se ge jò putisse fà, bunammuor ge te la dunàre, pecchè tì te sà tànbun purtà u còe."

Lu Raie, nsì addunc cà se muìve pà e pà rèn ì fascìve, cumm se fiss ruveglià de lu suonne, abbiàtte primmammen de a ngiuria feie a sètta fenne, che ì vinnicà dò ràgge, poie se fascitte trì dìje persecuttàue de tutt sellòe cà ì fascivant mèie a prèie cache ciuose cuntre l'unnaue de la curona sià.

Illyrian (*Provincia di Molise*).

ACQUAVIVA COLLECROCE—Govorem dakle, da na vrimu pervoga Kralja Ciprina, potli vasetija zemlja sveta po Guffred Buljunow, je bio da nika dragostiva žena Guascognova, je pošla suputnica u grobu, odkuda vratajuè, u Cipru došla, po nike zale ljude hlapno je bila izapsovana. Za to ona bez ikoja utiha jadajuč, je mislila poci praviti Kralju, ali su reklo njoju, da bi tegh zgubila; poklé on biše torko ponizan do života, i torko mali milosardnik, da pace tuje uvrid[illegible] pravdom odkupiti, nezbrojne odurnom prikornostom njem[illegible] cinjene tarpejaše; zašto koj imaše ikoja rasarda, ova, cinju[illegible]č njemu uvrida, al sramota, zapaciajaše. Koja stvar ciju[illegible]č žena bez uhvanja fantenja, za ikoja utiha svoja prigrušenj[illegible]a, je nakanila ujesti lenost Kralja; i pošla placiajuč nap[illegible]ri njemu, je rekla: "Gospodar moj, ja negrem napri tebi za imati fantenja do uvrida, koja su meni cinile; ali na za[illegible]a-volinosti onoj, tebe molim da meni kazaš ako tarpiš o[illegible]ne, koje ciujem da jesu tebi cinjene; pokle do tebe nauciujuč[illegible]ja bi mogla moja sterpljvostno tarpiti; koja, znade Bog, ak[illegible]ja bi mogla ciniti, dobrovoljeno bi tebi darovila, zašto jes t[illegible]rko dobar nositelj."

Kralj joše tada (*or*, dotle) bil spor, i len, ako do san *bi* sa probudio, pociujuč do uvrida cinjena ovoju ženi, koja krutno je odkupio, nenaprošljv nastornik (*or*, naslidnik) je postio do svako, koj proti poštenje svoja kruna štogod bi cinio po napredka.

Historical and Bibliographical Notes.

1°. Albanian, as is generally known, was first introduced into Southern Italy, about 1440, by Demetrius Reres Castriota; by his son, the celebrated Albanian Captain Scanderbeg; and by their followers.

2°. Modern Greek did not take its origin in Southern Italy, as has been erroneously stated, from the Ancient Greek of Magna Græcia, but simply from the Modern Greek of Greece, of which it is a corrupted and very much Italianized dialect, as Italic Albanian is a very much corrupted and Italianized dialect of Tosk Albanian. (*See* "Comparetti—Saggio dei dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto. Lecce, 1879; Morosi—Dialetti romaici del mandamento di Bova in Calabria, in *Archivio Glottologico italiano*, vol. iv. p. 1. Roma, Torino, Firenze, 1874; Pellegrini—Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova. Torino e Roma, 1880.")

3°. The Gallo-Italic of Guardia Piemontese, in Calabria Citeriore, owes its origin to the Waldensian Piedmontese subdialect of the valleys of Pinerolo, Province of Turin, District, Canton and Diocese of Pinerolo. The Protestant Waldensians emigrated from Piedmont to Calabria about the year 1315. (*See* "Vegezzi-Ruscalla—Colonia piemontese in Calabria, in *Rivista Contemporanea*. Novembre, 1862.") With regard to the Gallo Italic of Sicily, it seems, according to De Gregorio, that, generally, it represents Northern Piedmontese, while the Gallo-Italic dialect of San Fratello and Nicosia shows rather, according to the same author, an Emilian origin. (*See* "De Gregorio—Fonetica dei dialetti gallo-italici di Sicilia, in *Archivio Glottologico italiano*, vol. viii. p. 305," and "Affinità del dialetto sanfratellano con quelli dell' Emilia. Torino, 1886," by the same author.)

4°. For Provençal and its probable origin, *see* "Galiani—Vocabolario Napoletano. Napoli, 1789, vol. i. p. 141.")

5°. The Illyrian dialect owes its origin to the Illyrians of Dalmatia who emigrated from there to the province of Capitanata (Foggia), Map IV., under the reign of Charles V. (Communicated by the Rev. Titus de Leonardis, Archpriest of Montecilfone, an Albanian village of the province of Molise (Campobasso), Map III., in his letter of the 26th June, 1889, dated from the said village.)

ERRATUM.

At Map VIII., instead of *Carpenzano*, read *Carpanzano*.

MAPS SHOWING

THE LINGUISTIC ISLANDS OF

THE NEAPOLITAN AND SICILIAN PROVINCES OF ITALY

IN 1889.

BY THE PRINCE L.L. BONAPARTE D.C.L.

LONDON, 1890.

Red	*means*	*Albanian*
Green	"	*Modern Greek*
Blue	"	*Gallo-Italic*
Brown	"	*Provençal*
Yellow	"	*Illyrian*

EXPLANATIONS.

●= *A Capital of a province where no insulated dialect is spoken by natives*

● = *A small Locality where no insulated dialect is spoken by natives*

● = *An Albanian locality*

⊙ = *id, but only Albanian in minority (large, small, or even very small)*

▲ = *id, an annex of a parish*

● = *A Modern Greek locality*

⊙ = *id, but only Modern Greek in minority*

▲ = *id, an annex of a parish*

△ = *id, id, in minority*

● = *A Gallo-Italic locality*

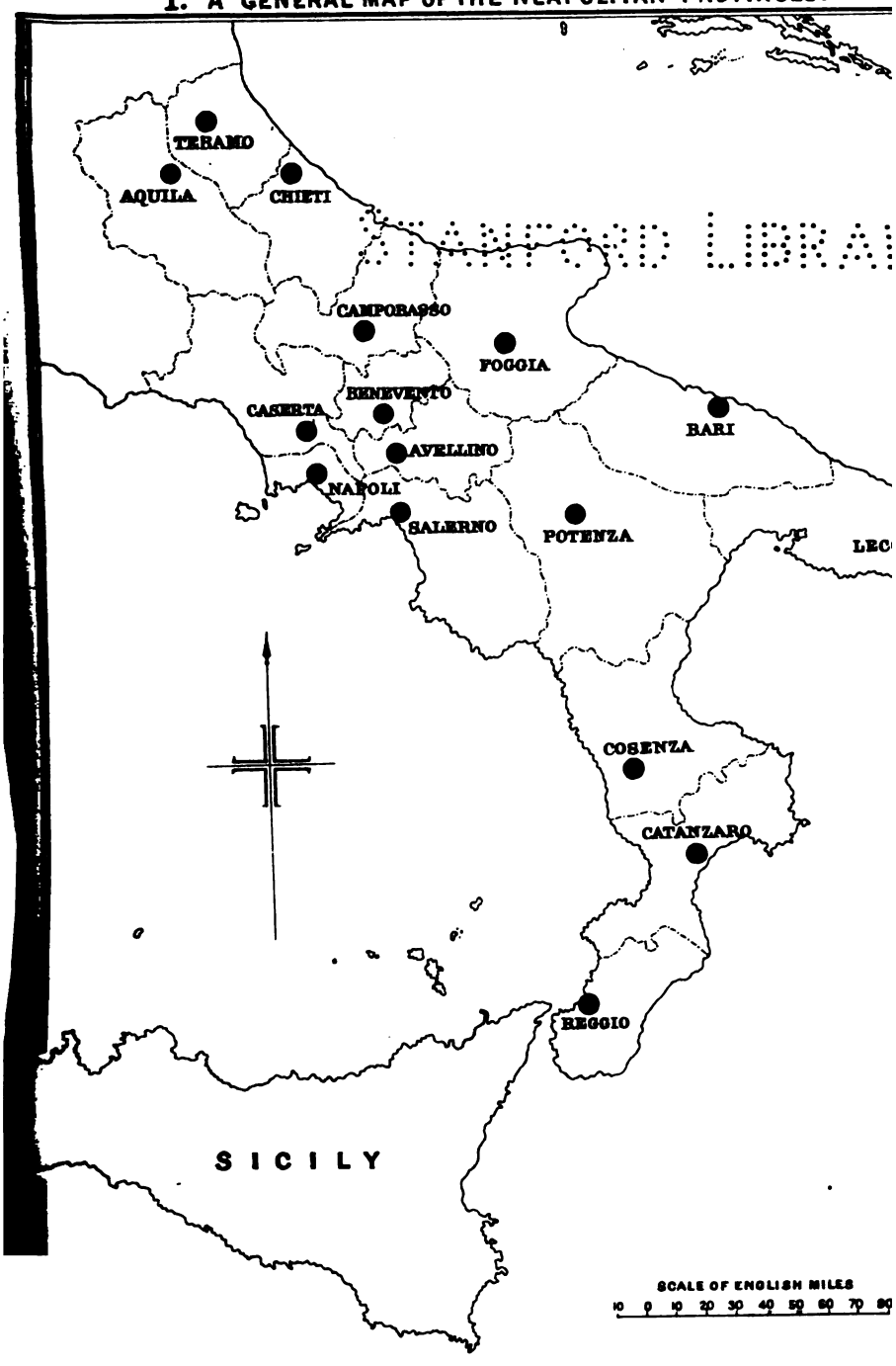
● = *A provençal locality*

● = *An Illyrian locality*

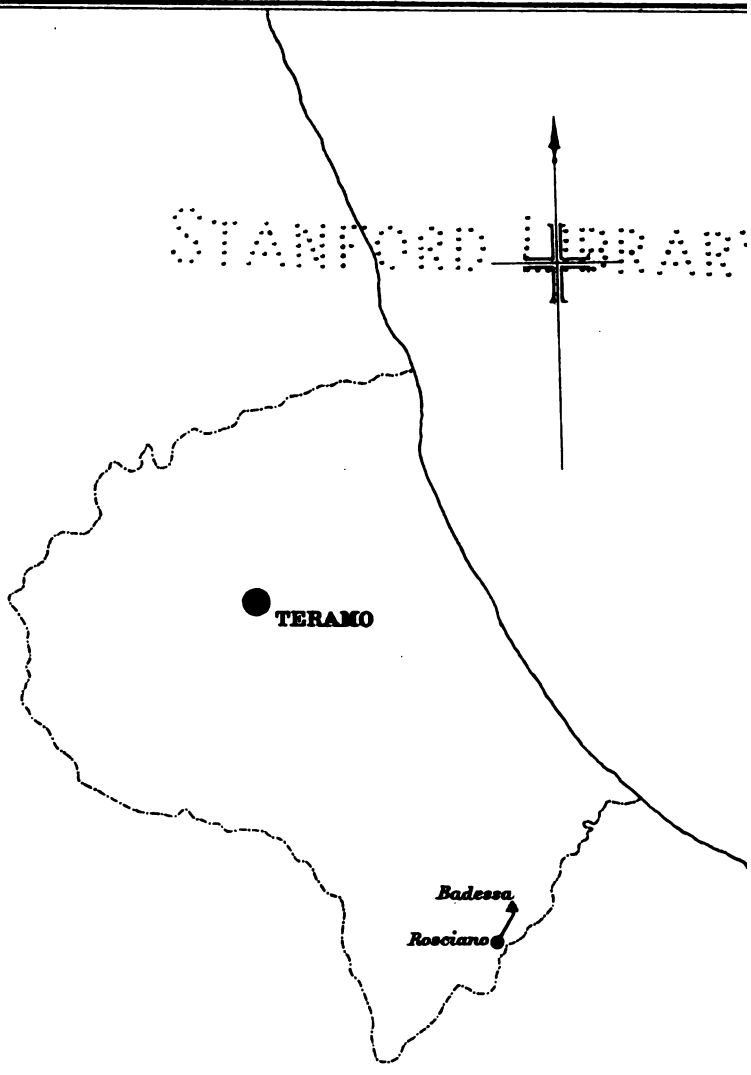
▲ = *id, an annex of a parish*

/ *, unites a part of a parish with the parish itself*

1. A GENERAL MAP OF THE NEAPOLITAN PROVINCES.



II. Province of Teramo.



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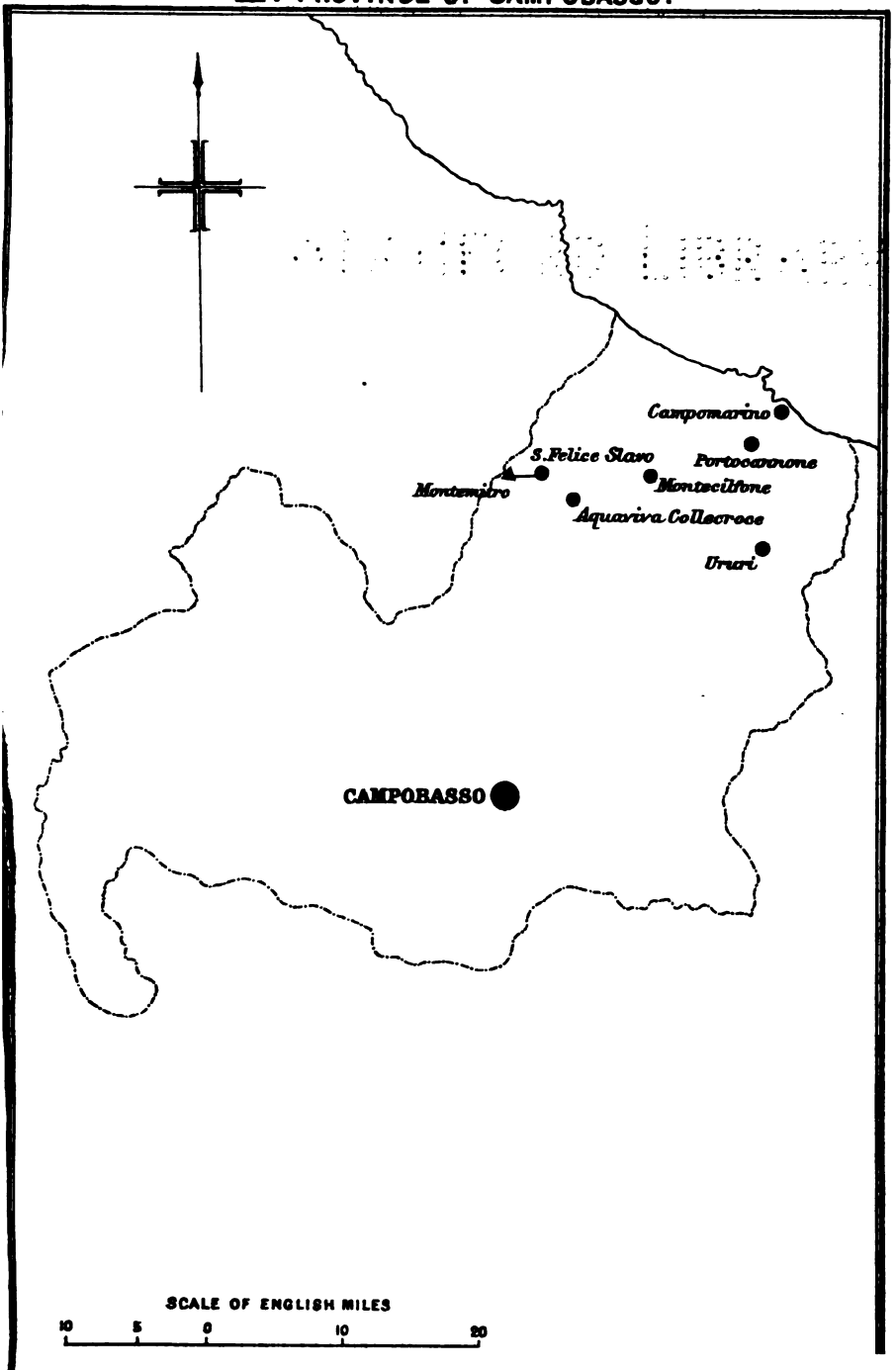
III. PROVINCE OF CAMPOBASSO.



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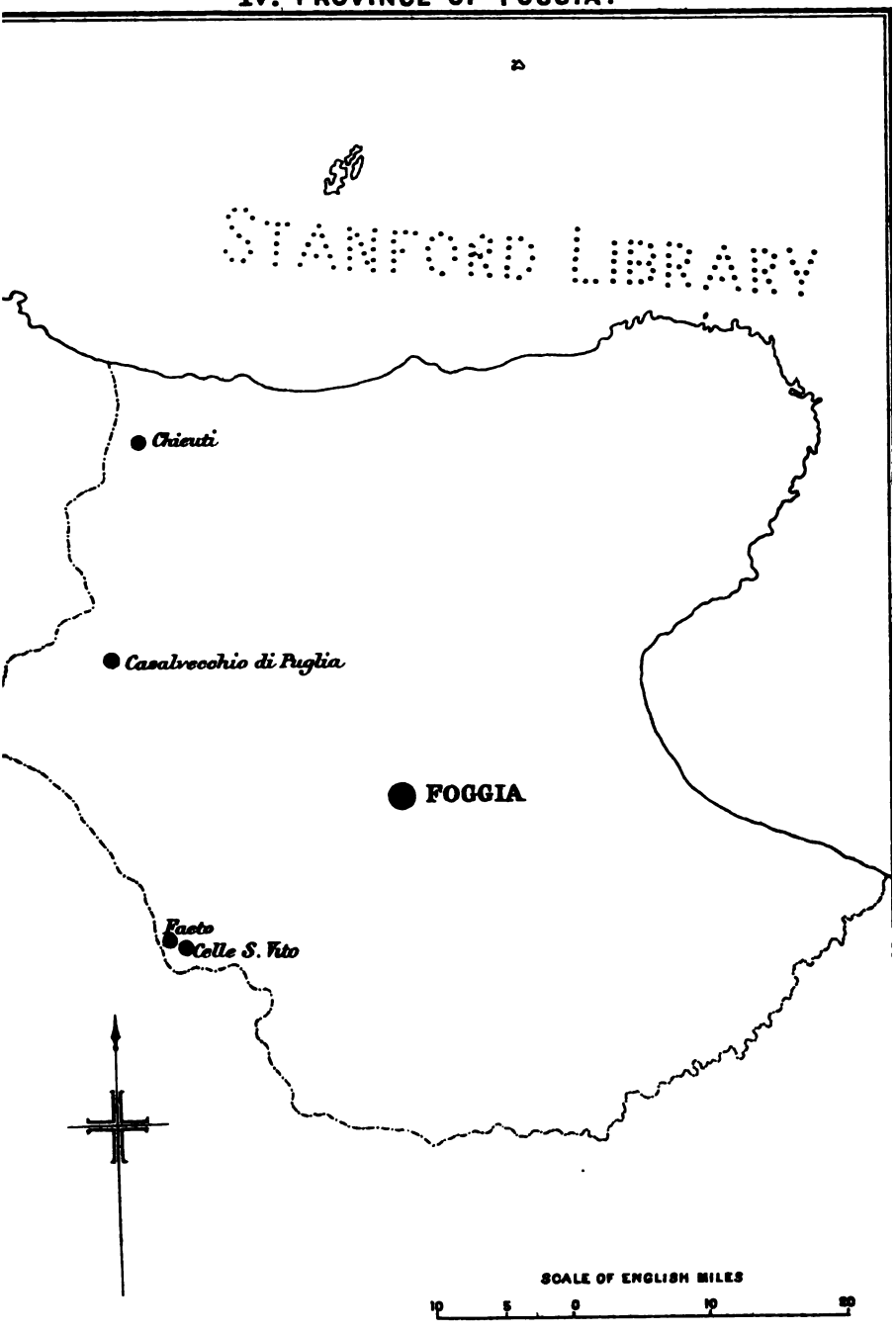
IV. PROVINCE OF FOGGIA.



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V. PROVINCE OF AVELLINO.

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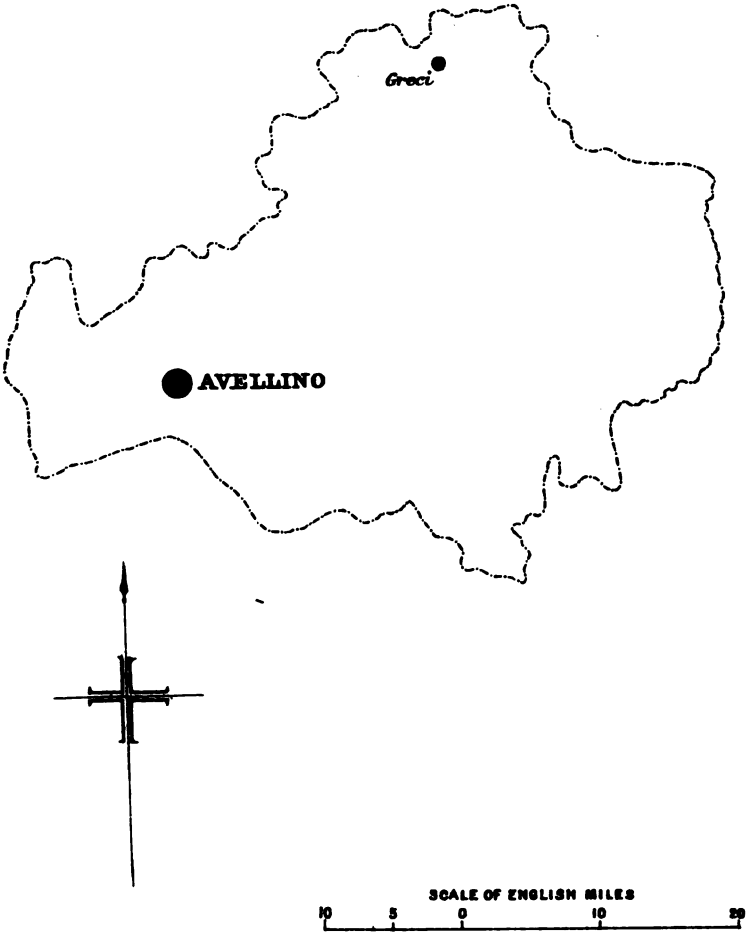

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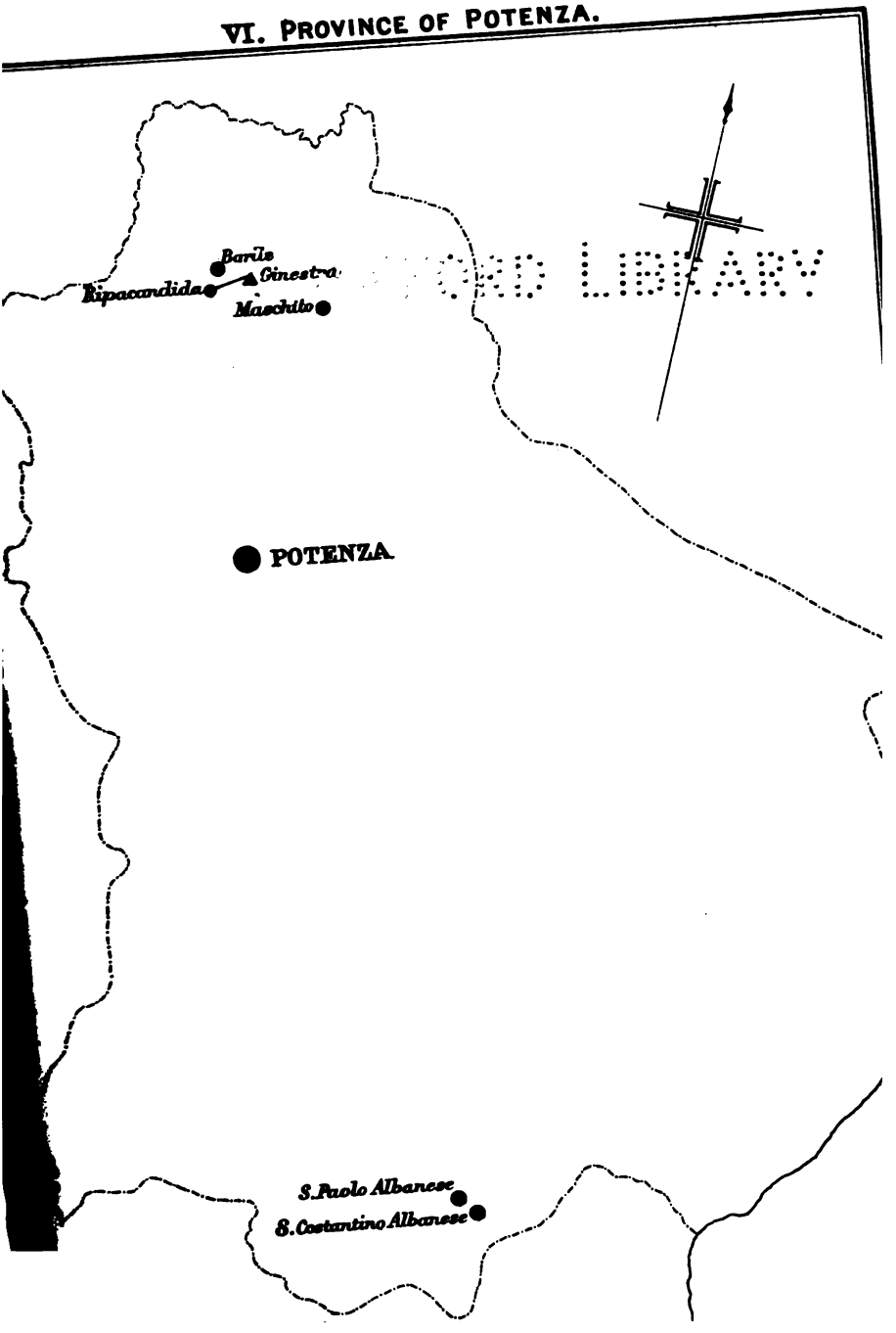
VI. PROVINCE OF POTENZA.



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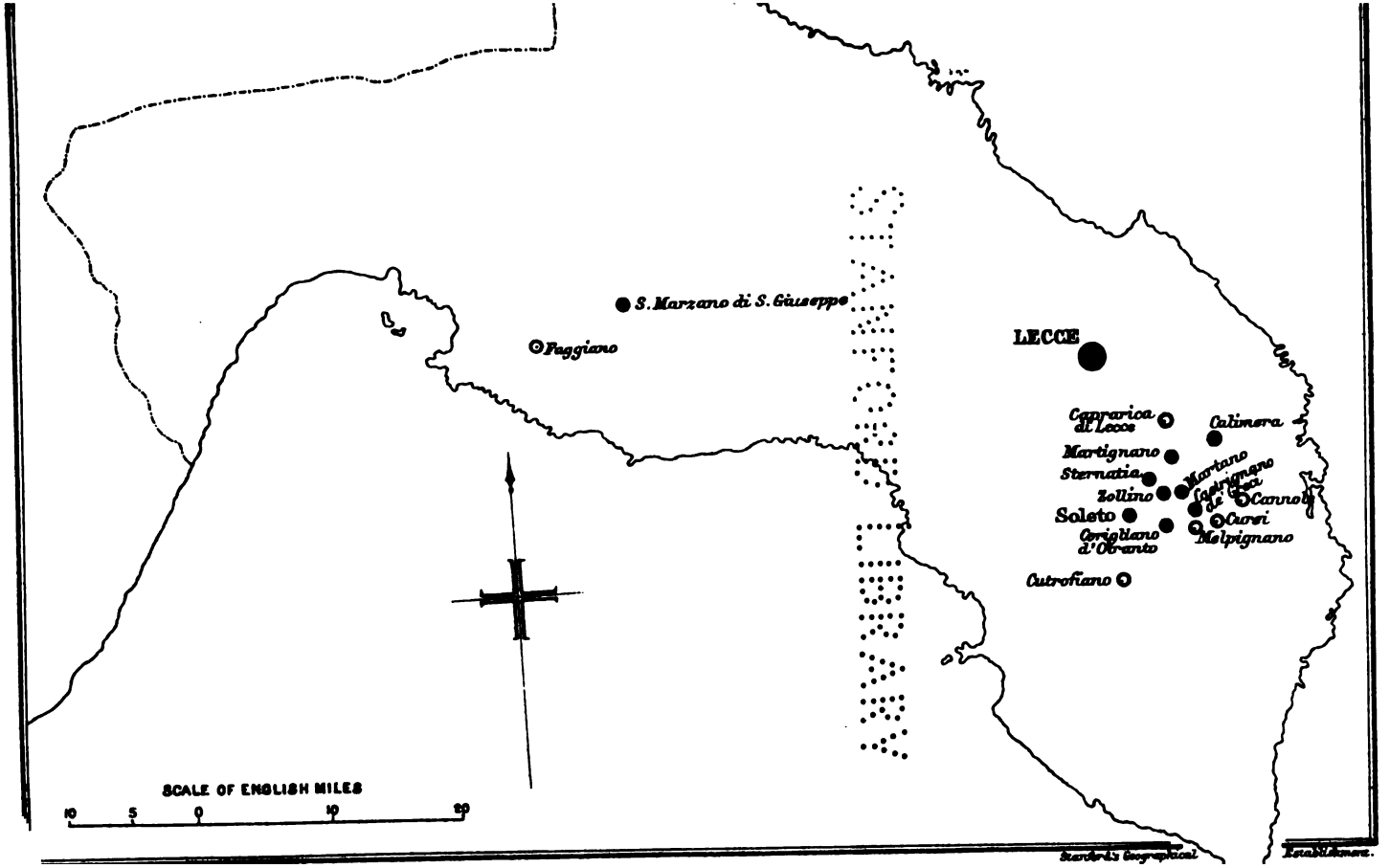
S. Marzano di S. Giuseppe
Faggiano
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Caprarica di Lecce
Calimera
Martignano
Sternatia
Martano
Castrignano de' Greci
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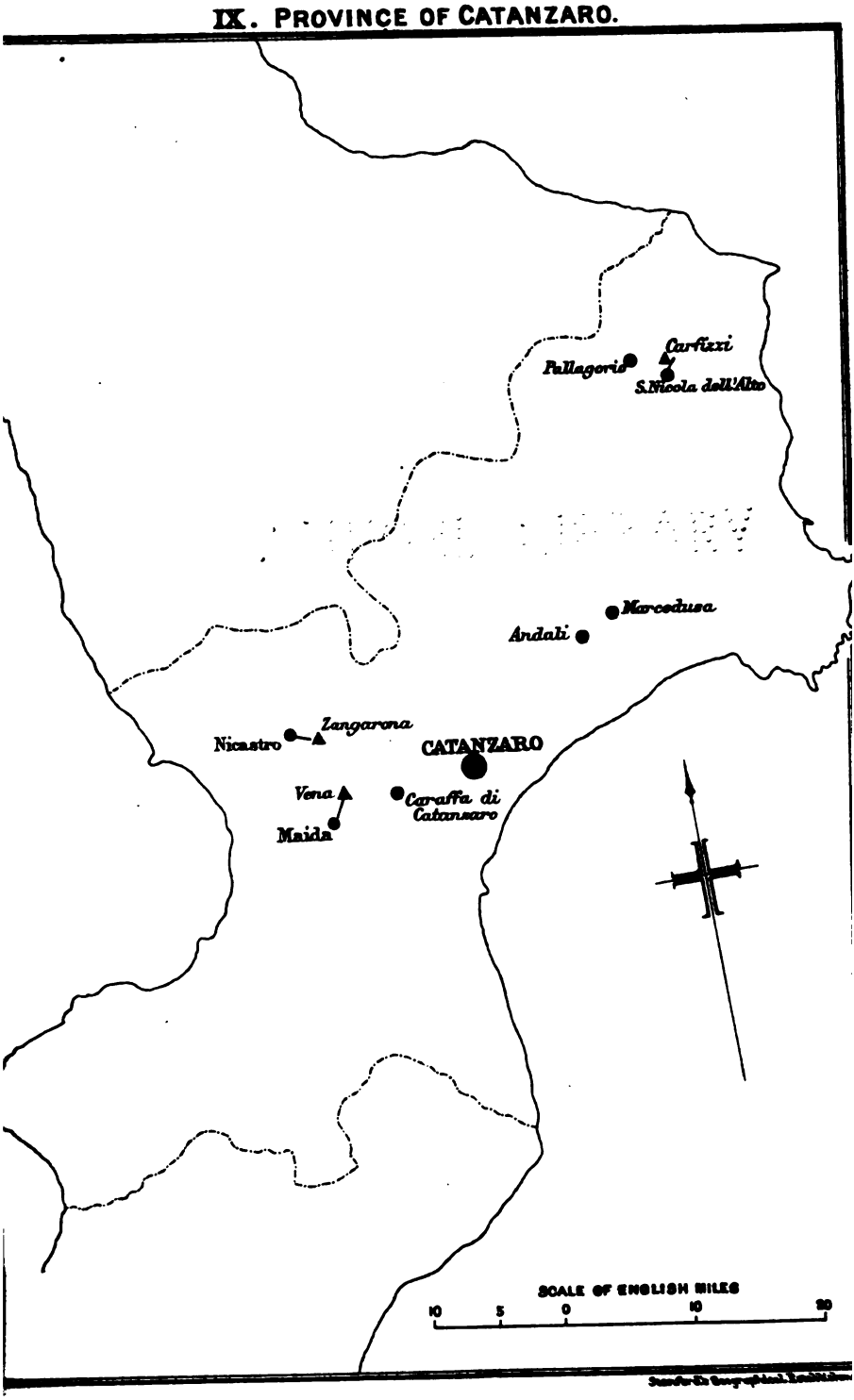

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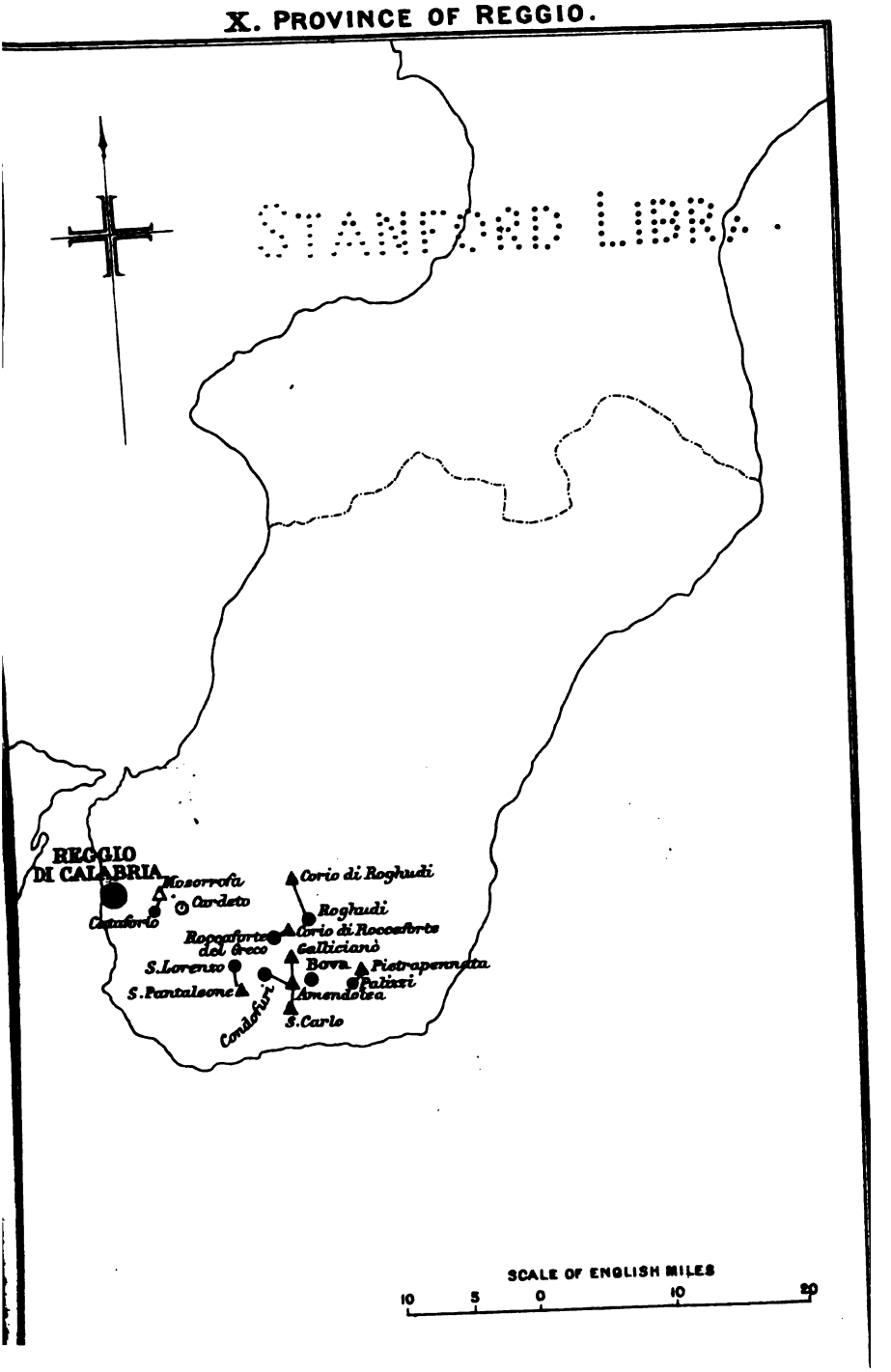

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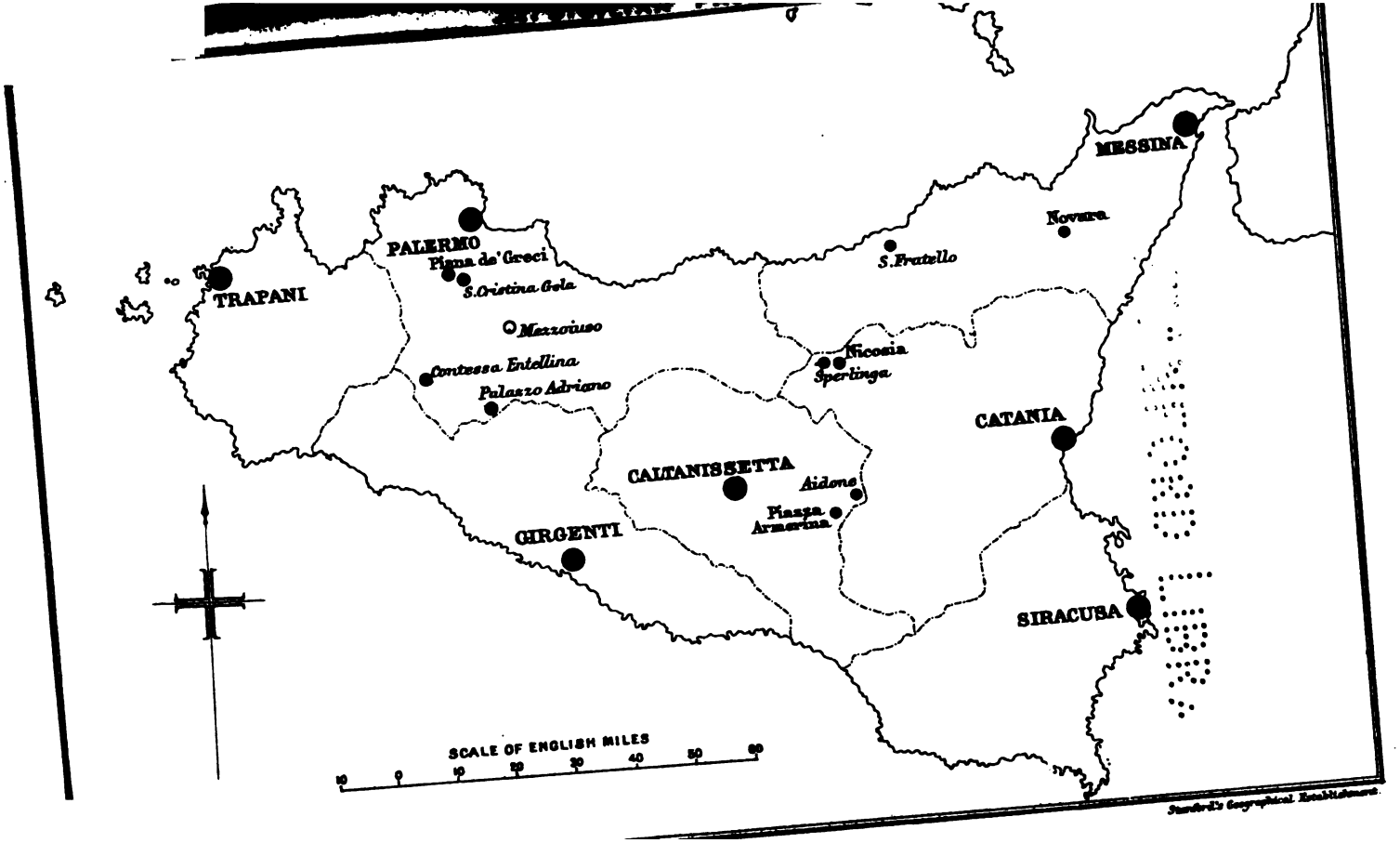
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XX.—ON THE LINGUISTIC VALUE OF THE IRISH ANNALS. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

[Read June 6th, 1890.]

IT was Reinhold Pauli, I think, who suggested that the mediæval institution of annal-writing originated in Northumbria, and was carried thence by the Saxon missionaries into Frankland and Germany. Considering the close spiritual connexion between Ireland and Lindisfarne, long the monastic and episcopal capital of the North of England, it might be worth inquiring whether the Northumbrians learned annal-writing from their Scotic teachers, or whether the converse was the case. However this may be, there is no doubt of the existence in the Irish language of a great mass of ancient annals which (like the laws and the Cúchulainn romances) show little or no trace of foreign influence, and which often profess to be, and sometimes certainly are, founded on lost books of the Old-Irish period, say of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

The Irish annals may be briefly described in the alphabetical order of the compendia by which they are respectively denoted in the present paper:—

A.B. The Annals of Boyle, a vellum in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Titus A. xxv. ff. 13ᵃ–35ᵇ. Written in the thirteenth century. Extend from A.D. 420 to A.D. 1245. Printed inaccurately by Dr. O'Conor in *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, Buckingham, 1825, vol. ii. pp. 5–48 (separate pagination). The part relating to the Battle of Clontarf (A.D. 1014) is printed in O'Donovan's *Grammar*, pp. 444–447. I have collated O'Conor's edition with the MS.

A.I. The Annals of Inisfallen, a vellum in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 503. Extend from the Creation to the year 1319. Written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The part extending from A.D. 428 to A.D. 1195 (ff. 9–40) is printed

inaccurately in the *Rerum Hib. Scriptt.* ii. pp. 1–122 (separate pagination). An entry for the year 1201 is in O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1418, note *y*. I have collated O'Conor's edition with the MS.

A.L.C. Annals of Loch Cé, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1. 19. Written about 1580. Extend from A.D. 1014 to 1590. Edited by the late Mr. W. M. Hennessy, Dublin, 1871, in two volumes.

A.U. The Annals of Ulster, a vellum in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 489. Extend from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1541. The greater part compiled in the fifteenth century, from the lost Books of Cuana, Mochtae, Dub-dá-lethe, etc., by Cathal O'c Mac Maghnusa. Printed inaccurately, down to the year 1131, in O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. iv. Another copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 1. 8), has been published, much more correctly, but only down to the year 1056, by the late Mr. Hennessy, Dublin, 1887. I have collated O'Conor's edition with the Bodleian MS.

C.S. Chronicon Scotorum, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1. 18, a manuscript written by Dudley mac Firbis. Extends from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1131. Edited by the late Mr. Hennessy, Dublin, 1866.

F.M. The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters.[1] Extend from the Deluge down to A.D. 1616. Compiled in the years 1632–1636, from the Book of Clonmacnois now lost,[2] the Book of Oilén na Naomh (Island of the Saints of which there is said to be a fragment in the Bodleian:[3] the Annals of Ulster above mentioned: the lost Books of the Clerys, O'Mulconry, the lost Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, and the lost Historical Book of Lecan Mic Firbisigh. Edited very erroneously, down to A.D. 1171, by Dr. O'Conor in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. iii. The whole edited by Dr. O'Donovan, in five quartos, Dublin, 1848, 1851, the

[1] Three O'Clerys and Fer-feasa O'Mulconry.

[2] There are, however, several copies of an English translation made in 1637 by Connell Mageoghegan.

[3] Rawl. B. 488, ff. 29–34, comprising the years 1392–1407. But in the Approbation prefixed to the Annals of the Four Masters, p. lxv, it is said that the Book of the Island was not carried beyond A.D. 1227.

annals relating to the years 1172–1616 from the autograph MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin: the rest from O'Conor's edition, controlled by two copies made in the eighteenth century. The earlier part of O'Donovan's great book is often obviously faulty.

L.L. Annals in the Lebar Laignech (Book of Leinster), a MS. of the middle of the twelfth century, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Extend from the introduction of Christianity to A.D. 1189. Printed in the Rolls edition of the Tripartite Life, London, 1887, pp. 512–528,[1] from pp. 24–26 of the lithographic facsimile.

T.F. Three Fragments of Irish Annals, in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, marked vol. xviii. No. 5301. Extend from A.D. 573 to 735, from 662 to 704, and from 851 to 913. Transcribed from Mac Firbis' copy of a lost vellum of unknown date. Edited by O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860. Correspond in part with Egerton 1782 (a MS. in the British Museum), fo. 61[a] et seq.

Tig. The Annals of Tighernach. Of these, the oldest and honestest of all the extant Irish Annals, we have only fragments. The first, in Latin, with a few Irish passages, names and glosses interspersed, extends from the foundation of Rome to the time of Antoninus, and is preserved in Rawl. B. 502, a twelfth-century vellum in the Bodleian, ff. 1–12. The second fragment extends from B.C. 305 to A.D. 360: the third from A.D. 489 to 766; the fourth from A.D. 975 to 1088. The second, third and fourth fragments are for the most part in Irish, and are preserved in Rawl. B. 488 (ff. 1–19), a vellum of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, also in the Bodleian. The fourth fragment is followed by an anonymous continuation (ff. 20–26), in Irish, from A.D. 1088, when Tighernach died, to 1178. The first fragment has never been published. The second, third and fourth have been printed by O'Conor, with his usual inaccuracy, in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. pp. 1–314.

[1] The following corrections are required: p. 512, l. 15, *for* sancti *read* secundi; p. 513, l. 15, *for* holy *read* second; p. 515, at the year 573, *for* A fight in Iardoman (?) *read* An expedition into the Western world, that is, into Soil and Islay.

A fifth fragment, which the late Dr. Todd supposed to be part of Tighernach,[1] is at the beginning of the MS. of the Annals of Ulster in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It consists of four leaves of vellum and covers the time from A.D. 34 (about) to A.D. 378 (about). It has never been printed, but I have had it photographed, as well as the four Bodleian fragments of Tighernach. I have transcribed all the Irish in these fragments and in the continuation.

Besides the Annals above described, there are the following, which I have not read for this paper:—

1. The Annals of Connaught. The original is said to be one of the Stowe vellums now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Paper copies are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (class H. 1. 1 and 2), and in that of the Royal Irish Academy (class 23. F. 8–9). The part extending from A.D. 1316 to 1412 has been printed from H. 1. 1 and 2, in Mr. Hennessy's edition of the Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i. pp. 584–652, vol. ii. pp. 2–144.

2. A fragment of a chronicle in the British Museum, Clarendon xlv. Add. 4792, ff. 27–40. Four of the leaves (29, 30, 31, 32) are vellum; the others are paper. The part relating to the years 1578–1590 is printed in Mr. Hennessy's edition of the Annals of Loch Cé, vol. ii. pp. 420–514.

3. Two vellum fragments of a chronicle in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 488, ff. 27, 28. Extend from A.D. 1238 to 1248 and from A.D. 1306 to 1314. According to Mr. Macray's catalogue of the Bodleian MSS., Part V., fasc. i., col. 708, "probably written in the beginning of the fifteenth century."

4. A vellum fragment of what Mr. Macray states (ubi supra) to be the Annals of the Abbey of the Island of All Saints, in Lough Rie, County of Longford, by Augustine Magraidin, Rawl. B. 488, ff. 29–34. Extends from A.D. 1392 to 1407.

5. A vellum fragment of Annals at Cheltenham, in the Phillipps library, No. 9194, fo. 9ª et seq. A small quarto,

[1] See his letter in O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, pp. 517–8. The late Mr. W. M. Hennessy told me that he did not agree with Dr. Todd.

written in the fourteenth century. Extends from A.D. 1160 to A.D. 1315 or thereabouts. Owing to a bookbinder's blunder the leaves containing the annals for 1160–1183 come *after* those containing the annals for 1192–1315.

6. Another vellum fragment of Annals in the same library, No. 9195, ff. 1–12. A small quarto, written about 1400. Extends from A.D. 1120 or thereabouts to 1156.

The large mass of literature above described has hitherto never been used for philological purposes, first, because O'Conor's editions of the Annals of Tighernach, Innisfallen, Boyle, and the Four Masters are so untrustworthy as to discredit the better editions of the other Annals, which we owe to O'Donovan and Hennessy; secondly, because the use of the so-called Irish character has led to many misprints,[1] and has also rendered it impossible, without collating the printed texts with the MSS., to know when we have to deal with an actual form, when with an ignorant extension of a contraction; thirdly, because the Irish Annals are, as a rule, of repulsive aridity; and, lastly, because the translations given by the editors are notoriously full of reckless and unlucky guesswork.[2]

Some idea of the richness of the Annals as a mine for Irish lexicography may be gathered from the fact that in a few weeks I have collected from them about 3500 words, most of which are not found in any dictionary, while those which are so found are either wrongly explained, or not accompanied by any quotation or reference. To print these words with their respective *belegstellen* would require a volume of about 200 pages, which would benefit only a limited number of students of Irish. I therefore propose, on the present occasion, to give little more than a selection of such of these words as are likely to interest the wider circle of comparative philologists.

[1] Two out of some hundreds may be quoted: dainnaibh, FM. 1595, p. 1986, l. 16. Read d'armaibh. diairin, FM. 1597, p. 2010, l. 9. Read diairm. For misprints in the Annals of Ulster see *The Academy*, Sep. 28, 1889, p. 207.

[2] See as to the Annals of Ulster *The Academy*, Oct. 5, 1889, pp. 224, 225.

The contents of the present paper are arranged as follows:

I. Irish words etymologically interesting,
II. 1. Low-Latin words.
2. Irish loans from Latin.
3. Irish loans from Old-French.
III. 1. Welsh names.
2. Irish loans from Welsh.
IV. Pictish names and other words.
V. 1. Old-Norse names and other words.
2. Irish loans from Old-Norse.
VI. 1. Anglo-Saxon names.
2. Irish loans from Anglo-Saxon.
3. Irish loans from Middle-English.

I. Irish Words Etymologically Interesting.

accidecht *patrimonial right*, gen. aicidheachta, ALC. 1225. Cognate with Ir. aicme *race, tribe*, W. ach, 'stemma, prosapia, parentela, genealogia': achydd *genealogist*, achyddiaeth *genealogy*, achyddol *genealogical*.

altru *fosterer*, CS. 108, gen. altrann, Tig. AU. 1129, altronn, ALC. 1129. Corn. *altrou* (gl. victricus), Br. *autrou* 'seigneur,' pl. *autronez*, W. *alltraw* 'sponsor,' pl. *alltrawon*.

Anmargach *a Dane*, for Danmarcach, AB. 1014, as uimir for nuimir = Lat. *numerus*. The *d* in the one case, like the *n* in the other, is lost after the *n* of the article. Zimmer's explanation of *na hAnmarcaig*, LL. 262[b], as "phonetische schreibung" for *noDhanmarcaig* is impossible.

ar-chú *watchdog*, metaph. *vigilant hero*, acc. sg. archoin, Tig. 117[illegible] 71. Cogn. with Ir. *aire*, and the *Areanos* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

brech *wolf*, in *Brech-mag*, FM. 753, Skr. *vṛka*.

cel *death*, AU. 1056 = O.-Norse *Hel* the death-goddess.

cessach *basket*, pl. dat. cessachaib, Ann. Conn. cited FM. 12[illegible]25, note 5. Formed from *cess* = Lat. *cista*, Gr. κίστη.

cimbid *captive*, AU. 745, cim(b)idecht *captivity*, ALC. 13[illegible]15, √*cing-*, Lat. *cingo*. See coimm.

cin *revenge*, pl. hi ccintaib, CS. 1034 = a ndioghail, FM. 10[illegible]36. Cognate with ποινή, and Zend *kaêna* 'strafe, rache.'

coimm 1. *garment*, 2. *covering, shelter, protection*, FM. 1[illegible]73,

ALC. 1186. From **kombi* (from **kongvi*), cogn. with κόμβος, and the Hesychian κομβώσασθαι· στολίσασθαι.

condem, FM. 1162, condme, ALC. 1202, condmed, Tig. 1163, *billeting*. condmedim, ALC. 1310, condmim, Tig. 1159, *I billet*. Skr. *khâd*, *khadâna*, Gr. κνώδων.

cule *storehouse*, Tig. 612. Gr. καλιά.

culebad, AU. 1128, gl. flabellum, Aug. The *cul* is cognate with Lat. *culex*. The rest of the word is obscure.

dadaig *at night*, FM. 1161,[1] 1592 (arabharach dadhaig). From *de* and *adaig*. Not to be confounded with *dádaig*, 'after' or 'following.' Thus in the Táin Bó Fraích (LL. 250[p]) King Ailill says of his guilty daughter: *atbélat a bbéoil side imbarach dadaig* 'her lips (*i.e.* she) shall perish on the following morning,' and in the same story, 251[a], when Ailill enters the fortress; *gaibthir fledugud leu dadaig* 'feasting is begun by them afterwards.' So in the Calendar of Oengus, Feb. 15, *iarnabarach ndádaig, arnabarach dádaig*. So cuit na aidchi dádaig *the ration for the following night*, LL. 72[b] 38: am-búi Maelrúain and dadaig *when M. was there afterwards*, LL. 286[b]. A cognate adverb is *daidche* or *daidchi:* see *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, l. 3565, and *Irische Texte*, 2te serie, p. 190.

daig *fire*, acc. fri daigid, Tig. 977=la daigid, AU. 977: daigthech *fiery*, AU. 814: √*dhagh*, whence Skr. *dahati*, Gr. τέφρα, Lat. *favilla*, *fōmes* (*fohmet, Fröhde) and the Teut. *dagaz* day.

dímicin *dishonour*, *contempt*, gen. dímicne, FM. 1155. Cf. W. *myg*, honoratus, O.-Welsh *cein-micun*.

diu, Tig. 1124,=*didu*, *didiu*, 'inde,' 'ergo,' as to which see G.C.[2] and Kuno Meyer, The Academy, No. 940, p. 321, col. 3.

drémire *ladder*, ALC. 1501, from *dréim*, √*dreg*, whence also NHG. *treppe*.

duirthech *prayer-house*, CS. 1039, compounded of *d*, the weak form of the prep. *ad*, *or* cognate with Lat. *oro*, and *teg*=τέγος. So W. *addoldy* is compounded of *ad* a prepositional prefix, *ol* cognate with Ir. *áilim* 'I pray,' and *ty*=τέγος.

ech-lasc *horsewhip*, whence echlascach *full of horsewhips*, Tig. 671, and the verbal noun echlascad (spelt *eachlosccadh*, FM. 1595, p. 1978, l. 10). From *ech*=Lat. *equus* and *lasc* cogn. with NHG. *lasche* 'a stripe sown on cloth,' Eng. *lash*.

[1] Here O'Donovan, p. 1144, l. 8, bisects *dadhaigh*, printing *da daigh*, and translating 'by fire.'

eiss *cataract*, gen. esso, AU. 752, is, according to Prof. Bezzenberger, from **(p)ed-ti*, cogn. with Skr. *á-patti*, Lat. *pestis*. Hence Flainn-ess: mors Ailella Flainn-esso 'of the red cataract' or 'of the blood-cataract,' AU. 665.

éssi *reins* (habenae), pl. dat. ésibh, FM. 1600, p. 2168, acc. éssi, LU. 79[a]. Lat. *ansa*, Lith. *asa*, Lett. *osa*.[1]

fichim *I fight*, t-pret. pl. 3 fechtatar, AU. 1024, cogn. with Lat. *vi-n-co*.

fín-scothach *brightflowered*, FM. 3847, 3867: fin-snechta *bright-snow*, AU. 894: Fín-ghin a man's name, FM. 1600, p. 2168. Here *fin* seems cognate with Gr. ἦνοψ from **svēnops*.

fochann *battlecry*, ALC. 1256. This, like the Old-Irish *iarma-foich* 'quaerit,' is cognate with Lat. *vox*, Gr. ὄψ, Skr. *vacana*.

foel (fael?) *wolf*, pl. nom. foeil, ALC. 1024, a primeval Celtic *voilo-s* or *vailo-s* = Arm. *gail*, where *g* is from *v*, as in *gore* = Ϝέργον and *gitem* = vēda.

foirsed *act of harrowing*, AU. 1012, from *vort-ti-to, Lat. *vorso*, *verso*: cf. ligonibus versare glaebas, Hor. C. 3. 6. 39.

fo-morach, pl. dat. fomorchaib, which in CS. p. 6, is explained by 'devils in human shapes, i.e. men with single hands and single feet.' The *morach* seems cognate with the *mor* of O.Ir. *mor-(r)igan* (gl. lamia), and this with OHG. and A.S. *mara*, Engl. *mare* in *night-mare*, Germ. lamia *mar* cited in Grimm's Wörterbuch, s.v. *Mahr*. In the vowel it agrees with Pol. *mora*. Cognate are the subst. Fomoir, acc. sg. Fomóir, LL. 86[b], 37, gen. pl. Fomoire, FM. 3790=Fomóre, LU. 89[b], or Fomra (*fine Fomhra*, ALC. 1318), acc. trénfiru an tsidho .i. na Fomore, Harl. 5280, fo. 64[b].

geltai (gl. uolatiles) Tig. 722: geltacht *flying*, TF. p. 40, FM. 7[illegible] in both cases referring to warriors who went mad with terror and fl[illegible] in the air. Hence O.-N. *verða at gjalti*. The root may be *ghel* 'to fly,' whence also Gr. χελ-ι-δών, the flyer par excellence, and p[illegible]rh. Ir. *gaile*, Trip. Life 46, corresponding with *én find* 'white bi[illegible]rd,' ibid. 448.

gemel *fetter*, sg. dat. gemul, AI. 1076, geimhil, ALC. 1536, W. *gefyn*, whence Eng. *gyve*. The Lat. *gemini* and Gr. γάμος may be cognate.

gen *sword*, AU. 687, FM. 686, √*ghen* = Skr. *han*. Lit. *genéti* (äste) abhauen.

immoneitir *invicem*, *inter se*, AU. 964, 1004=immanetar, im-

[1] O'Reilly (more suo) explains *eisi* (as he misspells *éssi*) by 'the loins.' The *aradhna*, which he gives as a gloss, is a deriv. of *ara*, gen. *arad* 'charioteer.'

menetor, immenetar, G.C.[2] 614, 1097. Dr. Reeves (*Columba* 394, 395 n.), misled by Dr. O'Conor, makes a place-name, Moneitir, out of this adverb.

ini *daughter*, ALC. 1517 = Manx *in*, an abbreviation of *ingen* (now *inghean*) as *nii* (leg. ní), ALC. 1588, of *nigen* (now *nighean*). Both are descendants of the ogmic *inigena* of Eglwys Cymmun Church.

machtaim *I slaughter*, pass. pret. pl. 3 ro machtait, FM. 733, 1013. Cognate with Gr. *μάχαιρα* and Goth. *meki*. As to Lat. *macto, macellum*, see Ascoli in Kuhn's Zeitschrift xvii. 333.

matta *staff, crozier*, mada Ciarain, CS. 1083. From *mazdio- cognate with Eng. *mast* and perhaps Lat. *mâlus* from **mas-lo-s*: cf. Ir. *nett*, Eng. *nest*, Lat. *nîdus* from **nizdo-s*.

ro-mídratar, ALC. 1088, AU. 1088, perf. act. pl. 3 of *midiur* 'I think.' For the first *r* of *mid-r-atar* cf. Old-Ir. *ro gén-ar-tar*, Wb. 4[c] 12, and Mid.-Ir. *ro lam-r-atar*, Circuit of Ireland, 5[b], and *ro fet-ar-tar*, LU. 90[b] 10. As to these forms see Windisch, *Ueber die Verbalformen* u.s.w. 61.

mucc *pig* is used in ALC. 1527 to denote the warlike machine called in the Middle Ages *sus, scropha, sow*, and *truie*. See Ducange, s.v. sus, and O'Donovan, FM. 1595, p. 1981, note °.

muir-iucht *a fleet*, AU. 920, 927. FM. 919. An Old-Celtic **mori-jucto-*, literally 'a sea-junction:' *iucht* from **jug-to-*, cogn. with *ζευκτός*, Lat. *jugum*, O.-Welsh *iou*.

nemed, neimheadh .i. talamh ecclusda 'ecclesiastical land,' FM. 1148. In Old-Irish *nemed* (Gaul. *nemeton*) glosses sacellum, and is rightly regarded by Zimmer as a 'heathen conception which found entrance into Christendom.' Cf. Ir. *fid-nemed* 'a sacred grove,' AU. 995, with Gaul. *Δρυ-νεμετον*. As *τέμενος*, *tem-p-lum* are cognate with *τέμνω*, so *nemed* is cognate with *νέμω*.

nómad, gen. nómaide, *an ennead of eight hours*, i.e. three days and three nights, AU. 1093, 1125. ALC. 1093, 1125. FM. 1021. CS. p. 10.

oco prep. *at* occurs in composition with the article : oco-n Deilgne, AU. 1021, oco-naibh insibh, AU. 851. This is the Old-Irish *ocu* (ocu an-denum, Ml. 18[b] 4). In Middle-Irish it is usually found in the apocopated form *cu, co*, e.g. *co dú* 'ubi,' lit. 'apud locum.' See Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, xvi. 61 note.

othar *a sick person*, but in ALC. 1204, 1296, *sickness*. From (*p*)*utro-*, cogn. with Lat. *puter*.

rathannaib dat. pl. *rafts*, FM. 1138. Cognate with Lat. *ratis*.

An Irish *rethe*, gen. *rethed*, meaning 'raft,' and not, as usual, 'ram,' seems to occur in ALC. 1235.

rogach *select*, AU. 902, roigne *choice*, pl. dat. roighnibh, FM. 1153, roignib, ALC. 1636, raighnib, Tig. 1166, a deriv. of the Old-Irish *n*-stem *rogu* 'choice,' gen. *rogan*, which in the G.C.[2] 270, 864, is wrongly treated as a stem in *s* (*ro-gu*). All cognate with Lat. *rogare*.

Sabrann 'the ancient name of the river Lee,' dat. Sabhraind, FM. 1163. Cogn. with W. *Hafren*, Ptolemy's Σαβρίνα. Is the double *n* of the Irish form due to the accent?

scálán in *bél-scálán* 'hut,' FM. 1244, ALC. 1244, from **scānlo-* or **scānlā*, cogn. with σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνά, and perhaps (as Fröhde thinks) Lat. *cāsa* from **skānsā*.

scothaim, scathaim *I maim*, pret. pass. sg. 3 *roseccathadh*, FM. 1504. Cognate with Goth. *skaþjan*, OHG. *scadôn*, and perhaps Gr. ἀ-σκηθής.

sengán *an ant*, gen. pl. in Cnoc na sengán, FM. 1148, 1181. From *stingagno-, cogn. with Eng. *sting*?

sonn *club*, *staff*, but in FM. 1397, p. 750, it means a body of cavalry, shaped doubtless like a club, as *cippe*, a body of infantry shaped like a *cepp* (=Lat. *cippus*), or a φάλαγξ, *i.e.* a round piece of wood (φάλαγγας ἐβένου, Herod. iii. 97). pl. suinn catha, *captains*, TF. p. 76. W. *ffon* from **spu-n-dā*.

sruith *an old person*, gen. pl. *sruithe* in the phrase *tech sruithe* γεροντοκομεῖον. Condal . . . abatissa tighe sruithe Cille daro, AU. 796. So Tuathal abbas sruithe Cluana, AU. 810. Hua Miannaigh abbas sruithi Cluana, AU. 767.[1] O.W. *strutiu* (gl. antiquam gentem).

tlusach *wealthy*, in beo-thlusach ALC. 1536, cogn. with W. *tlus* 'jewel.'

toeb *side* (W. *tu*), a neut. stem in *s*: gen. sg. *toibe*: tighearna an taoibhe thoir do Cloinn Cuilein, FM. 1570; tanaiste an taoibhe thoir do Cloinn Cuiléin, FM. 1579; tighearna an taoibhe thiar do Cloinn Cuilein, FM. 1585.

tunna *tun*, acc. pl. tunnadha, ALC. 1235, 1310. Kluge thinks this the source of the German *tonne*, Ohg. *tunna*, Ags. *tunne*, O.Swed. *þyn*, as well as of Fr. *tonne* (tonneau), Span. *tonel*. But is it not rather a loan from Icel. *tunna*?

[1] Here and at 810 Mr. Hennessy mistakes the gen. pl. of a subst. for the superlative of an adj.

II. 1. Low-Latin Words.

The Latin written in Ireland and by Irishmen abroad from the middle of the fifth to the end of the twelfth century is of interest as probably preserving much of the *lingua rustica* used in Gaul and Britain. The Celts of Ireland, Wales, and Britanny also appear to have developed in the eighth century a fantastic speech made up of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Of this examples may be found in the *Lorica* of Gildas,[1] the *Hisperica Famina*,[2] the Luxemburg fragment, ed. Rhys (Rev. Celtique, i. 346, 503), and the alphabetical poem published from a St. Omer MS. by Stowasser in his *Stolones Latini*, Vienna, 1889, and by Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. xi. 86–89.[3] The late Henry Bradshaw made a special study of Celtic latinity, and contributions to its lexicography will be found in Bishop Reeves' edition of Adamnán's *Life of Columba*, pp. 439–455, and in the Rolls *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, pp. 660–666. There are also a few extracts from Irish Lives of Saints in Ducange. The following words occur in the Annals:

abaruersio (abreuersio?), Tig. 578=reversio, AU. 577.

aduisito, see infra s.v. paruchia.

agon *the assembly at Teltown*, gen. comixtio agonis, AU. 773, ἀγών.

ante *by* (Ir. *ria*), bellum ante Cathal . . . 7 re muinntir Tighi Mundu for Muinntir Fernand, AU. 816.

apud *by* (Ir. *la*). Distructio Duin Ollaigh apud Sealbach, AU. 700, apud Cruithne, AU. 709, apud Saxones AU. 710. apud Selbachum, AU. 711. Tolargg . . . ligatur apud fratrem suum Nectan regem, AU. 712. apud Mumnenses, AU. 713. N. mac D. constringitur apud Druist, AU. 725. apud Dunghal, AU. 730. Strages gentilium apud Ultu, AU. 810. heres Coluim cille . . . apud Saxones martirizatur, AU. 853.

[1] *Irish Glosses*, Dublin, 1860, pp. 136–143.

[2] ed. Mai, and lately by Stowasser, *Incerti auctoris Hisperica Famina*, Vienna, 1887.

[3] A fifth specimen of this queer Latinity is the charm printed by Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, iii. 181, 182, beginning 'O rex, o rector regminis,' and reprinted, with some conjectures, in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, p. 324.

ballenium *bathroom*? combustio lethairle Cluana Irairdd in ballenio, AU. 750.

belliolum *skirmish*, AU. 802, 816, 818, dimin. of bellum *battle*, passim.

binales for bini: bellum . . . in quo binales reges . . . congressi sunt, AU. 737. Cf. binales sudes, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, p. 114.

cecidit *it happened, befell*, AU. 887.

cena Temhra=*feis Temra*, AU. 454, 467.

circius = circhius 'circulus,' Ducange: in circio ferie filii Cuilinn Luscan, *about* (circiter) *the festival of Mac Cuilinn of Lusk*, AU. 799.

ciuitas *monastery*. Constructio nouae ciuitatis Columbae cille [illegible] Ceninnus, AU. 806. Abbas Airdd Breccain et aliarum ciuitatum [illegible], AU. 781. Abbas Slane et aliarum ciuitatum, AU. 824.

comixtio *a tumultuous conflict, or attack, mêlée*, AU. 729, 77[illegible], 780=Ir. *cumasc*, AU. 642. cumuscc, TF. p. 20.

commixta regna: per c. r. *in joint sovranty*, AU. 642.

commotatio martirum, c. reliquiarum, *shifting* or *translation of relics*, AU. 733, 742, 784, 792, 793.

cum *by*, cum illis in aqua demersus est *he was drowned by th[illegible]em*, AU. 733.

dehonoro, dehonorauit, AU. 732=Ir. *ro śdraig* 'profaned.'

dexteriores *southerners*, Tig. 712, AU. 711. *Dexter* in I[illegible]rish latinity means 'southern': so dextrales Britones, Ann. Camb. 7[illegible] 22: cf. Skr. dakshiṇa, *the right side, southern*.

dominatrix *abbess*, Tig. 732, 758. AU. 731, 770.

dominatus, *abbacy*: abbas Achaid bó . . . dominatus xl°. in [illegible]nno.

effugatio, AU. 635, where it is rendered by 'flight'; b[illegible]t *it* rather means 'escape' (see Ducange, s.v. effugacio), or possibly 'going into exile.'

equonimus=oeconomus, AU. 780, 782, 786, 795, 809, 813, 828.

erga: plurimi nobiles interfecti sunt erga duces, AU. 821. strages uirorum Breibne erga regem suum, AU. 821.

exactor *taxgatherer*, Ir. *toibgeóir*, AU. 728.

exulo *I go into exile*, Mael-tuile abbas Benncair exulat, AU. 816. Robartach . . . abbas Slane exulauit, AU. 848. Darlugdach . . . de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britaniam, Pictish Chron. ed. Skene, p. 6.

familia *a monastic community*, AU. 805, 806.

feria *a day of the week*. prima feria *Sunday*, AU. 942, die quintae feriae *Thursday*, die sextae feriae *Friday*, Tig. 719.

sexta feria ante pascha *Friday before Easter Sunday*, AU. 673. So in Portuguese *sesta feira* 'Friday,' and in Spanish *feria segunda* 'Monday.'

fossa *earthen fort*, Ir. *ráith*. AU. 717, TF. p. 20.

galamirum, Tig. 733, 'vox barbara quae non caseum significat, sed primitias lactis post partum coagulatas,' says O'Conor. But it seems = galmaria *caluuer*, *calwere*, Wright-Wülker, 24, 3; 413, 2. If so, it means 'pressed curds.'

gronna *bog*. Bellum Gronnae Magnae, AU. 755 = Cath Móna Móire, see Tig. 756. grunna *moin*, Ir. Gl. No. 118. The continental form seems *gromna* : see G.C.[2] 773 note.

hinulus = hinnuleus : capris et hinulis simulata est, AU. p. 294.

hostium = ostium: in hostio = Ir. *in-dorus*, a nominal prep. meaning 'in front of,' 'before' : in hostio oratorii lapidei, AU. 788 = Ir. *indorus daim liacc*.

immolo 'offero in perpetuum'; immolauit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et S. Brigidae, Pictish Chronicle, Sk. 6.

iugulatio '*a death inflicted by violence*,' AU. 776.

latinus *a Latinist*. Dubthach . . . doctissimus latinorum totius Europae, AU. 868.

Nordmannus *a Scandinavian*, a Nordmannis, AU. 858. Nordmani Ann. Camb. 895.

Octimber *October*, Tig. 677. gen. Octimbri, Tig. 683. The *m* is due to the analogy of *Septimber*, *Novimber*, *Decimber*, to follow the Irish spelling.

oferauit, Tig. 574, for obtulit, as it is in AU. 573.

oratorium, AU. 788, 804, 808, 815, οἶκος προσευχῆς, the Ir. *duir-thech*.

orbis *rank?* infimi orbis mulieres, AU. 737.

paruchia the 'jurisdiction of a Superior over the detached monasteries of the order' : Dubh-da-bairenn abbas Cluana Irairdd aduisitauit paruchiam crichae Muman, AU. 786, where it means the Munster monasteries subject to the abbot of Clonard.

pausatio *resting* (in the grave), *dying*, AU. 746.

pauso *I rest* (in the grave), *die*. Cumsuth . . . pausauit, AU. 857.

periculum *attempt?* AU. 576.

pontifex *bishop*, pontifex Maige Eo, AU. 731. Imitated in Ir. *droichtech*, lit. 'bridgebuilder,' AU. 751.

principatus *abbacy*, AU. 706, 800, 822.

satrapa *viceroy*, satrapa Lagenarum, AU. 813. satrapas Athochlach, Pictish Chron., Skene, 10 (*errig*, gl. satrapae, Ml. 67[d] 17).

scedes=caedes, AU. 806, with prothetic *s*.

scintilla leprae, *an outbreak of leprosy?* Tig. 576, AU. 575.

secratarium *sacristy*? AU. 592.

senodus, senadus [=synodus] *a tribal assembly* : congressio senodorum nepotum Neill Laginentiumque in opido Temro, AU. 779. Congressio senadorum nepotum Neill, cui dux erat Condmach abbas Airdd Machae, AU. 803, where Mr. Hennessy changes *senadorum* into *senatorum*. Cf. Corn. *sened* (gl. sinodus).

simulo *I liken, compare to* : eorumque fuga capris et hinulis simulata est, AU. 807.

termini = fines. accenderunt igni omnes terminos Laginentium, AU. 769. combussit terminos Midi, AU. 807.

traiectus *thrown off*. Ailill . . . traiectus est de equo suo, [illegible], AU. 799.

uellenio, in, Tig. 751 = ballenio q.v.

II. 2. Irish Loans from Latin.

Collections of Irish words borrowed from Latin will be found in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1860, pp. xx-xxvii; in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, ii. pp. 139–155; iii. pp. 277–278; in d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Etudes sur le Droit celtique*. *Le Senchus Mor*; in Güterbock's *Bemerkungen über die Lateinischen Lehnwörter im Irischen*, Leipzig, 1882; and in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, pp. lxxxii—xc. The following are only a selection of the Latin loan-words in the Irish Annals.

aibit, gen. aibide, ALC. 1224, 1238, 1313, 1331, 1636. *U.* From Lat. *habitus* (monasticus).

áre *shrine*, dat. sg. áire, FM. 796, arg, Ir. Gl. No. 198. From *area*.

aracul, aireccal, FM. 1592, p. 1922, gen. aracuil .i. cill, *CS.* 827, airicuil AU. 837, airecuil AU. 809. From *oraculum* aedes sacra, in qua oratur, Ducange. A dimin. *ariuclán* occurs in the St. Paul Codex, Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, p. 318. For the change of *o* to *a*, cf. *accais=occasio, aistire=ostiarius*, and *manach=monachus*.

Alastrann *Alexander*, FM. 1591, p. 1908, gen. Alustrainn, *ALC.* 1473, Alustruinn, ALC. 1487.

ánchara, AI. 955, angcoire, FM. 737, ancoire, FM. 740. Corn. *ancar* : from *anachoreta*.

annalach M. the anniversary, a year of an era : in t-annalach, ALC. 1407. From *annale*.

an-ordaigthe, *not in order, in disorder*, ALC. 1392, 1524, 1539. A hybrid from the neg. prefix *an-* = *ἀνα* and *ordaigthe* pret. part. pass. of *ordaigim*, a denom. from *ord* = Lat. *ordo*.

an-śén *bad luck*, FM. 1225, p. 234, 1600, p. 2170. Another hybrid, from the prefix *an-* and *sén* borrowed from *signum* (crucis).

an-umaldóit *inhumility, disobedience*, AU. 835.

archideochain = *archidiaconus*, ALC. 1288, 1361, AB. 1231, FM. 1243.

ard-chroinicid *chief chronicler*, FM. 1023, p. 806.

aistire, *doorkeeper, bellringer*, FM. 1101 = ostiarius.

bairell *barrel*, pl. n. bairill, ALC. 1589, p. 494. bairille *barrel*, FM. 1591, 1598, Low-Lat. *barillus*.

Baslec, gen. Baslice, AU. 763, 804, from *basilica*.

bicáire = *vicarius*, ALC. 1357, 1587, p. 478. Cnoc an biocara, FM. 1595, p. 1962. Hence bicairecht (gl. uicaria), Ir. Gl. No. 171.

brostaim *I incite, provoke*, FM. 1596, p. 2004, acca mbrostadh tairis, FM. 1597, p. 2026. Founded on Low-Lat. *brosdus, brusdus*.

buale = *bovile*, pl. buailte, FM. 1044.

buirgéis, buirghéis, ALC. 1247, 1266 = *burgencia*, praedia quae a burgensibus possideri poterant. Anglicised *Burris*. Hence buirgéisech *a burgess*, pl. n. buirgeisigh, FM. 1579.

caipitil, caibitil, caipidil = *capitulum* 'conventus, synodus,' ALC. 1217, 1242, 1530 : FM. 1242.

cairt 1. *manuscript*, 2. *charter*. CS. p. 10. ALC. 1210, 1257. gen. sen-cairte, FM. 1597, p. 2040. A pl. nom. and acc. *cartacha*, gen. *cartach*, occur in FM. 1514, 1524, 1537, 1605. From *carta*.

calad gen. calaid, *harbour, landing-place*, ALC. 1535. From a Low-Latin **calatum* ; Ital. *calata, cala*, Fr. *cale*, Lat. *chalare* from *χαλᾶν*, Diez.

calc, *chalk*, especially the chalk with which shields were whitened, cath in ro-dáiled crú dar cailc, FM. 978, p. 710. From an oblique case of *calx*. Hence calcech *chalkwhite*, FM. 939, p. 642.

candel *candle*, candel-bádud *excommunication*, lit. *candle-drowning*, ALC. 1236, 1538. From *candela*.

cápa *cope*, M. Lat. *cappa*, pl. n. cábaidhe, ALC. 1170.

capall = *caballus*, pl. n. capoill, TF. p. 206, dat. caiplibh, FM. 1599, p. 2140.

castél, caistiall = *castéllum*, FM. 1133, AI. 1102, gen. caisteóil FM. 1166, 1595.

cathaír = *cathedra*. Metaph. *a bishopric*, FM. 1166. cathaír proicepta *pulpit*, Tig. 1020.

cellóir = *cellárius*, ALC. 1213, FM. 1213.

(cenn-)litir, lit. *head-letter*, applied to persons, *chief*, *leader*, ALC. 1451, 1463, 1467, 1524.

cesc, ceisc = *quaestio*, TF. p. 46, with change of *st* to *sc*.

cicul, cicil = *cyclus*, Tig. 1045, 1063, ALC. 1231, 1407.

cippe, cipe, *phalanx*, FM. 1601, TF. p. 182. Derived from cepp = *cippus*.

ciste *casket*, *treasury*, a formation from *cista*, ALC. 1173, 1504.

clabhstra, gen. sg. *cloister*, ALC. 1202 = claustra, Ir. Gl. No. 818 [illegible], From *claustrum*. O'B. has nom. sg. *clabhstur*.

cnáib = *cannabis*, gen. cnáibe, FM. 1584, p. 1818.

coach = *caucus*, AU. 552, usually cuach, W. *cawg*.

coinntinn = *contentio*, ALC. 1244, gen. coinntinne, ALC. 1543. [illegible]

coite *boat*, AB. 724, ALC. 1390, 1475, FM. 1155, p. 116. Fr[illegible]om Low-Lat. *cotia* navis Indica, Ducange.

compóitecht *computation*, sg. gen. compóidechta, ALC. 13[illegible] *01*. Founded on *computus* or *compotus*.

confirmaitige, ALC. 1284 (leg. confirmaitigthe), *confirmed*.

cónsal = *consul*, ALC. 1520.

contrárda *contrary*, a formation from *contrarius*. As applied [illegible]o a year, *non-bissextile*, ALC. 1215.

coppán, dimin. of copp, gen. cuippe, LB. 241[a] = *cuppa* = *cūppa*: gen. copáin, ALC. 1306. The Ir. copp *foam* has a different sou[illegible]rce, perhaps AS. *copp* 'vertex, summitas,' Thurneysen *Keltoromanische*[illegible].

cordia : fa chordia *cordially*, ALC. 1589.

crepuscul = *crepusculum*, i ccrepuscal na maidne, FM. 15[illegible] *3*, creapuscal, ALC. 1536.

cripta = *crypta*, AB. 1236. Also with prothetic *s*, scripta F[illegible]. 1235, scriophta ALC. 1235. With the latter form cf. *sephtiein* = [illegible] septuaginta, Ml. 103 d 26, W. *Aipht* = Aegyptus, and Mod. [illegible]r. Γύφτος. Note also the Icelandic pronunciation of *pt* as *ft*, Ma[illegible]nússen's Thomas Becket, ii. clxxii.

Crisdóir = Christophorus, ALC. 1517, 1578, 1582. Crístói [illegible], FM. 1595, gen. Criostora, FM. 1600.

cronicae = *chronica*, ALC. 1405. Cronicid, see Ard-chronicid.

crossad, the act of being *crossed*, assuming the badge of crusader, ALC. 1204, 1216, 1231.

cubachal, *cell* of a monastery, FM. 1595, or prison, FM. 1590, pp. 1896, 1898: *cabin* of a ship, acc. sg. cubachail, FM. 1587, p. 1862: acc. pl. cubachla, ib. 1600, p. 2192. From *cubiculum*.

cubidil, gubidir = *confiteor* used as a noun, Tig. 1130, CS. 1126.

cuidin = *catînus*, CS. 1125. But *cuidin* seems to point to an Old-Celtic *kotîno- agreeing in the first vowel with κοτύλη. Perhaps therefore we have here a native Irish word.

cúis, cauis, TF. p. 32 = *causa* 'dispute,' gen. cuisi, FM. 1233; dat. pl. cúisib, ALC. 1170, cauisibh, TF. p. 208.

decánach *dean*,[1] a formation from *decanus*, ALC. 1243, 1258, 1367, 1527, 1589.

doctúir = *doctor*, ALC. 1513, 1527, 1636, *doctor* (gl. Ovidius) Ir. Gl. No. 536. From *Ovidius* with the meaning 'doctor' the Welsh *ofydd* seems to come.

dux, ALC. 1226, 1234, 1260, 1268, 1282, 1286, 1290.

faillium, Tig. 1152, paillium, ALC. 1237 = *pallium*.

fairche = parochia, *diocese, monastic jurisdiction*, Tig. 1174: CS. 1107.

fallaing, *mantle*, gen. fallainge, FM. 1598, p. 2054, the *falanga* or *phalinga* of Giraldus, *phala* genus vestis, Ducange. Lat. *palla*.

falmaire = *palmarius* 'a palmer': ALC. 1249.

farcideochain = archideochain (q.v.) with prothetic *f*. ALC. 1366, 1402.

fiabhrus = *fēbris*, ALC. 1551, gen. fiabhrasa, FM. 1597, p. 2024.

foirm = *forma*, an arrangement, persons intervening to make an arrangement, ALC. 1538.

generáilte *generalis*, FM. 1215, p. 184.

geócach (gl. mimus, Ir. Gl. No. 513), formed on *iocōsus*, CS. 1106. FM. 1110.

geometer, Ferghil .i. an geometer, FM. 784.

graiffned *to write*, formed on Med.-Lat. *graphiare*, and this from *graphia* γραφή.

imáig = *imâgo*, iomáig, ALC. 1538, p. 316. pl. acc. iomáighe, FM. 537, p. 1446. Corn. *auain* = *imāginem*.

init = *initium* (ieiunii), *Shrovetide*, gen. inite, AU. 1127, dat. init, AU. 1014.

latronn, *robber*, gen. pl. *latronum*, FM. 1599, p. 2106.

leabrad = [lebar-rad?] *books*, sg. dat. leabhraidh, FM. 990. Cognate is lebróir = *librârius*, ALC. 1249.

[1] O'Reilly has "déaganach s. a deacon," where this ludicrous lexicographer contrives to commit two blunders. O'Brien's 'Dane' is a misprint.

legáit = *legatus*, AI. 1166, 1181. FM. 550. ALC. 1245. Hence legáitecht, AI. 1192, gen. sg. leccaidechta, FM. 1148, p. 1084.

lubra *work*, esp. ecclesiastical, gen. sg. lubra, FM. 1148, 1173. Formed on *labor*, *laboris*, with change of *a* before *b* to *u*.

maighistir = *magister*, FM. 1599, p. 2140.

mandáil. Formed on *mandatum*, Fr. *mandé*. dardaoin mandail *Maundy Thursday*, ALC. 1542, = dardain mbandal, LB. 238e lower margin, translated at p. 40 of the preface to the facsimile, "*Thursday of the . . . woman meeting* [?]."

manér = Med.-Latin *manérium*, Fr. *manoir*, ALC. 1264, 1535.

mí-chostad *commotion*, *wrangling*, FM. 1160, 1213 : from *mi-* and *costad* founded on *constare*, or is it *consuetudo*?

modh = *modus*, ionmolta hi modhaibh mná, FM. 1599, p. 2094.

monad *money* = *moneta*, ALC. 1252, FM. 1252, 1546, p. 1498.

múr = *mūrus*, gen. múir, FM. 987.

mút = *mūtus*, duine mut no got, FM. 936, p. 636.

octaid dat. sg. = *octas*, i n-octaidh na hepifania 'in the octa[illegible] of the Epiphany,' ALC. 1252.

oifficc = *officium*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, gen. oiffici, ibid. p. 20[illegible] Hence oifficeach *officer*, FM. 1600, p. 2144.

officel = *officialis* 'procurator, administrator,' Ducange, or [illegible] *Fr. officiel*, FM. 1232, 1268, ALC. 1328, offistel ALC. 1232, 1268, 13[illegible] *90*.

offráil *offering*, founded on *offerre*, ALC. 1244, 1527, pl. [illegible] offrála, FM. 1600, p. 2148.

págán, págánach, págánda, *pagan*, TF. pp. 226, 232, 244.

pagin *abridgment*? et in pagin et in figell, CS. 686 : 'paginare breuiter scribere, summatim de aliqua disserere, Ducange.

pairt = *pars*, *partis*. páirt do tosach sluaig mic Diarmada *a part of the van of Mac D.'s army*, ALC. 1562. pl. n. parti cró *particles of gore*, AU. 877.

pairilis = *paralysis*, FM. 865. paileiris, O'B. W. *parlys*.

parthus = *paradisus* 'atrium porticibus circumdatum ante aedes sacros' (Ducange), AI. 1180. For the *th* cf. *Orrthannain* 'Jordan.'

pell = *pellis*, CGG. p. 196. pl. n. pill, LL. 297[a] 43.

pendaind = *poenitentia*, FM. 1022. pennaintt, FM. 1608, p. 2360.

penetincier = *poenitentiarius*, ALC. 1248.

persún = *persōna*, ALC. 1224, 1278.

Plorint = *Florentius*, Tig. 1174.

praed = *praeda*, AU. 820. spré *cattle*, O'B., with prothetic *s*.

préisidens = *praesidens*, ALC. 1570, 1571. presidens, ced-phresident, FM. 1569, p. 1632.

prímáit, prímhaitt = *primas*, ALC. 1201. For this (by popular etymology) prímfáith *chief prophet* is sometimes written: see ALC. 1172, 1242, 1360. Hence prímáitecht *primacy*, ALC. 1220.

prióir = *prior, prioris*, ALC. 1230, 1234, 1250, 1265, gen. prióra, ALC. 1519, prieóra, 1527. Hence the name Mac-briar.

probindsi = *provincia*, Tig. 583. próuinse, Ir. Gl. No. 175, pl. dat. prouinnsibh, FM. 1598, p. 2088.

procecht = **proceptum* for *praeceptum*, CS. 811.

proiceptaid *teacher*, formed on **proceptum*, FM. 742.

purgadóir = *purgatorium*, gen. purgadóra, ALC. 1516.

reberens = *reverentia*, ALC. 1541 (where the Irish word is misprinted roberens), reuerens, FM. 1541, p. 1462.

riast *arrest, rē-stare*, fo rest, FM. 1578, p. 1700, l. 2, fá ríasd ag righ Saxan, ALC. 1530.

sacrista *sacristan*, FM. 1390 : sacrita, FM. 1430, is probably a misprint.

saigdeóir, saighdiuir = *sagittārius*, ALC. 1581, 1582. FM. 1170. In FM. 1589 it means *musketeer*.

scarláit, sgarláid = *scarlatum*, FM. 1463, p. 1026. sgarlóid, O'B.

scrín = *scrinium*, AU. 799.

scuap *broom*, gen. pl. FM. 1595, p. 1972 = *scópae*.

secréit = *secreta*, aerarium principis, Ducange; rocrechsat ar' ben secréid Mic Diarmada don tír.

senescál, senscal, sinascal, FM. 1247, p. 324. ALC. 1247, 1587, 482. From Med.-Lat. *senescallus* or perh. from Fr. *seneschal*.

senmóir, sermóin : both from *sermo*, the former being used for 'sermon' Tig. 583, FM. 431, ALC. 1535, p. 286, the latter for a congregation or other collection of people, ALC. 1249, FM. 1249. Sermóntaidh *preacher* occurs in ALC. 1586, p. 476, where it is misspelt sermóntaigh.

serrcend = *serpens, serpentis*, Tig. 1137, AI. 1018, a kind of warship : cf. ON. *snekkja*, AS. *snace* (Eng. *smack*), and ON. *dreki*.

símóntacht *simony*, formed on *simonia* 'a Simone mago dicta Sacrorum venditio' (Ducange), ALC. 1271.

srát = *strata*, via publica lapidibus seu *silice* munita, Ducange. sráitt Sligig, ALC. 1294. Compounds : srát-baile, ALC. 1218, 1257; srát-slige, FM. 1258, p. 366.

Sulchóit, FM. 1602 = Sailchoit Corm. From *salicētum* as pronounced by a Briton, i.e. *salikoitum*.

taibhli *battlements*, dat. taibhlibh, FM. 1454, p. 561, 1595, p. 1982 : from *tabulae*.

[illegible] in the adverb co-tempestech, [illegible] Derived from *tempest = *tempestas*, [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible] [illegible] . . cuma these, *a chalice with its* [illegible] p. 1031, where O'Donovan translates 'with an [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible] FM. 535, 1064, 1240, 1254, p. 352, 1403.

[illegible] = [illegible] FM. 1497.

[illegible] = [illegible] Tig. 1111. But [illegible], FM. 1578, p. 1700.

[illegible] [illegible] 'nuncius' CGG. 12, where it is mistranslated [illegible] : cf. [illegible] i. [illegible] i.e. oracularius) Sg. 96[b].

II. 3. Irish Loans from Old-French.

These must have entered the language between the years 1169 and 1350. Of some few of the following it may be doubted whether they came directly from Old-French, Middle-English, or mediæval Latin.

[illegible] *good luck*, ALC. 1589, p. 498. From *aventure*.

[illegible] ALC. 1531. From *habile* or perhaps Eng. *able*.

[illegible] gen. [illegible] *army*, *armament*, ALC. 1570, 1571, 1579, 1581, 1586; but [illegible], FM. 1595, p. 1982. From *armaire* with change of [illegible] to [illegible] as in *perrel*.

airseóir *archer*, dat. pl. airseóraib, Tig. 1174. From *archeo[illegible] (archiers is the form in Godefroy, *archier* in Burguy).

bandha, banna *a band of warriors*, ALC. 1581, 1582, 1586, 158[illegible] FM. 1580, pl. n. bandai, FM. 1595, p. 1986, acc. bandadha, F[illegible] 1592, p. 1912. From *bande*.

barúin, gen. barúin, ALC. 1589, pl. n. barúin, ALC. 1237, 126[illegible] From *baron*, *baran*, *barun*. Hence barúntacht *barony*, FM. 1582[illegible]

basdaird *bastard*, gen. basdaird, ALC. 1581. W. *basdardd*.

bitáill, gen. bitaille, Tig., biotaille, FM. 1522, 1570. O.-F[illegible] *vitaille* (now *victuaille*), Med.-Lat. *victualia*.

bodach *clown*, ALC. 1388, FM. 1388. Formed on *botte* 'clo[illegible]

briosca *biscuit*, pl. gen. brioscadh, dat. brioscaibh, FM. 15[illegible] p. 1952, with a curious insertion of *r*.

cabán *a hollow*, FM. 1188, p. 82. O.-Fr. *cavan*, *cavain*.

cailis, pl. acc. cailisi, FM. 1595. From *calice*.

caiptin, caipdaen, *captain*, ALC. 1544, 1577, 1582. F[illegible] *capitaine*, Med.-Lat. *capitaneus*.

cardináil, cairdinel, ALC. 1202, Tig. 1152, FM. 1151. From *cardinal*, or Lat. *cardinalis*.

coilér *quarry*, gen. coileir, FM. 1501, now *coireul*. From Fr. *carrière*, with differentiation of the liquids.

cóip *copy*, ALC. 1527. From *copie*, or perhaps Med.-Lat. *copia* 'the reproduction of a MS.'

coir? gen. corad, 1. *choir*, 2. *a party*, gen. corad, ALC. 1343, dat. coraid, ALC. 1244, 1307, 1588. Formed on *chœur* or perh. Lat. *chorus*.

compánach *companion*, ALC. 1524, gen. companaigh, ALC 1581. Formed on O.-Fr. *compaign*, Med.-Lat. *cum-panio*.

constábla, consápla, consabal, consopul, *constable*, ALC. 1217, 1227, 1368, 1405, 1514, 1524, 1557, FM. 1485, etc. From O.-Fr. *conestable* = Lat. *comes stabuli*.

contae, condae *county*, ALC. 1405, 1510, FM. 1383, 1405. From *comté*. So conndaois, cundaois, cundais, *countess*, ALC. 1589, 1568, 1392, is from *comtesse*.

costus, cosdus, *cost*, ALC. 1582, 1530. From O.-Fr. *couster* or Lat. *constare*. Hence costasach *sumptuous*, *costly*, O'B.

cresca, the manger in which Christ was put after he was born, Corm. Tr. 46, O.-Fr. *cresche* (K. Meyer).

crét *ridge* (of a house), pl. n. créta na tighe(dh), ALC. 1202. Fr. *crête* du toit, from Lat. *crista*.

cúirt *court*, *mansion*, *palace*, gen. cúirtte, ALC. 1227, but acc. pl. cúirtenda, ALC. 1274. From O.-Fr. *court*, or Low-Lat. *curtem*. Perhaps the acc. pl. may be due to Med.-Lat. *cortina*, the wall between two bastions.

cuncúr *conqueror*, ALC. 1270, 1530. From Old-French *cunquerur* (Godefroy).

díg *a trench*, pl. gen. díocc, FM. 1595, p. 1968: lethain-díog *a broad trench*, FM. 1266, p. 400. From Fr. *digue*.

dú *due*, ALC. 1217, 1527, p. 262. From Fr. *dû*=*debutus*. Hence dúal, *meet*, ALC. 1405, 1537? O.-Fr. *dûal*?

fabhcún=*faucon*, a kind of small cannon, pl. n. fabhcúin, FM. 1532.

fonsura *chisel*, FM. 1545, Fr. *fonçoir*, *fonsoir* 'outil de forge en forme de marteau dont la panne est tranchante,' Littré.

fundúir *founder*, FM. 1495=O.-Fr. *fondeor* obl. case of *fondiere*.

galler *a mangonel*, pl. dat. gallerib, gailleribh, AB. 1236, ALC. 1235. From an Old-French **gallier*=*jacularis*, and cognate with *galir* in the following passage cited by Godefroy, s.v. jaillir:

tempestech *unfortunate, calamitous*, in the
ALC. 1499, 1580, 1581, 1584. Derived fro
'calamity, misfortune.'

tesc = *discus* 'paten:' cailech . . cona t
paten, FM. 1129, p. 1032, where O'Dono
engraving.'

tumba, tomba = *tumba*, FM. 525, 1064, 1

uigil, uiccil = *vigil*, FM. 1497.

uimir = *numerus*, Tig. 1111. But nuim

uricli *ōracula* 'oracles,' CGG. 12, w
'audience' : cf. *oirclech* (gl. flamen, i.e.

II. 3. Irish Loans fro

These must have entered the la
1169 and 1350. Of some few
doubted whether they came directl
English, or mediaeval Latin.

amhantur, *good luck*, ALC. 1589.

apel, co-hapel, ALC. 1331. F

armáil, gen. armala, *army*, *ar*
1581, 1586; but *arms*, FM. 15
change of *r* to *l* as in *pirrél*.

áirseóir *archer*, dat. pl. áirs
(*archerere* is the form in Godel

bauda, banna *a band of w*
FM. 1580. pl. n. bandai, 1
1592, p. 1912. From *ban*

barún, gen. barúin, AL
From *baron, barun, barru*

basdard *bastard*, gen. 1

bitáill, gen. bitaille.
vitaille (now *victuaille*).

bodach *clown*, ALC

brisca *biscuit*, pl.
p. 1952, with a cur

cabán *a hollow*, 1

cailís, pl. acc.

caiptín, caip
capitaine, Med.-

reson, raison, ALC. 1537, 1568.
'a division of a host'), ALC.

190. seómra, O'B.
éal, O'B.
36, 1587, p. 480. gen. seirbhísi,
reant, agent, pl. dat. seirbhís-

5, 1196, 1199, 1202, 1235, 1236.
vientes milites pedites, Ducange.
y or helper.'
en. Siacusa, FM. 1476, 1482.
148, comes from Eng. *James*.
r. *solier*. Corn. *soler*.
chancelier, FM. 1545, 1597.

Cymric Names.

of the Cymric names of persons
the Irish Annals:

Sratha Cluade, AU. 871. Doubtless a

625 = Arthur filio Bicuir, CS. 625.
uin, rex Alo Cluathe, Tig. 694, AU. 693.
b. 811 [MS. Eugem]. The Irish annalists
n, Hoan, Haan.
Bennchair Brittonum, AU. 671, TF. 672.

x Alo Chluaithe, Tig. 722=Bile mac Eilphin,
Elfin, Ann. Cambr. 722.
, TF. pp. 158, 170, Cair Ebroc, AU. 866,
l. 3859, fo. 195a, 3, the Urbs Ebrauc of Ann.

ster. Cath Caire Legion, Tig. 613 = Gueith Cair
mb. 613. [C]air legeion guar usic [leg. uisc],
195.
Rutrach ri Bretan, TF. 909 = Catell filius Rodri,

itonum, Tig. 631. Cathloen, AU. 631. Contra

Au matinet, quant l'aube parust cler,
li rois a fet molt grant assaut livrer
et ces perrieres et *galir* et geter.

giurness *an acre*? pl. n. giurneisi, ALC. 1215. Based on French *journée* de terre 'autant comme une charrette peut labourer le jour,' Ducange s.v. 2. jornata.

giúsdis, iústis *justiciary*, ALC. 1203, AB. 1230, 1234. From *justice*.

halabard *halberd*, lucht halabard *halberdiers*, FM. 1570. albárd[illegible], O'Br. Fr. *hallebard*.

marascál *marshal*, márasgul, ALC. 1234, marascal, FM. 159[illegible]3, gen. maruscail, ALC. 1587, p. 478. From O.-Fr. *mareschal*, Lo[illegible]w. Latin *mariscalcus*.

nouice, nobitsi, ALC. 1196, 1197, 1202, 1230, nouist, FM. 12[illegible]30. From Fr. *novice* or Lat. *nouicius*.

ósda: ar ósda *billeted*, FM. 1595, p. 1990, formed on O.-Fr. *o[illegible]le*, *hoste*. Tech ósda, *inn*, *lodging-house*, FM. 1599, p. 2138.

pailís *palisade*, ALC. 1306, FM. 1306, gen. caislén na pai[illegible]*íso*, ALC. 1510. From *paliz*, *palis* 'pieu, palissade.'

pailliún *pavilion*, *tent*, pl. n. pailliúin FM. 1574. Fr. *pavillon*, as the synonymous puball, gen. puible, TF. pp. 36, 148, is from Med.-Lat. *papilio*.

pardún, ALC. 1535, 1585, 1586, FM. 1599, p. 2110. From *pardon*.

pelér *bullet*, *ball*, FM. 1487, 1499, 1532. From some Frenc[illegible] descendant of Lat. *pĭla*: cf. *pelotte*. W. *pel*, *pelen*.

petta *pet*, Tig. 1103. ALC. 1086. From some Fr. cognate o[illegible] *petit*.

pípa *a pipe* (of wine), Domhnall na bhíopaidhe, FM. 1593, p. 1945, n. Fr. *pipe*.

pirrél *catapult*, AB. 1236, ALC. 1235. Fr. *pierriere*, *perrière* machine de guerre qui jetait des pierres pour briser les murs. "Si drecierent lors perrieres et lors mangonials."

poinn = Fr. *point*: ni raibhe poinn annseic 'this was of little consequence,' ALC. 1236, cf. *mettre à point*, accommoder, apaiser. *estre point* être temps, à propos.

preciúr = Fr. *prechor*, *prêcheur*, ALC. 1253.

prinnsa, prindsa = *prince*, ALC. 1547, 1553, 1586, 1587 (where Elizabeth is meant), 1588.

prisún = *prison*, *prisun*, *prisoun*, Tig. 583, ALC. 1265, 1332.

priuiled, ALC. 1241, where it is rendered by "privileges."

résún, ressún, résúnn, TF. p. 26 = *reson, raison*, ALC. 1537, 1568.

rúta *troop* = O.-Fr. *rote* (Lat. *rupta* 'a division of a host'), ALC. 1225, 1200, 1235, AB. 1236.

seomra = *chambre*, ALC. 1350, 1490. seómra, O'B.

sepél = *chapelle*, FM. 1498. séipéal, O'B.

serbís = *service*, ALC. 1581, p. 436, 1587, p. 480. gen. seirbhísi, FM. 1599. Hence serbísech *servant, agent*, pl. dat. seirbhíseachaibh, FM. 1598, p. 2082.

sersénach *footsoldier*, ALC. 1195, 1196, 1199, 1202, 1235, 1236. Formed on Fr. *serjant, sergent*, servientes milites pedites, Ducange. O'Brien's *séirseánach* 'an auxiliary, or helper.'

Siacus = *Jacques*, FM. 1463, gen. Siacusa, FM. 1476, 1482. The form *Sémus*, FM. 1600, p. 2148, comes from Eng. *James*.

soilér *a sollar*, ALC. 1582. O.-Fr. *solier*. Corn. *soler*.

sonsiler, soinsilér = *chanceler, chancelier*, FM. 1545, 1597.

III. 1. Cymric Names.

The following is a list of the Cymric names of persons and places which occur in the Irish Annals:

Artgha rex Britanorum Sratha Cluade, AU. 871. Doubtless a scribe's mistake for Artgal.

Artuir mac Bicoir, Tig. 625 = Arthur filio Bicuir, CS. 625.

Auin, Domnall mac Auin, rex Alo Cluathe, Tig. 694, AU. 693. O.-W. Eugein, Ann. Camb. 811 [MS. Eugem]. The Irish annalists spell this name also Ohan, Hoan, Haan.

Bennchar: combustio Bennchair Brittonum, AU. 671, TF. 672. Now Bangor.

Bili mac Elphine rex Alo Chluaithe, Tig. 722=Bile mac Eilphin, AU. 721=Beli filius Elfin, Ann. Cambr. 722.

Caer Ebroic, *York*, TF. pp. 158, 170, Cair Ebroc, AU. 866, [C]air Ebrauc, Harl. 3859, fo. 195[a], 3, the Urbs Ebrauc of Ann. Cambr. 866.

Cair Legion, *Chester*. Cath Caire Legion, Tig. 613 = Gueith Cair Legion, Ann. Camb. 613. [C]air legeion guar usic [leg. uisc], Harl. 3859, fo. 195.

Caitill mac Rutrach ri Bretan, TF. 909 = Catell filius Rodri, Ann. Camb. 909.

Catlon rex Britonum, Tig. 631. Cathloen, AU. 631. Contra

Catlonem Britonum regem, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, 14 = Catguollaun, Ann. Cambr. 630. Beda's Cædwalla.

Con. o Chon regi Britonum, Tig. 631, a scribal error for Conan?

Conan. Solon mac Conain, Tig. 613 = Selim filius Cinain, Ann. Cambr. 613. Conan mac Ruadhrach rex Britonum, AU. 814. Cinan, Ann. Cambr. 814, 816. Kinan ibid. 813.

Domnall mac Auin rex Alo Cluaithe, Tig. 694, AU. 693. Domnall mac Eogain ri Bretan, AU. 974. O.-W. Dumngual.

Eidgin Brit, TF. 864, cf. Etguin, Ann. Cambr. 617, 626, 630.

Gaimud: im Breathnaibh Gaimud, TF. 864: for Guined.

Guret. Mors Gureit regis Alo Cluathe, AU. 657 = Guriat, Ann[illegible]m. Camb. 877.

Iaco ri Bretan, Tig. 1039 = Iacob rex Venedotiae, Ann. Cam[illegible]b. 1039.

Iudruis rig Bretan, Tig. 633. bellum Iudris regis Britonu[illegible]m, AU. 632. Iudris, Ann. Camb. 632.

Leobelem, AU. 1023. Lewelin filius Seisil, Ann. Camb. 102[illegible].

Maen Conain *Conan's stone*, some place in Mona, AU. 864.

Medgoeth, Insula, AU. 631 = Inis Medcoit, FM. 627, *Lindisfar[illegible]e*.

Merminn, AU. 855. Muirminn gen. sg. AU. 876, 877. Murm[illegible]n, AU. 621. Muirmin, AU. 681. Mermin, Ann. Cambr. 844. Merwyn, Ann. Camb. 903.

Oel ri Bretan, AU. 949. O.-W. Higuel, Ann. Camb. 950. Pictish Simal (i.e. Sivel) infra.

Ohan, Tig. 642 = Haan, Tig. 686. Hoan rex Britonum, AU. 641 = Auin, q.v.

Radgann, gen. Radgainn, AU. 702 = Radgund, TF. p. 108, seems meant for a British name, but is probably a Teut. *Hrodgund*.

Rés mac Seothair [leg. Teothair] rí Bretan . . . do marbad do[F]rancaib, AI. 1076=Resus filius Teudur rector dextralis partis a Francis Brecheniauc occisus est, Ann. Camb. 1091.

Roderc ('De Roderco filio Tothail,' Vita Columbae, p. 43, ed. Reeves), later Rhydderch.

Ruaidhri mac Muirminn, AU. 876, la Ruadhraigh mac Meirminn, AU. 855=Rotri map Mermin, Ann. Camb. 754, 877, and Harl. 3859, fo. 183[a]. Rodri, Ann. Camb. 909, gen. Rutrach, TF. 909. This seems identical with the *c*-stem *Ruaidhri*, gen. *Ruadrach*, AU. 779, 814, acc. *Ruadraich*, AU. 781, or *Ruadraig*, and cognate with the Old-Irish *io*-stem *Rudraige* (gen. sg.). Zimmer considers these names to be borrowed from O.-Norse *Hrörekr*, AS. *Hrédric*. But *Rudraige*, FM. 1483, occurs as the name of a king of Irela[illegible]d

said to have lived A.M. 3845, and *Ruaidhri* occurs as the name of the son of a king of Leinster, in 785, ten years *before* the first Vikings came to Ireland. There can be little doubt that Ruaidri, Rotri, Rudraige, are genuine Celtic names and that Noreen has here been misled by Zimmer.

Solon mac Conaen rex Britanorum, AU. 612, Solon mac Conain, Tig. 613 = Selim filius Cinan, Ann. Camb. 613.

Spris, FM. 1579=W. *Prys*, with prothetic *s*.

Taudar [leg. Teudar] mac Bile rex Alochlandaib [leg. Alo Cluade], Tig. 752, Teothar=Teudur, see *Rés* supra.

Uiter Pendragen, gen. sg. AU. 467 = *Vthurpendreic*, Jesus Coll. MS. 20, fo. 41[a].

III. 2. Irish Loans from Welsh.

The connexion between the Cymric tribes and the Gaels, during which names and other words were borrowed by one race from the other, began at least as early as the fifth century,[1] when a Gaelic ogham-writing population was established in South Wales, Cornwall, and Devon, and when S. Patrick, a Briton of Strath Clyde, led his mission to Ireland. It was continued and extended by the second order of saints, who renewed Christianity after the apostacy which took place on Patrick's death; for these were connected with Menevia (St. David's) and the Church of Wales. In the year 707 or 708 "Cellach's Britons" (probably mercenary troops) were slain in a battle in Wicklow (AU. 708; FM. 707). In 870 the vikings Anlaib and Invárr came to Dublin with a fleet of two hundred ships, 'et preda maxima hominum Anglorum et *Britonum* et Pictorum deducta est secum in captiuitate.' In 1170 and 1171 Fitzstephen and Strongbow were doubtless followed to Wexford and Waterford by many Welshmen; and about a century after the Anglo-Norman invasion there was a considerable settlement of Welsh in Tyrawley. At present they are represented by the Barretts,

[1] I have not overlooked the tradition mentioned in the Irish Nennius, pp. 122, 136, and also by O'Curry (*Manuscript Materials*, etc., p. 450), that at a much earlier time there was a tribe of Britons, called the Tuath Fidba, using poisoned weapons and living in certain forests in Wexford.

Lawlesses, Joyces, Tomlyns, Mac Andrews, Hostys, and Walshes (Ir. Breathnaigh). See O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 324 et seq.

brocóit *bragget*, FM. 1107, AU. 1107, ALC. 1108. From O.-W. *brocaut* (gl. mulsum, gl. mellicatum) GC. 94. Corn. *bregaud*.

clocen *skull*, pl. nom. cloicne, Rev. Celt. iii. 177, dat. cloignibh, FM. 1570. W. *clopen*. See clocc-at, infra p. 424.

gardha *garden*, FM. 988, formed on W. *gardd*, and this from A.S. *geard*.

mael *chief*, gen. maoil, FM. 1070, p. 898. From W. *mael* = *maglo-s*,[1] of which the regular Irish equivalent is *mál*.

nós *custom*, ard-nós, ALC. 1362, 1402. From W. *naws* 'nature,' 'disposition.'

pit *portion*, *ration*. From W. *peth* from **petti*, **quetti*.

seboc *hawk*. From W. *heboc* = AS. *hafoc*.

Other Old-Welsh words, which we know from Cormac's *Glossary*, are *braut* 'judgment,' *cat* 'battle,' *coit* 'wood,' *cusil* 'counsel,' *din* 'fort,' *dobar* (leg. *dubr*) 'water,' *doborci* (leg. *dubrci*) 'otter,' *duiu* 'god,' *gour* (leg. *guor*) 'dawn,' *grucc* (leg. *gruch*) 'woman,' *map* 'son,' *med* 'mead,' *muin* 'my,' *prem* 'worm,' *premter* (leg. *prebter*) 'priest.'

spochad *act of castrating*, ALC. 1194, 1244, 1320, p. 598, 1478, seems from Bret. *spac'hein*, *spac'h* and this from *spaz*, borrowed, like W. *dy-spaddu*, from Lat. *spado*. So *deorad* 'an exile' (*deóraídhe*, O'B.), whence *deoraidecht* 'exile, pilgrimage,' CF. 978, 106, seems from Br. *divroet* 'depaysé,' Corn. *diures* (gl. exul).

IV. Pictish Names and other Words.

The Gaelic race came in contact with the Picts both in Ireland and in Scotland. In Ireland there were Picts in Dál-Araide (Down and part of Antrim),[2] in Meath,[3] and in Roscommon,[4] and in Adamnán's Life of Columba, ii. 9,

[1] See Hübner Inscr. Christ. Brit. Nos. 64, 92, 157, 158, and *Brigo-maglo*[illegible] Rev. Celt. xi. 344.

[2] rí Cruithne Ulad, Tig. 708.

[3] rí Cruithne Midhi, Tig. 666. And see Keating's Hist. ed. Halliday, p. 31[illegible] 8.

[4] There was a tuath Cruithnech in Magh Aei and Magh Luirg: see t[illegible] Book of Ballimote, 256ᵃ 10. This perhaps is the gens Pictaneorum of t[illegible] Life of S. Cadroe, Skene 108.

we read of a Pictish priest living in Leinster. In Scotland in the eighth century all north of the Forth was Pictish territory[1] except Argyle (=*Airer Goedel*) and perhaps a Gaelic settlement on the Tay (*Tava*). The Irish Picts were called

Cruithni, Tig. 629, 645, 646, 666, 682, 708, pl. gen. Cruithne, FM. 679, 680, acc. Cruithniu, FM. 587, 604, 706, 725. The *Cruidnenorum* of Lib. Arm. 3ª 1, is perhaps an error for *Cruithneorum*=Adamnán's *Cruithniorum*, Vita Columbae, p. 33.

Cruthnig, Tig. 558, 681, the nom. pl. of *Cruthnech*, which is etymologically identical with the *Cruthinicus* of Adamnán, p. 66, the *Cortonico-* of the Old-High-German gloss 'Gallia uualcholant. Chortonicum auch Walcholant.' The dat. pl. Cruithneachoibh, FM. 552. Hence the diminutive Cruithnechan(us), Adamnán, p. 191. [These words are probably derived from *cruth* 'forma' = W. *prŷd*. Hence we have *Cruithne* as the name of the artificer, *cerd*, of the Picts, Ir. Nennius, 124.]

The Scottish Picts were sometimes called by the Irish annalists Cruithnig, Tig. 560, 583, gen. pl. Cruithnech, FM. 430, 863;[2] and their country Cruithen-tuath, FM. 3790; Laud, 610, fo. 92ª; but the people and their country are generally denoted by names beginning with *p*, thus:

Piccardai (dat. pl. Piccardaib), Tig. 729.

Picardaig (gen. pl. Picardach), Tig. 728, 750. Piccardaig (gen. pl. Piccardach), Tig. 729.

Picti (gen. pl. Pictorum, acc. Pictos), Tig. 580, 631, 653: AU. 630, 652, 656, 697, 728, 733, 735, 788, 857, 861, 864, 870, 874, 877.

Pictones, Tig. 750. 752, AU. 749.

Pictores, Tig. 669; AU. 668, 675, 727. The gen. pl. *Pictorum*, cited supra under *Picti*, may of course belong to *Pictores*.

Pictavia, Sk. 8, 9, 135.

These *p*-names, like the Gaulish *Πίκτονες*, later *Pictavi*

[1] Old-Norse *Pettland*, *Pettlandz fjörðr*, whence *Pe-n-t-land*, *Pentland firth*, with a curious insertion of *n*.

[2] A bardic name for their territory is *Cruithen-chlár*, Ir. Nenn. p. 174, where, as in *Cruithen-tuath*, we have the stem *Qruteno-*, whence W. *Prydyn* 'a Pict.' Hence also *Queretinus*, the surname of Bonifacius, a missionary to the Picts.

(now *Poitou*), have been connected by Windisch with the Ir. *cicht* .i. *gebiach* Corm., .i. *geibire* 'carver' .i. *rindaire*, 'engraver' H. 3. 18, p. 66, col. 2. Cognate, seemingly, is Ptolemy's *Πηκτόνιον ἄκρον*, which may be explained by the W. *pwyth* 'point,' 'stitch,' from **pêkto-*.[1] The root is *qvik*, and the resemblance of the *p*-names just quoted to the Latin *pictus*, cognate with Gr. *ποικίλος*, Goth. (*filu*)*faihs*, is deceptive.

As to the linguistic and ethnological affinities of the Picts, four irreconcileable hypotheses have been formed, three of which are still upheld. The first, due to Pinkerton, and supported, I am sorry to say, by the late Mr. Oldbuck of Monkbarns,[2] is that the Picts were Teutons and spoke a Gothic dialect: the second, started by Prof. Rhŷs, is that the Picts were Non-Aryans, whose language was overlaid by loans from Welsh and Irish: the third, the property of Mr. Skene, is that they were Celts, but Gaelic Celts rather than Cymric: the fourth, and, in my judgment, the true hypothesis, favoured by Prof. Windisch and Mr. A. Macbain, is that they were Celts, but more nearly allied to the Cymry than to the Gael.

For the sake of completeness and comparison, I have inserted in the following list the Pictish names found in the inscription of S. Vigeans,[3] the Pictish Chronicle and other tracts printed by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, the fragment of that chronicle in Laud 610, fo. 92[1], the Irish Nennius,[4] Adamnán's Vita Columbae, the Book of Deir,[5] and some of the names in the records printed by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 105–143. I have also inserted from C. Müller's edition of Ptolemy's Geography the names of such tribes and places as there is reason to think were Pictish.

Accidan, gen. Accidain, AU. 648, Acithaen, AU. 685, corruptly Athicain, Tig. 686.

[1] Rhŷs, however, regards *pwyth* as a loan from *puetum* or Low-Latin **puetta* (Ducange has *pueta*).
[2] See *The Antiquary*, chap. vi.
[3] *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, ed. Hübner, Berlin, 1876, p. 77.
[4] ed. Todd, Dublin, 1848.
[5] *Goidelica*, London, 1872, pp. 106—121.

Achíuir gen. sg. Talorc mac Achíuir, L. 92[a] = Talore filius Achivir, Sk. 6=Tolorc mac Aithiuir, Ir. Nenn. 160. Seems gen. sg. of a compound of *acc* (*ach*) = W. *ach* 'stemma,' Corn. *ach* (gl. suboles), and *ior* = W. *iôr* 'dominus, princeps.'

Aed mac Boanta, AU. 838.

Ailill Oll-findachta, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. From *Alpilli-s, cogn. with A.-S. *ælf*, O.-Norse *álfr* (but see Kluge, s.v. Alp).

Air-chartdan, nom. loci, Vita Columbae, p. 114[b], now 'Glen Urquhart on the W. side of Loch Ness' (Reeves).

Alauna (Ἀλαῦνα), Ptol. a town of the Dumnonii.

aleph, see *Cenn-aleph*, and cf. *Alef* the name of a king of Cornwall, in Ward's Catalogue, i. 449.

Alpín, Ailpín, Tig. 693, AU. 856, 861, Alphin, AU. 692 : with umlaut : Elpin, L. 92[a]. Sk. 7 : Eilpin, AU. 729 : Elphin, Tig. 726 : Elfin, Ann. Cambr. 722. Borrowed from Lat. *Albínus*?

Alpine, Tig. 728, with umlaut, Eilpine, AU. 727. Borrowed from *Albînius*?

Anfrith, Anfrait, Ainfrith, see Enfret.

Aniel gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 160, Sk. 6; Ainel, L. 92[a]. Perhaps W. *anial* 'wild.'

apor, apur, abur, abbor, abber, *estuary, rivermouth*, gen. apuir, Tig. 737, dat. apur, Tig. 722. Apor-crosan (now Applecross, Ross-shire) AU. 672, 801, FM. 671, 721, 792, Sk. 6. Apur-feirt, Apur-nethige Sk. 6 : Abur-nethige, Sk. 6 : Apuir-nige Ir. Nenn. 162=Apur-nige, L. 92[a]. Abbor-doboir (now Aberdour), Abber-deon (now Aberdeen), Bk. of Deir, fo. 39[a] = the Apardjón of the Orkneyinga Saga. Æbber-curnig (now Abercorn, at the eastern end of the Picts' wall), Bæda, H.E. i. 12, iv. 26. Old Aber-brothoc, now Arbroath. This is the Old-Welsh *aper*, now *aber*, cogn. with *oper* (Oper-gelei, Ann. Cambr. 856, Oper Linn Liuan, Nennius, § 69), Corn. *aber* (gl. gurges), and Ir. *in-ber*.

ar-diuois, see Deo-ardiuois: ar- may be = Gaulish *arê-*, Gr. *παραί*.

arg, see Tal-org = Gr. *ἀργός* 'shining, bright.' Cognate with Gaulish *argio-s* in *Argio-talus*, Lat. *argutus, argilla, argentum*, Skr. *arjuna*.

Art-ablár, gen. Artabláir, AU. 708. Here and in the next three entries *art* may be = W. *arth* 'bear,' *ἄρκτος*, in the names *Arth-mael, Arth-biu*, etc.

Art-branan, 'de quodam Artbranano,' Vita Col. p. 34[b] : cf.

the Ir. Artbran, gen. Artbrain, Tig. 716 (*Ardbrand*, Tig. 758, seems a blunder).

Art-cois, L. 92[a] (misprinted Ardcoist in Ir. Nennius, lxxv) = Arcois, Sk. 6 : cf. Argento-*coxus*.

*Art-gust, Tuathal mac Artgusso primepscop Fortrenn, AU. 864. Artgossa, TF. 869 : Ardghusa, FM. 863.

Asreith gen. sg. nom. loci, Tig. 752.

Ate-cotti, Notit. Imp. a division of the ancient Picts, meaning, probably, 'very ancient ones' : pl. of a compound of *ate-*, later *at*, and *cottos* = W. *coth* 'old.'

Athan, nom. loci, Sk. 6. If this be for *atan* = W. *adan* 'wing' (cogn. with πέτομαι and *feather*), we may perhaps identify it with Ptolemy's Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον, the *Pinnatis* of Geogr. Rav. Compare for the meaning *Pinna*, a town of the Vestini, on the E. slope of the Apennines.

Athfotla gen. sg. Tig. 739, corruptly Athfoithle, AU. 73[illegible], Athochlach, Sk. 10, Adtheodle, Sk. 136, Athótla, Bk. of Deir, [illegible]. 9[a], now Athol, a compound of *at* and *fótla* q.v. In the No[illegible]e *Atjöklar*, the *tl* has become *kl*.

Athran, Sk. 136. 'Athrie near Stirling,' Skene, *Celtic Scotla[illegible]d*, i. 341.

Bagag Ollfiacha, one of the Pictish kings of Ireland, Ir. Ne[illegible]n. lxiii. Ir. *bágach*, Urkelt. *bâgâko-s*, a deriv. of *bágo-* 'battle,' Ir. *b[illegible]g*.

Baine, daughter of the *rí Alban*, FM. 10 : cogn. with W. *ber[illegible]w* or *banyw*? Or if the *a* be long, cogn. with Ir. *bán* 'white.'

Banb acc. sg. Bk. of Deir, fo. 39[a], now Banff, cogn. with *Ban[illegible]a*, a name for Ireland, Trip. Life, 426, *glan-Bhanbha*, FM. 16[illegible]2, p. 2294. The Ir. *banb* 'pig' = W. *banw*, may also be cognate.

Bannatia (Βαννατία), a town of the Vacomagi, Ptol.

Bargoit gen. sg. L. 92[a]. Ir. Nenn. 166, Sk. 8, nom. *Barc[illegible]ot possibly = W. *barcut*, *barcud* 'a kite.'

Béde cruthnec[h], Bk. of Deir, i. = a Gaulish *Bedaios*? O.-Br[illegible]r. *Bedoe*, *Bidoe*.

Bergib, Sk. 187, gen. sg. of the name of the father o[illegible] of "Duptalaich": cf. Soer-*bergg*, AU. 790.

Bern-gal, Bearngal, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. [illegible]r. Nenn. lxxiii. Cf. perhaps the Teut. *bern* 'bear' in Bern-rich, etc. [illegible]c.

best, bust, see Onbest, Usconbust. So we have Drest and Drust. [illegible].

Biceot mac Moneit, AU. 728.

Bili gen. Tig. 686, 693 : AU. 629, 692. Bile, TF. p. 40. Bredei [illegible] filius Bili, Sk. 7 = W. Corn. *Beli*, O.-Br. *Bili*, from **belesio-*?

Blathuug, AU. 728, a corruption of *Blatbulg* = *Blatum Bulgium* of the Antonine Itinerary, p. 223, *Bladebolg* in a charter of 1144, printed in Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 110, where Dr. Reeves says that "Bladbolg was a denomination of land belonging to the bishop" of St. Andrews.

Blieberlith, L. 92ᵃ, Blieblith, Ir. Nenn. 158. Blies-blituth, Sk. 6 Here perhaps *blituth* is = O.-W. *Bledud*: but the rest is obscure.

Boanta gen. sg. AU. 838.

boch = W. *bóch*, Lat. *bucca*, see gurth-in-moch.

bodb in Iarn-bodb, q.v. cf. Gaul. *Ate-boduus*, *Boduo-genus*, *Boduo-gnatus*: W. *Arth-bodu*, *El-bodu*, *Gur-bodu*: Br. *Tri-bodu*, *Cat-bodu*, *Eu-boduu*. Ir. Bodb, gen. Boidb, AU. 675, Bodbchaidh, TF. p. 52, Bodb-cath, AU.703, and the place-name Bodb-gna, AU. 679.

bolc, Gartnait bolc, L. 92ᵃ, misspelt Gartnaith loc, Sk. 6. Gernard bolg, Sk. 149. Bolge, Sk. 187. See Crutbolc, Dun-bulcc, infra. I know not whether to compare Ir. *bolg*, *bolc* from *bulga*, or O.-W. *Morcant bulc*, the Mod.-W. *bwlch* 'broken, cut,' or, lastly, Ir. *balc* 'strong' = W. *balch*.

Boresti, the right reading of *Horesti*, Tac. Agr. 38, may be cogn. with Βορέας and Ὑπερ-βόρειοι.

Bran mac Oengusa, AU. 838. Ir. *bran*, *Bran*, O.-Br. *Bran*: cf. *Branodunum*, *Rialo-brani*, Hübner 84.

branan in *Art-branan*, dimin. of *bran* 'raven.'

brecc. Nectan mór brec mac Erip, L. 92ᵃ = Nectan mor breac mac Eirip, Ir. Nenn. 160. Brecc Fortrend, AU. 724. Ir. *brecc* 'speckled,' W. *brych*.

Brecini gen. sg. Bk. of Deir iii., dat. Brecin, ib. fo. 39ᵃ. The gen. sg. is Brechne in Sk. 10. The similarity of W. *brycini*, *brycin* 'a brake, forest,' derived from *brwg* = Br. *bruk*, is deceptive.

Bred, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 8. Brod, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Bredei filius Wirguist, Sk. 7. Brete filius Uurgu[s]t, L. 92ᵃ = Breite f. Uugut, Ir. Nenn. 164. Breidei filius Uuid, Sk. 7. Bredei filius Bili, Sk. 7.

Brei f. Derelei, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Breth, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. Perhaps for Breȝ = Bred, q.v.

Bridiu: cum Bridiuo, L. 92ᵃ. Briduo, Sk. 7. Brideno, Ir. Nenn. 162.

brocc *badger*, in *Caer na mbrocc*, q.v. Ir. *brocc*, W. Corn. *broch*, cogn. with φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν, Hesych.

Broichan(us), Vita Columbae, 146, 148, from *Vroichan = Ir. Froechan?

Brude, Bruidhe, Bruidhi, Tig. 560, 583, 682, 686, 693, 706, 752. AU. 583, 692, 762. Bruide, L. 92ᵃ, AU. 705. Bruite, TF. 687. Bruide mac Derilei ri Cruithintuaithi, Rawl. B. 505, p. 309. Latinised *Bruideus*, AU. 730, 735, but *Brudeus*, by Adamnán. Possibly cogn. with A.S. *prût*, *Prûda*, Eng. *proud*, O.-N. *prúðr*. The long û becomes î in Bridei filius Mailcon, Sk. 7, Brideo filio Meilochon, Beda H.E. iii. 4. In Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, Brude Urleo, and so on, Sk. 5, *Brude* seems not a name but a regal title.

Brun (Bruin) Alban, Sk. 136, 137. Brun-here, Sk. 13[illegible]. Cam-brun, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 112. If this word be genuine, it [illegible] is the Welsh *brynn* 'collis.'

Búchan gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, i. vi. Buchan ib. vi. Buch[illegible]en, Sk. 136, abl. Buchain, Sk. 10, now Buchan, part of Aberdeen.

Budros, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 162 is = Uudrost, q.v. [illegible], *b* being written for *w* as in *balla* 'wall' infra.

Buthud gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ. Buthut, Sk. 6.

Caer na mbrocc, Reeves' *Columba*, p. 191 note = ceir infra. [illegible] and Br. *caer*, Ir. *cathair*. The same word is in *Car*-buddo in A[illegible]gus.

Cailt arni, L. 92ᵃ = Cailtaine, Ir. Nenn. 162, Cailtram, Sk. 7, Chelturan, Sk. 187. Hopelessly corrupt.

Cairêni (Καιρηνοί), Ptol.

Cal, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: also in Wr-cal. Cognat[illegible] with Corn. *cal* (gl. astutus), W. *call*, Lat. *callidus*.

Calat-ros nom. loci, TF. 578, Calitros, Tig. 678, Calathros, AU. [illegible] 677, Calathros in Etarlindu, AU. 735: cf. Ir. *calath* 'hard,' Br. *calet*, W. *caled*, Corn. *cales*.

calden, callen, callenn in Dun-calden, Sk. 8, Dun caillen, AU. 964, Dun caillenn, AU. 1027, Dun callden, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39ᵃ, gen. Duni callenn, Bk. of Deir, iii. Now Dunkeld. The *calden(n)* is probably cogn. with the Ir. *caill* 'wood' (from *kaldet-), *caillteamhail* (gl. sylvester), Gr. κλάδος, Lat. *callis* 'forest' (K.Z. 30, 434), A.S. *holt*, Germ. *holz*. But a connexion with Goth. *hallus*, πέτρα, is possible.

Calēdon in Dvē-calēdones, q.v. Calēdonios in Καληδόνιον δρυμός, Ptol. = *Coit Celidon*. Notwithstanding Ptolemy's η, Zeuss, G.C.² 790, thinks that the second vowel was short. The Gaulish name[illegible] *Sembedon* (P. Secunda Sembedonis filio), Orelli, 204, and *Tenedon*[illegible] would then be similar formations. But the umlaut of *a* in Nenniu[illegible] (in silva) Celidonis proves the length of the following vowel.

Calgācos *sworded*, the 'Galgacus' of Tacitus. Ir. *calg* 'sword[illegible]' W. *caly* 'veretrum,' Br. *calch*.

Canaul filius Tang., L. 92[a]: Canul, Ir. Nenn. 164: Canaul filius Tarl'a, Sk. 7.

Cana, TF. 687, gen. sg. Canonn, AU. 620, 687, Tig. 688, Canond, Tig. 690. Is the 'Cland Canan' of Bk. of Deir, v. miswritten for Cland *Canonn*? Cognate are *Canaone* (abl. sg.) Greg Tur. iv. 4, W. *cenaw* 'cub, whelp,' pl. *cenawon*, O.Br. *Ri-ceneu*, O.W. *Ri-cenou*.

Canutulachama, Sk. 6. Canutulahína, L. 92[a], Canatulacma, Ir. Nenn. 160. This corrupt name seems to be *Canu* (the nom. sg. of *Canonn* supra) followed by the epithet *tulahama*, of which *Tulaaman* may be a derivative. For the insertion of *h* or *ch* between vowels cf. *Catohic*, *fahel*, *Tarachin* infra; W. *tra-noheth*, Laws, i. 27: Corn. *guillihim* (gl. forceps): Br. *Gurmahilon*, G.C.[2] 102.

Carno, see Monit carno, cognate with Ptolemy's Κάρνονες or Καρνόνακαι, Κορναούιοι.

Carnonacae (Καρνόνακαι) Ptol. cf. the Galatian Κάρνον· τὴν σάλπιγγα.

cartit .i. delg *a brooch*, Corm. Borrowed from AS. *geard* or Welsh *garthon* 'goad,' Corn. *garthou* (gl. stimulus).

cat *battle*, occurs in the next five names. W. *cat*, Ir. *cath*, Gaul. *catu*.

Catluan mac Catmind, L. 92[a]=Cathluan mac Caitmind, Ir. Nenn. 140. Catluan mac Cing, LL. 15[a], Ir. Nenn. lxxiv. Cathluan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathluain, Ir. Nenn. 138.=O.Br. *Cat-louuen*, 'delighting in battle.'

Catinolachan, Ir. Nenn. 124. Cathmachan, Ir. Nenn. 140. Perhaps for *Cat-molachan, a compound of *cat* 'battle' and *molachan* =W. *molochain* 'full of uproar.' Perhaps for *Cat-uuolocan, cf. *Volocus*, Forbes's *Kalendars*, pp. 459–461.

Cat-mind gen. sg. L. 92[a]. Caitmind, Ir. Nenn. 140. From *cat* 'battle' and *mind* 'diadem'=Ir. *mind*, O.W. *minn* (gl. sertum), pl. *minnou* (gl. serta, gl. stemmata).

Cat-molodor, Ir. Nenn. 140, for *Cat-uuolatr*=O.W. *Catgualart*, O.Br. *Cat-uualart*. Here, as in *Simal* and *Almuine* infra, the Irish scribe has written (infected) *m* for *w*.

Catōc, gen. Catohic,[1] AU. 749, (for the insertion of *h* cf. *fahel* infra) O.W. O.Br. *Catoc*: *Catâcus*, Hübner 35.

Catt, Cat son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, Aenbeagan mac Caitt, ibid. (corruptly Caitt, Gatt, Ir. Nenn. 154, *Got*, Sk. 4)= Gaul. *Cattos*: an eponymous king. Cat-ness, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39[a].

[1] Mr. Hennessy bisects this word, and translates the "bellum Cato hic" thus produced by "The battle of Cato, in this year."

i Cataib, Fél. crich Cat, Ir. Nenn. 148. insi Cadd, LL. 171[b]. Cathanesia, Sk. 136. O.Norse *Kata-nes.*

Ce son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, an eponymous king. In topography (according to Mr. A. Macbain) *Keith.*

Ceir-fuill id est Lethfoss, Sk. 6. Is this = Kerpul, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 133? where *pul* is = W. *pwll*, Corn. *pol* (gl. puteus)?

cenn-aleph, L. 92[a], Sk. 7. Corruptly cenamlapeh, Ir. Nenn. 162, cennalath, AU. 579, may be W. *Ken-elaph*, Jesus Coll. MS. No. 20, fo. 36[b]. Here *cenn* seems = W. *cen* 'skin,' Corn. *cennen* (gl. membrana), Ir. *ceinn* pl. *cenni* (gl. scamae), Lib. Arm. 176[b], 2. The *aleph* may be = Ir. *álaib*, Fél. Sep. 3. Similar names are Corn. Wuen-cen, Gluiu-cen.

Cerônes (Κέρωνες), Ptol.

Cillimon, see Deo-cillimon, cilunon.

Cing, gen. Cinge, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 154. Cínca, Ir. Nenn. 142. Cogn. with the Ir. *t*-stem *cing*, Gaul. *cinget-* in *Cinget-o-rix.*

Cinioiodh, L. 92[a]. Cinioiod, Ir. Nenn. 158 = Cimoiod filius Arcois, Sk. 6. Ciniod mac Derili, AU. 712. Ciniod filius Wredech, Sk. 7, Ciniod[1] filius Uuredeg, L. 92[a]. Cinoidh, gen. Cinadhon, AU. 774, 777. Cynoth, Cynoht, Sim. Dunelm. 774, 775. Cenioẏd, Cemoth (leg. Cenioẏth), Ann. Camb. 776, 856. Ciniath mac Lutrín, L. 92[a] = Cinhoint f. Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, Cinioch filius Lutrin, Sk. 7, gen. sg. mors Cinedon filii Lugthreni, AU. 630. The name underlying this mass of mis-spellings is *Cini-oiδ*, gen. *Cini-oiδon*, where *cini-* is = *cin-* in the Irish name *Cinaed*, and *oiδ* is = Gr. αἴθων 'fiery.' Cf. the O.-Ir. gen. *Lugu-aedon*, Inscrn. of Inis an Ghoill = *Lugudon*, AU. 780, 809, *Lugedon*, AU. 739, the ogmic *Biv-aiddonas*, and the Gaul. *io*-stem *Aedonius*, C.I.L. v. 3459.

Cinid one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-cinid. Perhaps = O.W. Cinuit, Harl. 3859, fo. 194[a].

Cint, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes, also in Ur-cint. *Cintu-* 'first' in *Cintu-genus*, *Cintu-gnatus.*

Circinn son of Cruithne, Sk. 4. Circin, Circing, Ir. Nenn. 154. Mag Cirgin, Ir. Nenn. lxxi. i cath Chircind, Tig. 596 (where Dr. Reeves would identify *Circind* with *Kirkin-tulloch*, N.E. of Glasgow, on the borders of Dumbarton and Stirling), in terra Circin, Tig. 75.

Ciricc, Sk. 324. Cirig, Ir. Nenn. 50. Ciric, ib. 51 note. gen. Cirigh, ibid. 124, 142. Borrowed from *Cyricus.*

[1] Misprinted Oimod, *Ir. Nennius*, p. lxxxvii, l. 2.

cisirne, see Findoll.

Claideom nom. loci, Sk. 10.

Cluanan nom. loci, Sk. 8. dimin. of *cluan*=Ir. *clúain*?

Coblait filia Canond, Tig. 690.

cois (Art-cois)=W. *coes*, Ir. *coss*, Lat. *coxa*.

*Con-gust, Talorgg mac Congusso, AU. 733, O.W. *Cingust*, *Cinust*. The *con-*=*cuno-* is also in *Cuno-barrus*, *Cuno-gussi*, Rhys 5, *Cuno-pennius*, *Cuno-mori*, *Cuno-vali*. In Ireland *Con-chobar* is not only a man's name, but occurs as the name of a river in Irish Pictland: see Rev. Celt. vi. 125.

Corindu, Tig. 669, AU. 668. An etymological connexion with Κορίνιον is possible; but both words are obscure.

Cornavii, Ptolemy's Κορναούιοι. Cf. W. *Cornou*, Lib. Land. 230, L. 35. Derived from *corn*=Lat. *cornu*.

Costantin, *Cos*ăntin, Caustantin, L. 92ᵃ, Castantin, Sk. 8, Consatin, Ir. Nenn. 166, Cusaintín, ib. 274. Borrowed from *Constantīnus*. So W. *Custenhin*, Lib. Landav. 69, 263, and Corn. *Costentin*, *Custentin*, Rev. Celt. i. 340.

cottos (whence *Ate-cotti* 'the old inhabitants'), W. *coth* 'old,' Br. *coz*, Gaul. *cottos* (Cotti *officina*, C.I.L. xii. 5686, 272).

credi gen. sg. Caislen Credhi, Tig. 728, Castellum Credi, AU. 727=Collis Credulitatis, Sk. 9. Reeves, *Columba*, 383. Cognate with Ir. *cretim* from **cred-dim*, Lat. *crēdo* from **cred-do*.

Creônes (Κρέωνες), Ptol.

Crin, Ur-crin, two of the thirty Brudes, Ir. Nenn. 158. A Crin servus occurs in Lib. Land. 198. Cf. W. *crîn* 'aridus,' also 'avarus, sordidus, parcus.'

croib, in Monid Croibh, may be Ir. *craeb* 'a branch,' 'a branchy tree,' the diphthong *ai* becoming *oi*, as in Cini-oiȝ.

crosan, see Apor-crosan.

crup, Dorsum Crup, Sk. 10, 'which Chalmers makes Duncrub in Strathern,' Reeves' *Columba*, 383. *Cruip*, gen. sing. AU. 741. W. *crwb* 'gibba,' *crwban* 'testudo,' *crwbach* 'hamus,' with which Glück connects the Gaulish name *Crupios*, and the *cruppellarii* of Tacitus.

Crus mac Cirigh, the soldier of the Picts, Ir. Nenn. 124, 142. Perhaps an Irishism for **Prust*=W. *prwst*, Corn. *prost* (in *Iudprost*), O.Br. *Prost-lon*, *Prost-uuoret*.

Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 154. Cruidne . . . pater Pictorum habitantium in hoc insula, Sk. 4, an eponymous hero. An Irishism for *Prutene or Predene, AU. 783, where it is the name of the grandfather of an Irish king.

Crutbolc, Ir. Nenn. 158: Crautreic, L. 92ᵃ (where the *-reic* comes from the preceding *Deo-totreic*); and Carvorst, Sk. 6. The name underlying these corrupt spellings may be **Craust*, an Irishism for **Praust*=W. *Prawst*. As to *bolc* see Gartnait bolc, supra.

Culen-ross, Culenros, now Culross, Sk. 417. Cuilenn ros, in BB. 214ᵃ, 21: Alina *ingen* rig Cruithnech m*áthair* Seirb m*eic* Proic rig Çanandan Egipti, 7 is e sin in sruthsenoir *con*geibh Cuillenn ros hi Sraith Ern. hi Comgellaibh *etir* Sliabh n-Ochel 7 Mur *n*Guidan. Ir. *cuilenn*, W. *celyn-en*, M.Br. *quelenn-en*, A.S. *holegn*, *holen* 'holly.' As to *ross* see infra, p. 412.

Curnach, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88ᵃ. The gen. sg. may be curnig, in Æbber-curnig.

Deauae, leg. Dēuae? gen. sg. of *Dēva*. Obsesio Duin Deauae, AU. 691. De, Sk. 136.

Decantae (Δεκάνται), Ptol. From the same root as *Decangi*, Tacitus Ann. xii. 32, and *Decetia*, Caesar B.G. vii. 33. Ir. *dech* 'best,' Lat. *decor*, *decus*.

Dele-roth, Tig. 711. filius Deile-roith, AU. 710, 715.

Demene, Sk. 187, is perhaps the Ir. name *Daimene*, AU. 960.

deo = *divo-* seems to occur in the next four articles: cf. the Gaulish *Divo-genus*, *Divo-gena* and the place-names *Divo-durum* (now Metz), and *Deo-brigula* in Spain. W. *Diu-nerth*, Lib. Land. 178, l. 8.

Deo ardivois, Sk. 6. Deordiuois, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 160.

Deo-cillimon, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 158 = Deocilunon, Sk. 6.

Deo-ord, Sk. 6 = Deort, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 158.

Deo-totreic, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 158, misspelt Dectotr'ic, Sk. 6. Here the *totreic* seems a corruption of the A.S. *Theudric*, =N.H.G. *Dietrich*, Gaul. *Teutorix*, O.W. *Tutri*; but the loan *Theudric* occurs in the Jesus College MS. No. 20, fo. 35ᵃ.

deon in Abberdeon q.v. Perhaps = Ptolemy's *Dêvana* (Δηουάνα): cf. *Divona*, now Cahors.

Der, nom. loci, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39ᵃ. The connexion with Ir. *dér*, W. *dagr*, Gr. δάκρυ, is mere volksetymologie.

dergg in 'bellum Droma dergg,' AU. 728. Ir. *derg* 'red.'

Derile, Tig. 126, 728, gen. Derili, Derile, AU. 705, 712, 72[illegible]. Derelei, Derilei, L. 92ᵃ, Derelei, Sk. 7. The *der-* may be an intensive prefix as in O.-Bret. *Der-monoc* and W. *Der-guentid*, *D[illegible]r-guist*.

Dêva, a river, Ptolemy's Δηούα: see Deauae, supra. W. D[illegible]u-

gurach, Lib. Land. 133, l. 4. Diu-guinid, ibid. 199, ll. 6, 10. a flumine quod uocatur Dubr Duiú, Harl. 3859, fo. 195ᵃ, col. 3.

Dêvana (Δηουάνα), the πόλις of the Taexali, Ptol.

Diu, Sk. 6=deo q.v. is=Tui, L. 92ᵃ.

diuois, see Ar-diuois.

diuperr, Gartnait diuperr, L. 92ᵃ, Gartnait duipeir, Ir. Nenn. 160=Gartnaich diuberr, Sk. 6=Canath dives, Sk. 149=Garnard dives, Sk. 172. Garnard le riche, Sk. 200. The *diu* may be cognate with Lat. *dives*. The *perr* or *peir* is obscure.

dobor, gen. doboir, see Abbor-doboir. Dobur Artbranani, *Vita Columbae*, p. 35ᵃ. Hence the diminutive. *Dobran, now the *Doveran*. W. *dufr*, Corn. *dour*.

Doirgarto gen. sg., AU. 709, 711, is perhaps a Pictish name. The "Dargarto" of AU. 685 seems a scribal error for Doirgarto.

Domech gen. sg., L. 92ᵃ = Domelch, Sk. 7. Domnach, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Domnual: Mors Gartnaidh filii Domnaill 7 Domnaill mic Totholain, AU. 662. Donuel gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 164 (corruptly = Donnel Sk. 7). W. Dumn-ual. Ir. Domnall.

Drostan, Tig. 713, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130. Drostan, Bk. of Deir i. Drostan Dairtighe or Dairtaighe, FM. 717, AU. 718. gen. Drostain, AU. 712=*Drustagni*, Hübner, 20. Hence the *Tristan* of Lib. Land. 267, l. 27, and the Arthurian tales.

Drosten, Inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Druisten gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, misprinted *Dsuisten*, Ir. Nennius, p. lxxv, l. 5.

drum 'ridge' in *Drum-ckarach*, *Drum-sac*, *Muke-drum*, Reeves, *Culdees*, pp. 109, 133: gen. droma, in "bellum Droma dergg Blathuug in regionibus Pictorum," AU. 728. Chalmers identifies *Druim d. b.* with *Drumderg*, an extensive ridge on the western side of the river Ila in Forfarshire, Reeves, *Columba*, 384 n. Ir. *druim*, W. *trum*, from **drosmen* cognate with Lat. *dorsum*.

Drust, Tig. 729, AU. 728, L. 92ᵃ. Sk. 6, TF. p. 54. Druist, Tig. 725, 726, AU. 724. Druxst, Tig. 724. Drest, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 7. gen. Drosto, Tig. 768, AU. 671, 677. Latinised abl. Drusto, Sk. 6. From **drut-to-s*, **drut-tu-s*, cogn. with W. *drûd* 'audax, fortis strenuus.'

Drusticc daughter of 'Drust rex Bretan,' Lib. Hymn. 4ᵃ (*Goidelica*, p. 96). For the diminutival ending cf. O.W. *enderic* (gl. vitulus).

dub 'black' in Dub-Tholargg AU. 781. So in Dup-talaich, Sk. 127, where *p* seems miswritten for *p*, and Dub-loinges mac Trebúait,

the name of a Pictish champion mentioned in LU. 88[a]. O.W. *dub*, Corn. *dup*, Ir. *dub*.

Dumna (Ptolemy's Δοῦμνα), an island N. of Orcas and south of the Orcades.

Dumnonii, *Δουμνόνιοι. So we should probably correct Ptolemy's Δαμνόνιοι.

Dun-bulcc, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 133. Dun-calden, Sk. 8, 9. Dún-Nechtain, AU. 685, Tig. 686, TF. 687, 'supposed to be Dun-nichen in Forfarshire,' Rhys, E.B. 143. The *dún* (an Irishism for *dîn ?*) is=Ir. *dún* 'fortress,' W. *dîn*, Gaul. *dūnon*, A.S. *tún*, Germ. *zaun*.

Dvê-calêdones, a division of the ancient Picts. Hence the adj. dvê-calêdonio-s, ὠκεανὸς καλούμενος Δουηκαληδόνιος, Ptol. Rhys, *Early Britain* 291, equates with *dvê* the Welsh *dwy*, Ir. *dí*, the fem. form of the numeral two=Skr. *dve*.

Ebuda (Ἐβοῦδα), Ptol.

*Ectan, gen. Eactain, Tig. 724. Perhaps a scribe's mistake for Nectain, gen. of Nectan, q.v.

Eden, oppidum, Sk. 10.

elei, ilei, ile, see Derile.

Elgín, Orkn. Saga, now Elgin, cogn. with Elca or Elga, a name for Ireland, Trip. Life, p. 426, Ir. Nenn. p. 142, said to mean 'noble,' ib. p. 143 n. The resemblance of Ἐλγαῖος, the name of a city in Lydia or Lycia, is probably accidental.

Elpin, Elpine, see Alpin, Alpine.

Emchat(us), *Vita Col.* p. 114[b]=Ir. Imm-chath, a Gaul. **Ambi-catus*, which is perhaps the true form of Livy's *Ambigatus*.

Enfidaig L. 92[a], corruptly Enfidaid, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 164=Entifidich, Sk. 7. Nom. sg. En-fidach, see Fidach, infrà.

Enfret gen. sg. L. 92[a], Sk. 7, Ir. Nenn. 164. Also spelt Anfrith, AU. 656, Anfrait, Ainfrith, Tig. 654, 657. Borrowed from A.S. *Eanfrith*?

Éngus, Bk. of Deir, fo. 39[a], an Irishism for *Oengust*, *Ungust*=O.W. *Ungust*, Lib. Land. 201, l. 26.

Epidioi (Ἐπίδιοι), Ptol. Epidion (Ἐπίδιον), perhaps fro[illegible] *(p)ekvidioi*, *(p)ekvidion*, cogn. with Ir. *Eochaid*, Lat. *pecu*, Goth[illegible] *faihu*, Skr. *paçu-s*.

Erp, Drust mac Erp, L. 92[a], Ir. Nenn. 160=Drust filius Er[illegible] Sk. 6, but 'filius Erip,' Sk. 6, l. 25, 'filius Wirp,' Sk. 6, l. 3[illegible] Nectan mór brec mac Erip, L. 92[a]. The name Crach-erpais, A[illegible] 701, may be cognate.

Esk, the name of two rivers in Pictland, from *Iscā = (in form) Ptolemy's Ἴσκα, now the *Exe*. The initial *p* may have been lost, and the name may mean '(flumen) piscosum.' So the O.W. river-name *Uisc* is, acc. to Mr. Phillimore, cogn. with Ir. *íasc* 'fish.'

Etairt, gen. sg. CS. 651, Ethairt, AU. 653.

Eten, gen. obsesio Etin, AU. 637. "*Cair-eden*, now Carriden, a parish on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire," Reeves, *Vita Col.* p. 202 n.

Eu=*Iova*, infrà, the island now called Iona, LU. 11[b], seems cogn. with Ir. *eo-rna* 'barley' = Skr. *yava*, Gr. ζέα, ζειά. Compare *Java* and Ptolemy's Ἰαβαδίου [*i.e.* ἰαϝαδίου] νῆσον. Compare also the island-name *Tir-ee* = *Tir-etha*, Adamnán's *Ethica* insula.

Euganan mac Oengusa, AU. 838.

fahel (in *Pean fahel*, Beda, H.E. i, 12), gen. sg. of **fál*=Ir. *fál*, FM. 1586, p. 1846, O.W. *guaul*. (As e ainm in claid sin la Breatnachu, *guaul*, Ir. Nennius, p. 64.) From a primeval *vālo-n* cogn. with Gr. ϝηλος in ἀργυρόϝηλος, Latin *vallus*, of which *vallum* is a collective. For the insertion of the *h* see Catoc, Tarain.

Fáich, gen. sg. name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, LU. 88[a]: cf. perhaps *Vaco*-magi, Ptolemy's Οὐακόμαγοι, O.W. *Guoccaun*, Cat-*guocaun*.

Fecir, Ur-fecir, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Possibly = W. *gwychyr*, *gwychr* 'alacer, strenuus.'

feirnn, see Luto feirnn. cf. W. *guernin* 'alder,' LL. 230, l. 27.

feirt, in Apur-feirt, Sk. 6.

Feradach (Pheradach, Sk. 137) may represent an O.-Celt. *Verêdâco-s*, cogn. with W. *gorwydd* 'horse,' Low-Lat. *veredus*, whence *paraveredus*=*pferd*.

Feroth, AU. 728, gen. Ferith, AU. 652, corruptly Ferich, Tig. 653, W. Gueruduc, Lib. Land. 201, l. 17.

Fet, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5; Ir. Nenn. 156, see also Ur-fet. Either cognate with Gaul. *vitu* in *Vitudurum*, now Winterthür, or miswritten for feth, q.v.

Feth .i. geis, BB. (Ir. Nenn. p. xcii), .i. ges, Ir. Nenn. p. xcv. Sk. 324. If *geis*, *ges* here be meant for *géis* 'swan,' *Feth* may be = W. *gŵydd* 'goose.'

Fib, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an eponymous hero: comite de Fib 'earl of Fife,' Bk. of Deir, fo. 39[a]. Fif, Sk. 136. O.-Norse *Fífi*, Orkn. Saga.

Fibaid, Sk. 4. Fidbaiid, Ir. Nenn. 154. Obscure.

Fidach, Ir. Nenn. 50, 154, Sk. 4, son of Cruithne and an

eponymous hero. Fidaich, ib. O.-W. *Guidauc*, *Guidoc*. See Enfidach, suprà.

File, gen. sg., L. 92ᵃ=Fle, Ir. Nenn. 164. Ir. *fili* 'poet,' cogn. with W. *gweled* 'to see.'

Finchem, name of a Pictish queen, Sk. 185. An Irish *Findchoem*? *Fin-choem*?

Findoll cisirne, a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii. The *find* is=*vindo-* in Vindo-gara (Οὐινδόγαρα) a πόλις of the Dumnonii, Ir. *find* 'white,' W. *gwynn*. As to *oll* see infra, p. 411.

Findgaine mac Deleroith, Tig. 711=Finnguine filius Deileroith, AU. 710. Mac Fhindguini is now *Mackinnon*.

Fodresach, "in F. id est in Claideom," Sk. 10.

Foirchiu, Foircu: o crich [C]ath co Foirchiu, BB. 205ᵃ 13 = o crich Cat co Foircu, Ir. Nenn. 148, Sk. 43, 'from Caithness to the Forth,' as Mr. Macbain translates.

Forchet, a man's name, Sk. 187.

Forcus (from *ver-gustu-), inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Forcus, Vita Col. p. 33.

Fortrenn, son of Cruithne, Sk. 4, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero: gen. sg. of *Fortriu = *Verturio*, AU. 692, 762, 819, 833, the country between the Tay and the Forth; dat. i Fortrinn, AU. 767; acc. Foirtrind, AU. 735; pl. dat. Fortreannoibh, TF. p. 58. The 'Wertermorum' of Sim. Dunelm. 934 is prob. a scribal error for *Verturionum* (fines). Rhys compares *Verterae* and W. *gwerthyr* 'fortification.'

Footh, gen. Fooith: éc Tolairg[1] meic Foóith regis Pictorum, [illegible] Tig. 653 = mors . . . Tolairg mic Fooith, AU. 652. Gartnaith [illegible] mac Foith, AU. 634: mors Bruidi filii Foith, AU. 640. The [illegible] Uuid of Sk. 28 is possibly = W. *gwydd*.

Fothad mac Brain, FM. 961 = Fothach (misspelling of Fothath?) [illegible], Sk. 10, a Pictish bishop. Another Fothad, bp. of St. Andrews [illegible], died in 1093.

Fother, foither, gen. sg. Obsessio Duin Foither, Fother, AU. 68[illegible]0, 693 = Dun foeder, Sim. Dunelm. 934. Opidum Fother, Sk. [illegible]9. "Probably Dun ottar in Kincardine," says Bishop Reeves, *Vita C*[illegible]*ol.* 377 n. This may be = *fothir*, the nom. sg. of Ir. *foithre* .i. coil[illegible]lto 'woods,' O'Cl. It is anglicised as *Fetter* and *Fother*, acc. to Macba[illegible]in.

Fothreue, Sk. 136. Fothrif (Fothribe?) was, according to

[1] Mr. Skene, following Dr. O'Conor and the carelessly written MS., comb[illegible] these two words, and gives us, as a Pictish name, Ectolairg. See his *Chroni*[illegible] *of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 71, 454.

Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 128), the S.W. half of the united counties of Fife and Kinross. The Ir. *fothirbe*, Trip. Life, 82, 168, said to mean 'forest,' may be cognate.

Fothuir-tabaicht, Sk. 8 = Fothiur-thabaicth ibid., now *Forteviot*, Reeves, *Columba*, p. 377 n. Is it *faithir* .i. fearann, O'Cl.?

Fotla, son of Cruithne, Ir. Nenn. 50, an eponymous hero. The spellings *Foltlaid*, *Foltlaig*, Ir. Nenn. 154, and *Floclaid*, Sk. 4, are corrupt. Identical with *Fótla*, one of the names of Ireland, Trip. Life, 426: glan-Fódla, FM. 1601, pp. 2288. Hence Athfótla, q.v.

gaed, Guidid gaed brechach, Sk. 5 = Guidedh Gaeth Breatnach, Ir. Nenn. 156 = Guidid gadbre, Sk. 25, 324. Ir. *gaeth* 'wise'? or cf. W. *Gaidan*, Lib. Land. 117, l. 18?

gal, see Bern-gal. Br. *gal* 'force, puissance,' in *Gal-budic*, etc. Ir. *gal* 'bravery.'

Galam cennaleph, L. 92[a], Sk. 7, corruptly Galum cenamlapeh, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galan-arilith L. 92[a], Galam-arbith, Ir. Nenn. 162, Galanan erilich, Sk. 7. For an Irish *Galamh*, see O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, etc. 447.

Gant, Sk. 5, Ur-gant. See Grant.

Gart, Ur-gart, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. *gart* 'head,' Corm. m. W. *garth* 'cape,' 'headland.'

Gartnait, Sk. 7, L. 92[a]. Ir. Nenn. 160, Bk. of Deir, iii. Garnat, AU. 715, gen. sg. Gar[t]nait, Bk. of Deir, vi. Corruptly Gartnaidh, AU. 662, 687; Gartnaith, AU. 634, Sk. 6; Gartnaich, Sk. 6; Garthnach, Sk. 7; Gartnart, Sk. 7; Garnard, Sk. 7; Garnait, AU. 669. A diminutive of *gart* 'head': cf. Irish forms like *Becenait*, *Blathnait*, *Erenait*, *Gobnait*, *dadnait*, *mátharnait*. This name is Anglicised *Garnet*.

Gartnan, gen. Gartnain, AU. 634, another dimin. of *gart* 'head.' Cf. Irish names like *Adamnán*, *Dadnán*, *Flaithnán*, *Lommnán*, *Liathnán*, *Lubnán*, *Menenán*.

Geide (gen. Geithi) ollgothach, Ir. Nenn. 154, lxxiii = Gede Olgudach, Sk. 5.

Genunia, Γενουνία μοῖρα, Pausanias, cited by Rhys, E.B. 89. Adamnan's Geonae . . . cohortis, Vita Columbae, i. 34[b], may be a scribal error for Genonae.

Gest, Sk. 5 for Gust? Or is it cognate with O.-W. Gistin, Lib. Land. 1771, 206, etc., and En-gist, Lib. Land. 217, l. 4?

Gilgidi, Sk. 5 = Gidgie, Ir. Nenn. 158. Hopelessly corrupt.

Girom, Giron gen. sg. L. 92[a]. Girom, Girum, Ir. Nenn. 162.

Gyrom, Girom, Sk. 7. Possibly cognate with Γηρυών, Ir. *gáir*, W. *gawr*.

Giudan gen. sg. *muir n-Giudan*, the Firth of Forth, Bk. of Lecan cited in Reeves' *Culdees*, 124. Perhaps the *g* here is only a way of expressing the semi-vowel of *Iudeu*, q.v.

Glun-merach, Sk. 187. A nickname, qy. *Glún-ṡmerāc* 'marrowy-knee,' W. *merog*.

Gnith, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5 : see Ur-gnith = O.-Br. Uurgnit.

Gobriat : 'flumen Gobriat in Pictavia,' Acta SS. Mart. tom. ii. p. 449, cited by Dr. Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 45, note, where he identifies it with the Inver-Gowrie river, which nearly divides Gowrie in Perthshire from Angus or Forfar.

Gouerin, Sk. 136, now Gowrie?

Grant, Ur-grant, Sk. 324, two of the thirty Brudes. These names are (corruptly) *Gant* and *Urgant* in Sk. 5. Cf. the Irish adj. *grant* .i. cach liath no findach, 'every grey or hairy one,' Corm. s.v. Crontṡaile. Conall Grant, AU. 717.

Graupios, the mountain on which Agricola defeated Calgâcos. The root may be *gruq*, whence also Gr. γρῦπός 'hooknosed, curved, rounded.'

Grid, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5, and see Ur-grid infra. Here *grid* may be = O.-Br. *gred* in *Gred-canham*, *Gred-uuobri*, *Gred-uuocon*, *Gred-uuoret*.

Gúd, L. 92ᵃ, Gud, Ir. Nenn. 158, corruptly Gub, ib. 124, name of a Pictish king of Alba, cognate perhaps with Ir. *Góidel*.

Gudid, Guidid, Sk. 5, 25, Guidedh, Ir. Nenn. 156. Obscure.

gurcich, Sk. 5, where *Gest gurcich* seems = the *Geascuirti* of I[illegible]r. Nenn. 156. Hopelessly corrupt.

gurthinmoch, Sk. 7, gurthimoth, Drest g. L. 92ᵃ, -guitimot[illegible]th Ir. Nenn. 162. The *gurth* may be = W. *gwrdd* 'fortis, robustu[illegible]s, strenuus,' and the *inmoch* may be = Corn. *envoch* (gl. facies), t[illegible]he Irish scribe writing (infected) *m* for *v*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Sim*[illegible]*al*.

Hii 'insula quae uocatur Hii,' Beda H.E. iii. 3, v. 15, v. [illegible]2, now called *Iona*. No connexion with *Eu*, *Iova*. O'Clery's *I* .i. ís[illegible]*cal* 'low,' *I* .i. inis 'island,' seem mere guesses. Is the *h* from *p*[illegible]*as* in O.Ir. *haue*, *hua* = παῖς and *Hériu* cogn. with Πιερία? If so, we might connect *Hi* with Lat. *pius* (from **pu-i-ios*) and *pu-tus*.

Hilef, a river, Sk. 136. Etym. obscure.

Hinba, name of an island, Vita Col. p. 46ᵃ. Hinbina, insula, i[illegible]*id.* p. 26ᵇ. Etym. obscure.

Iarnbodb (=*Îsarno-bodvo-s), gen. loscoth Iarnboidbh mic Gartnaith, AU. 642, corruptly *Iarnduidb*, Tig. 643, and perhaps *Ythernbuthib*, Sk. 187. Here *iarn* is = O.-Ir. *iarn*, Corn. *iarn-*, O.-Br. *Iarn-*, *hoiarn*, from *eisarno-* 'iron,' G.C.[2] 106, which helps to form numberless Celtic names, e.g. Gaul. *Isarno-dori* (i.e. ferrei ostei) Ir. *Iarnan*, W. *Haern-gen*, Corn. *Iarn-wallon*, O.-Br. *Iarn-bidoe*, *-bud*, *-cant*, *-car*, etc.

Ila, a river, Ptolemy's Ἴλα. Cogn. with O.H.G. *îlen*, now *eilen*?

Im mac Perrnn, Ir. Nenn. 142 = Imm mac Pirn, Sk. 328. A Gaulish **Ambio-s*, compounded in *Ambio-rix*.

inbocc in Gurth-inmoch. Here the prefix *in-* is = Corn. *en-*, Ir. *in-* (in *in-chinn*), ogmic *ini* in *inigina* 'daughter,' Gaul. *eni*, in *Eni-gnus*, C.I.L. iii. 3784, 3793. Gr. *ἐνί*, Lat. *in-*.

Iogenan(us), Vita Col. p. 60[a] (Reeves, p. 117) = Ir. Euganan, AU. 659, 676, 691. Dimin. of *Eogen* = *Ougen* infra.

Iova, Vita Col. passim, the island now called Iona from misreading *u* as *n*. See Eu, supra.

ior, see Achiuir.

Ipeuoret, inscr. of St. Vigeans, Hübner, No. 212. Rhys compares the Gaulish *Ambivaretos*. For *p* from *mb*, cf. O.-W. **leipio*, now *lleibio*, Br. *lippat*, and O.-W. **helip*, now *helyb* in *cyf-helyb*, Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 191–192.

Itharnan, Tig. 669, Itarnan, AU. 668. This may be a dimin. of **itarn* = Ir. *itharna* 'a torch,' cogn. with Corn. *itheu* (gl. titio), Br. *eteo*, and the Irish saint's name *Itharnaisc*, Félire, Dec. 22.

Itis (Ἴτις), name of a river, Ptol. *i-ti-s*, root *i* whence Lat. *i-re*, Gr. *ἰέναι*, O.-Slav. *iti*, Lith. *eíti* 'to go.'

Iudeu, a city, Nennius § 64, possibly = Bæda's Urbs *Giudi*. Moni Iudeorum, Rhys, E.B. 226. See Guidan supra, p. 406.

laib : de rege Cruithniorum qui Echodius laib uocitabatur, *Vita Columbae*, p. 18[a]: mors Eugain mic Echach laibh, AU. 610. A nickname possibly identical with Ir. *laoibh* in *laoibh-rí* .i. rí claon no leathronnach, O'Cl., which seems a loan from Lat. *laevus*. An Irish man's name *Laebán* occurs, Trip. Life, 266.

Land-abae, AU. 675, identified by Skene with Lundaff in Perthshire. O.-W. *lann*, now *llan*, Ir. *land*.

Lemannonios (Λεμαννόνιος κόλπος, Ptol.), supposed to be Loch Fyne.

Leo, Sk. 5, one of the thirty Brudes: see Mor-léo, Ur-leo.

W. *llew* 'lion,' Cat-leú, Harl. 3859, fo. 194ᵃ 3, O.-W. Lou-march, now Llywarch, Corn. Leu-march.

Letend, Leithenn, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, gen. Leitind, ib. 122.

Lindon (Λίνδον), a town of the Dumnonii, *Clindum*, Geogr. Rav.

Longos (Λόγγος), name of a river, Ptol. identified by Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 206) with "the river in Argyllshire called the Add, and in Gaelic the 'Abhainn Fhada,' or long river." Cognate with Lat. *longus*, Goth. *lagg-s*, Gr. λογγάζω, and prob. Gaul. *longo-s* in Λογγο-σταλητων, *Rev. Celt.* i. 296. The Norse *Skipafjörðr* may be due to confusion of the adj. *long* 'long' with the subst. *long* 'vessel.'

Lonsce, gen. sg., name of the ancestor of a Pictish champion, LU. 88ᵃ.

Loxa, a river, Ptolemy's Λόξα, now the *Lossie*.

luan in *Cat-luan* may be = W. *llawen* 'joyful.'

Luchtren, gen. sg. Tig. 631=Lug-threni, gen. sg. AU. 630. Cognate are *Lugu-dunum*, and *Lugi* (Λοῦγοι), Ptol.

Luto feirnn, gen. sg. AU. 663.

Lutrín, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 7, Luthren, Sk. 173, Lutheren, Sk. 187, Luitriu, Ir. Nenn. 164, a corruption of Luchtren? I [illegible] this Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Locrinus*, the *Locrine* of Milton' [illegible] Comus?

Maeatae (Μαιάται), Dion Cassius, Adamnán's *Miathi*, 33, [illegible] or *Miati*, 36. An island *Maya* is mentioned in the Legend of [illegible] S. Adrian, Sk. 424, 425.

Mail-con, gen. sg. Sk. 7=Melcon, L. 92ᵃ, Maelchon, Tig. 5[illegible]0, 583, 653, AU. 599, Máelcon, AI. 576, Maelcon, AU. 583. To [illegible] be compared with W. *Maelgwn* (= Maglo-cunos) rather than w[illegible]th Ir. *Mael-chú*.

Mag Circinn, *Moerne*, Sk. 136, now the *Mearns*.

Malaios (Μαλαῖος), Ptol. Adamnán's *Malea*, a mountainous isl[illegible]nd now called Mull, Norse *Mýl*. The resemblance to Skr. *Mala*[illegible]*ya*, a mountainous range in the Dekhan, is probably accidental.

Mano, gen. Manann; Cath Manann, Tig. 582, TF. 581 = bel[illegible]um Manond, Manand, AU. 581, 582, in campo Manand, Tig. 71[illegible] in campo Manonn, AU. 710, dat. Iugulatio Muirmin in Mano,[1] AU. [illegible]81. Now represented by Slamannan (*Sliab Manann*), and Clackma[illegible]nan (*Cloch Manann*).

Maphan, Talarggan maphan mortuus est, AU. 725. Perhaps

[1] Dr. Reeves (*Columba*, p. 377, l. 8) mistakes this for Latin and prints *in manu*.

for *mapon*=the O.-British Maponos, which occurs in the inscription found at Hexham, *Apollini Mapono* (C.I.L. vii. 1345).

Marr, Sk. 136, gen. sg. Rúadri mórma[e]r Márr, Bk. of Deir iii. but Mair, AU. 1014: now Mar, part of Aberdeen.

Meneted, Sk. 136, Menetheth, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 113, now *Menteith*, part of Perth.

Migdele, villa, Sk. 188, now Meigle, according to Skene, p. lviii.

minn *diadem*, see Cat-mind.

Mochan, Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 126, a dimin. of *much* 'swine'?

Moerne, gen. sg. Sk. 10, 136. The *Mearns*, now Kincardine.

Moneit, gen. sg. AU. 728, is explained by Rhŷs (E.B. 259, 260) as *Mog Néit*.

Moethel (anglicised *Muthill*), Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 142, near Dunblane, is identified by Dr. Reeves (*Culdees*, 57 n.) with Ir. *maothail* 'spongy ground.'

moni, muni, in Moni Iudeorum (=Menevia), Moni-feth, Muni-feit, Moni-fodh, Moni-futh (Reeves, *Culdees*, 143), Muni-musc, ib. 135, Chine-monie, ib. 109. The same word seems to be in Moneclatu, Monechi, Sk. 185.

mone*ȝ*, gen. moni*ȝ*, *mountain*, in Monith carno, AU. 728, and Reeves' Columba, p. 387, note r. Monid Croibh (now Moncrieffe, Perthshire), AU. 727, Ríg-monid, q.v. citra Monoth (leg. Moneth), AU. 781. Moneth (gl. montana, acc. pl.), Sk. 186. Anglicised *Mounth* or *Mound*, Sk. 135, 136. Here perhaps belongs Dun Monaid, Fled duin na ngéd, p. 46. *Mone*ȝ or *moneth* appears in the other Celtic languages as W. *mynydd*, Corn. *menit(h)*, *meneth*, O.-Br. *monid*, *Win-monid*, Ir. *muine* 'mountain' (O'Brien's Ir.-Eng. Dict.), a different word from *muine* 'bush.' The primeval form must have been *monjo-* or *monijo-*. For the development of *d* before *j* see Rhys, Rev. Celt. ii. 115.

mór *great*, Nectan mór brec, L. 92[a]=Necton morbet, Sk. 6, l. 25=Nectonius magnus, Sk. 6, l. 31. Also mur, q.v. Gaul. *mâro-s*, W. *mawr*, Corn. *meur*, *mur*, Ir. *mór*, *mór*, Gr. *μωρος* in *ἐγχεσίμωρος*.

Mor-cunt, Mor-cunn, gen. sg. Bk. of Deir ii., Mor-gainn, ib. vi. mors Tuathail mic Morgaind, AU. 662. The nom. is Morgunn, ib. vi. O.-Br. *Morcant* 'sea-bright,' a Gaulish *Mori-cantos*, G.C.[2] 162. Cf. for the former element, *mor-glas*, *Mor-leo* infra, *Mori-tasgus*, Ir. *muir*, W. Corn. *mor*, Lat. *mare*; for the latter element, the Gaulish Avi-*cantus*, Viro-*cantus*, *Canto*-senus, D'Arbois, *Recherches sur la propriété foncière*, etc., pp. 538, 539, 638. *Canto-s* may (as

Prof. Bezzenberger suggests) come from **cansto-*, **cand-to-*, and be cognate with Lat. *candidus*.

Moreb, Sk. 10, Muref, Sk. 136, gen. Murebe, AU. 1032, now *Moray*. A similar word occurs as the name of an Old-Welsh witness in Lib. Land. 199, l. 3. The *Morhæfi*, *Marhæfi* of the Orkn. Saga seems to rest on a popular etymology.

mor-glas, *sea-green*? 'arbor pomifera,' Sk. 416.

Mor-léo, L. 92ᵃ, Morleo, Sk. 6 = W. *Mor-leu* 'sea-lion,' the name of a witness in Lib. Land. 193, 195.

Mouren, Muren, name of a daughter of a Pictish king, Sk. 185, 187. A scribal error for *Moruen* = W. *Morwen* [ex *Mori-genā ?] the name of the foster-mother of Meriadocus. Ward's Catalogue, i. 374.

Mucc-ross, nomen loci, "in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kylrimont* dictus, nocte Sancti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero nemus porcorum dicitur," Legend of S. Andrew, Sk. 185. Here *Muck-ross* (rectius Mucc-ross) is = W. *moch-ros* (gl. locus porcorum), Lib. Land. 77, l. 15. There is also an Irish *mucc-ross*, now the name of an abbey in Kerry. The first element *mucc* occurs also in *Muk-drum*, Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 133, and with *ch* from *cc* in *Moch-an*, supra.

Munait, Sk. 7, l. 12 = Munaith, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ.

Mund, Urmund, two of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5: cf. Lat. *mundus*? or O.N. *mundr*, the latter element of many compound names like *Ásmundr*?

Muriel, Forbes's *Kalendars*, p. 407 = Ir. *Muirgel*, CS. 882, AU. 927.

Mur-tolic, gen. sg. Ir. Nenn. 162 = Murtholoic, L. 92ᵃ. Corrupt ly Muircholaich, Sk. 7. Perhaps the nom. sg. was *murtalóc* 'green-browed:' *mur* from *mór*, *mâr*; *talóc* derived from *tal* 'brow.'

Nabaros (Νάβαρος), name of a river, Ptol.

Nairnn, Sk. 9, where it is misspelt *Nrurim*.

namet 'albus,' an epithet of Vipoig infra. Cognate with the Gaulish *Ad-nametos* in an inscription at Bourdeaux: D(is) M(anibus) Cl(audiae) Mat(ernae) Adnameti f(iliae), Jullian, No. 102, p. 231, 232.

Necton, Tig. 717, Sk. 6, Necthon, Sk. 7, Nechtan, Tig. 726, 732, AU. 620, Ir. Nenn. 120, Nectan, L. 92ᵃ, Néctan, Bk. of Deir, iii. Nechtain, Tig. 728, Ir. Nenn. 130, Nectu, Necthon, Sk. 7: gen. Nectin, AU. 692. Latinised Nectano rege, AU. 716, Nectonius, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 6, Naiton, Beda, H.E. v. 21, O.-Br. Naitan, for *Neithan. Nechtain occurs in BB. 148ᵃ, 24 (Skene, 309), as the name of a

Scottish Gael, and a compound name Necht-lecc occurs, AU. 689. From *necht* .i. glan 'pure,' 'clean,' Corm. s.v. Cruithnecht.

Ner: gen. sg. dormitatio Nectain Neir, AU. 678 (cf. Nechtan Nair de Alba, Fél. Jan. 8). Quies . . . Uinei abatis Neir, AU. 622.

Nes, fluvium . . . Nesam, Vita Columbae, p. 74[b], Nisae fluminis, 114[b]. From *nes-tā, *ned-ta, cognate with *Νέδα* and Skr. *nadī* 'river.'

Nethige, Apur-nethige, for *Neðige, gen. sg. of *Neðec?

Niduari, 'ad terram Pictorum quae Niduari vocatur, navigando pervenit,' Beda, Vita S. Cuthberti, c. xi.

Ochel, Sliab n-Ochel, 'the Ochil Hills,' Bk. of Lecan, 43[b], 2, cited in Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 124, note. W. *uchel* 'high, lofty,' Ir. *uasal*, Gaul. *uxello-s*.

Oenbecan (misspelt Cenbecan), Sk. 5, Aenbeagan mac Caitt, Ir. Nenn. 50, Oenbegan, ib. 154, Onbecan, ib. xciv.

1. Oengus Pictorum rex, Beda, H.E. v. 24. Aengus, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, Hungus, Sk. 188=Corn. *Ungust*, Rev. Celt. i. 345, a primeval Celtic *Oinogustu-s*.

2. Oengus the territory now called Angus, or Forfar, gen. mormair Oengusa, Sk. 9. Corruptly Enegus, Sk. 136.

Oith, Gartnaith mac Oith, AU. 634. From *Octo-? Octa?* cf. *Ὀκτα-πίταρον ἄκρον*, Ptol. W. *oeth* 'harsh.' Or is it for *Oið*= Ir. *Aed?*

oll=*πολλός*, see Oll-fiacha, Oll-fínechta, oll-gothach, Find-oll, Slán-oll. The Gaulish reflex of *oll* may be in *Ollo-vico*.

Ollam, gen. Ollaman, name of a Pictish king of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxii, the title for the head of any art or science.

Oll-fiacha, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii.

Oll-finachta, Ir. Nenn. 154=Olfinecta, Sk. 5, see Ailill ollfindachte.

oll-gothach, *great-voiced*, Ir. Nenn. 154, lxxiii, olgudach, Sk. 5.

Ommon, name of an island in Vita Columbae, p. 37[b], may be =Lat. *umbo*, *umbonis*, and cogn. with *ὄμφαλος*.

Onbecan for Unbeccan, see Oenbecan.

*Onbest, Onbes, f. Urgurt, Ir. Nenn. 164=Onnist [leg. Onuist?] filius Urguist, Sk. 7.=Onuis f. Urguist, L. 92[a]. Talorgen filius Onnist, Sk. 7=Talorcen filius Omuist, L. 92[a]=Talorcen f. Onust, Ir. Nenn. 164.

Orcas (*Ὀρκάς*), a promontory, Orcades (*Ὀρκάδες*), 'the Orkneys,' AU. 681, where Ptolemy's *-αδες* is probably due to the analogy of

Κυκλάδες, Σποράδες. Bellum for Orcaib, AU. 708. fecht Orc, AU. 579. The *orc* seems cognate with Ir. *orc* = Lat. *porcus*, Gr. πόρκος, O.H.G. *farah*.

Ord, see Deo-ord. Cognate with *Ordous*, Hübner 115, *Ordovices*, O.-W. and Ir. *ord* 'malleus,' Br. *orz*.

Orrea (Ὄρρεα), the town of the Venicōnes, Ptol.

Ougen rex Pictorum, Ann. Cambr. 736 = Uven, Sk. 8. Oan princeps Ego, AU. 724, O.-W. *Ouein*, Lib. Land. 214. *Ouguen*, *Ouguein*, Lives, 30, 81. Ir. *Eugan*, *Eogan*. From **Avigenos*.

pant, Sk. 5 and see Ur-pant. From *qvṇto- = Ir. *Cét* (mac Magach), and possibly cognate with Lith. *szweñtas*, O.-Slav. *svętŭ*, Zend *speñta* 'holy,' Skr. *çvātra* 'offering.' Corruptly bout, Sk. 5, pante, Ir. Nenn. 156.

pean (for penn), in Pean fahel : "Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a Monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum Pean-fahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith," Beda, H.E. i. 12. Here *penn* = W. *penn*, Ir. *cenn* 'head,' 'end,' urkelt. **qvendo-s*. Also in *Pen-icuick*.

Pern : Im mac Perrnn, Ir. Nenn. 142 = Imm mac Pirn, Sk. 32 An Old-Celtic **Qverno-s* : cf. Ir. *cern* 'victory' (do cernaib .i. do buadaib no do gnimaib, Amra Conroi), whence *Cernach* 'victorious,' AU. 700 (O. Norse *Kjarnakr*), and the name *Cernachán*.

perr, peir, see diuperr supra.

Perth = W. *perth* 'rubus, dumus,' Ir. *scairt*, urkelt. *squer*[illegible]*to-*, *squarti-*. Or is it = O.-Bret. *pert* in *Pert*-uuocon?

pett 'a portion of land,' anglicised *Pit*, gen. pette, Bk. of D[illegible]*eir*, i. acc. pett, ib. ii. pet, ib. iii. dat. pett, ib. ii. W. *peth*, Ir. [illegible]*uit* 'portion,' urkelt. **quetti*, Thurneysen, *Keltorom*. 71. Fro[illegible] *a* prehistoric Pictish *petti* the Icelanders borrowed their *pett* 'a small piece of a field.'

*Ríg-moneð, gen. *Ríg-monið, Righ-monaigh, Tig. 747, *Cinrigmonai*, AU. 746, are corrupt Middle-Irish spellings. The *Righmonaidh* of FM. 742 is better. Erat autem regia urbs Rymont Regius Mons dicta, quem praefatus Rex Hungus Deo et sancto apostolo dedit, Sk. 188. Kel-rimoneth, Sk. 202. Still preserved in East and West Bal-*rymonth*, two high grounds in the southern part of the parish of S. Andrews (Reeves). The *Monedorigi* of Hübner, 128, has the same elements in converse order; cf. Ptolemy's Ῥιγό-δουνον.

ross, see Mucc-ross, Calat-ross, Culenn-ros. The *Ross* (Ros, Sk.

136) in *Ross*-shire is the *Ros* of the Orkn. Saga. In Ireland Ross, gen. Rois, AU. 815, the name of a district in co. Monaghan, is = W. *rhôs* 'planities irrigua.' The same word is in *Ard-ross* part of Perth.

Rú, L. 92ᵃ. Ru, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5. Ir. Nenn. 160. Ru, Sk. 6, and see Ur-ru (MS. eru). Either = Corn. *ruy* (gl. rex), or a scribal error for Run = O.-W. Run.

Rumm, gen. Ruimm, AU. 676, the lozenge-shaped island west of Sleat Point in Skye, identical with Gr. *ῥύμβος*, *ῥόμβος*.

Scêtis (Ptolemy's *Σκητίς*), the wing-shaped Isle of *Skye*, Norse *Skíð*, Ir. *Scii*, dat. sg. AU. 700, latinised *Scia* by Adamnán, gen. Scéth, AU. 667 = Scith, Tig. 668, means 'wing,' Ir. *sciath*, *sciathán*.

Scoan, civitas, Sk. 9, now Scone.

scollofthes, 'clerici qui Pictorum lingua cognominantur,' Reginald. Dunelm. de Cuthberti Virtt. p. 179, cited by Reeves, *Columba*, p. 63 note. This is no Pictish word. It is a corrupt loan from Lat. *scholasticus*, whence Corn. *scolheic*, W. *ysgolhaig*.

Simal, Tig. 725, Simul, AU. 724. If *m* be here written for *v*, as it certainly is in *Cat-molodor*, cf. W. *Higuel*, an Old-Celtic **Su-velo-s*, where the prefix *su-* is = Ir. *su-*, *so-*, Skr. *su-*.

Slan-oll, one of the Pictish Kings of Ireland, Ir. Nenn. lxxiii.

smerach, in Glúnmerach, q.v. Cognate with Ir. *smir* 'marrow.'

Smertae (*Σμέρται*), Ptol. cf. the Gaulish *Smertu*-litanos, Ad-*smerios*, etc.

Solen, Ir. Nenn. 120, 130, 138. Possibly = O.-W. *Sulgen*, *Sulien*.

Spe, Sk. 136, now the *Spey*. Supposed to be Ptolemy's *Tvesis*; but it points to an Urkelt. *squêas*, cognate with Ir. *scéim* 'vomo,' W. *chwŷd* 'a vomit.' For the connexion of ideas cf. Pliny's *Vomanus* a river of Picenum. The river name *Spean* may be a dimin. of *Spe*.

srath, strath, srad, strad in Sratho Ethairt, gen. sg. AU. 653, but Sraith Cairuin [or Cairiun], AU. 641. *Srad-eern* [leg.-*eren*], Sk. 136, *Strad-kines*, Reeves, *Culdees*, pp. 109, 111. *Strath-eren*, ibid. 113. Cognate with Ir. *srath*, W. *ystrad*.

tabacht, see Fothuir-tabaicht.

Taexali (*Ταίξαλοι*), Ptol.

talach, tolōc in Dup-talaich, Nach-talich, Sk. 187, mur-toloc supra. Cf. W. *talawg* 'high-fronted, bold-faced.'

Tal-orgg, AU. 686, 733. Tal-orc, Tig. 731, L. 92ᵃ. Thalarg, Sk. 187 and L. 92ᵃ. Talorg, L. 92ᵃ. Tol-arg, Tig. 713, 734. Tol-argg, AU. 712. Tolar[g], Tig. 786, gen. Tolairg, Tig. 653, AU.

652 = Taloirc ('Baitanus gente nepos Niath Taloirc') Vita Col [illegible] p. 25[b], corruptly Talore, Sk. 6, 7. This is the Pictish reflex of th[illegible] Gaulish *Argio-talus* 'bright-browed,' Rev. Celt. iii. 157. Com[illegible]pound: Dub-tholarg.

Tal-orggan, AU. 725, 733, 736, 738. Talorgen, Sk. 7. Talorca[illegible], L. 92[a]. Talorcen, Sk. 7, L. 92[a]. Tol-orcain, Tig. 657. Tol-arca[illegible], Tig. 739. Tol-argan, Tig. 750, AU. 656. Gen. sg. mo[illegible] Tolorggáin, AI. 610. Tal-argan, Ann. Cambr. 750. A diminuti[illegible] of Talorgg, q.v.

Tamia (Ταμία), Ptol., a town of the Vacomagi.

*Tana. Thana filius Dudabrach [leg. Dubabrath?] scripsit r[illegible] Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele, Sk. 188. Ir. *tana*, W. *te*[illegible], Lat. *tenuis*, Gr. ταναός.

Tarachin, Tig. 697, AU. 696, for Tarahin (cf. *Catohio*, *fa*[illegible]), Tarain, AU. 698, L. 92[a] (misprinted Taram in *Ir. Nenn*[illegible]), Tharain, Sk. 6. Latinised acc. sg. *Tarainum*, Vita Colum[illegible], p. 71[a] (ed. Reeves, p. 134), urkelt. *Taranjo-s?

Taran mac Enfidaig, L. 92[a] = Taran filius Entifidich, Sk. 7, Glunmerach filii (leg. filius) Taran, Sk. 187. Gaul. *Taranis*. W. *taran* 'thunder.'

Tar-vedum, a promontory, Ptolemy's Ταρουεδούμ.

Tava, Ptolemy's Ταούα. Tau the river *Tay*, Reeves' *Colum*[illegible], 316, where this form is cited from an A.-S. tract in Hickes. (*Ta*[illegible], Lib. Land. 74), Tac, Sk. 136. The gen. sg. in LU. 8[b], 14[illegible], LH. 26[a] 1 : LB. 240[a], is *Tói* (ic ardríg Tói, do lucht Toi, tuath[illegible] Tói), dat. *Tói*, LU. 14[b], acc. im Thai, LU. 8[b], LH. 26[a] 1. Glück[illegible] connects W. *taw* 'quietus, tranquillus,' and the Gaulish *Tavi*[illegible], *Tavium*, and the woman's name *Tavena*.

Tolartach, mac Anfrait rig Cruithne, Tig. 654.

tolóc, see Murtolic.

*Tōtal, Hibernicised Tuathal, AU. 864, TF. 869, is = W. *Tutgua*[illegible], Ann. Camb. x. *Tudwal*: cf. O.-Br. *Clut-uual*. Hence the diminuti[illegible] Totalan, Tig. 653, gen. Totholain, AU. 652 = Ir. *Tuathalán*.

Trebúait, name of a Pictish champion, LU. 88[a]. The *tre-* is probably an intensive prefix = W. *tre-*, *tri-*, Ir. *tri-*, Old-Celtic *tr*[illegible]*ri*, as in *Tri-novantes*, *Tri-cassini*, etc.

tren, see Luchtren, Lug-threni.

Tui gen. sg. L. 92[a], Ir. Nenn. 158, is = Diu, Sk. 6.

Tulaaman, AU. 865. The context is "Bellum duin necht[illegible]in . . . in quo etfrith . . . interfectus est et combusit tula aman d[illegible]in ollaig"; and the Editor cannot say "whether *tula aman* is

he name of a person or a term for some fiery element." It seems be a man's name, derived from *tulahama*, an epithet following *anu*, supra. For *aa*=*â*, cf. *guaan*, Otho E. xiii.

tulig in Tulig-botuan, Sk. 418. Tulig-cultrin, Sk. 419, seems = a oblique case of Ir. *tulach* 'hill,' cogn. with Gr. τύλη, τύλος.

Turbruad gen. sg. Bk. of Deir, iii. Turbruaid, ib. vi. dat. urbrud, ib. fo. 39ᵃ, now Turriff, cf. rex Turbi, AU. 902.

Tvesis, a river, Ptolemy's Τούεσις. Etym. obscure.

Uasnem (Uaisneimh, Huaisneam, corruptly Huaisem, Ir. Nenn. 24, 142), the poet of the Picts. The *uas-* (an Irishism for *us-* ?) may be an intensive prefix: cf. Us-con-bust? The *nem* cogn. with r. tait-*nem* 'light,' tait-*nemach* 'shining,' and *Nem* mac hui Birn, AU. 653. See namet supra.

Uerb gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Uerp, Ir. Nenn. 162 (corruptly Uerd, k. 7), Gaul. *Verbi*-genos.

uetla, Uuradech uetla, L. 92ᵃ = Wradech uecla, Sk. 6 = Ferdach yngal, Sk. 149, corruptly Stradach fingel, Sk. 200, where the Ir. *ngal* 'parricide' seems intended.

Uidnuist, L. 92ᵃ, Uidnust, Ir. Nenn. 166. Here *Uid* for Uuid, =O.-W. *guid* in *Guid-lon*, *Guid-nerth*.

Uip, one of the thirty Brudes, Sk. 5; and see Ur-uip. Cf. the aulish *Vepo*, *Veponia*, *Vepo-s* (C.I.L. xii. 2623), *Vepo-mulus*, *Vipius* (C.I.L. xii. 2590), if the *ē* (*ī*) be long: cf. also O.-Slav. *ěkŭ* 'kraft,' Lit. *wēkà* 'kraft,' lit. *vikrùs* [Ir. *Fiachra*?] 'lebhaft.'

Uipoig namet, Sk. 6 = Uipo ignaiuet, L. 92ᵃ, Uipo ignauit, r. Nenn. 160=Fiacua albus, Sk. 149, Fiacha albus, Sk. 172, Fiachna le blank, Sk. 200. With *Uipoig* cf. the Ir. acc. sg. *Fiachaig*? As to *namet* see above, p. 410.

Uirolec(us), *Vita Columbae*, p. 114ᵇ. Etym. obscure.

Uist, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 6, Ir. Nenn. 160. The Uist (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 668, and the Gall-uist (gen. sg.) mentioned in AU. 705, may have been Picts.

Ulpha, Ir. Nenn. 130. Ulfa, ib. 120, 138.

Unen filius Unuist, L. 92ᵃ. A scribe's mistake for Uven?

Unest, Ir. Nenn. 166 = Unuist, L. 92ᵃ.

Ungust = Unust, Sim. Dunelm. 759, 759, Hungus, Sk. 183, 187 = Oengus.

Unuist, Sk. 8, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 8. See Onbest.

ur, a prefix in Ur-cal, Ur-cinid, Ur-cint, Ur-fecir, Ur-fet, Ur-grant, Ur-gnith, Ur-grid, Ur-leo, Ur-mund [=Ur-mum, L. 92ᵃ, Ur-main, Ir. Nenn. 158], Ur-pant, Ur-uip, names of twelve of the thirty

Brudes. This prefix (= the Old-Pictish *ver-* in Ptolemy's *Verdrum*, *Ver-ubium*, Gaul. *ver-*, Gr. *ὑπερ-*) is used in the list of Brudes like the Old-Welsh *guor-*, *gur-*, in "map Cein, map Guor-cein, map Doli, map Guor-doli, map Dumn, map Gur-dumn," Harl. 3859, fo. 193ᵇ, 1.

Us-con-bust, L. 92ᵃ, misspelt Usconbuts, Sk. 6, Usconbert, Ir. Nenn. 158. Br. *us*, W. *uch*, *Uxo*-pilli, *Uxa*-cona, Itin. Anton. ed. Parthey, p. 224. Or is *us* for *uas*?

uualatr, see Catmolodor.

Uudrost, Sk. 7, printed Wdrost, corresponds with Budros, L. 92ᵃ, Ir. Nenn. 162, and (as Mr. Egerton Phillimore thinks) the W. *gwedros(t)* in *Caerwedros*, Carmarthenshire.

Uuen, Sk. 8. Unen, Ir. Nenn. 166.

Uuid, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 7, gen. sg. of *Uued* = *Vedo*-(mavi), Hübner 71ᵇ. Or is it W. *gŵydd* 'ferus,' Br. *gwez*?

Uuirguist (printed Wirguist) gen. sg. Sk. 7.

Uuirp gen. sg. Sk. 6, l. 31.

Uurad, Wrad, filius Bargoit, L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 8.

Uuradech uetla, L. 92ᵃ = Wradech uecla, Sk. 6. Uuredeg gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ. Iuuredeg, Ir. Nenn. 164. Uuradech L. 92ᵃ=Uuredech (printed Wredech), Sk. 7 = Ir. *Feradach*?

Uurgest, spelt Wurgest, Sk. 5 = Fergustus, Mansi *Concilia* viii. 109, cited by Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 338. Uurguist, Wrguist, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 8. Urguist gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 7=O.-W. *Gurgust*, Harl. 3859, fo. 194ᵃ, 1. Ir. *Fergus*. The "Fergussan mac Maelcon, whose obit is given in AU. 702, was probably a Pict, *Uurgustan.

Uuroid gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 7.

Uurthrost, printed Wrthrosst, Sk. 187. Perhaps Uur-ŏrost.

Uuthoil, gen. sg. L. 92ᵃ, Sk. 8, Ir. Nenn. 166. nom., perhaps *Vodal* or *Vodval*, Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 459.

Vaco-magi (Οὐακομάγοι), Ptol.

Varar (Ptolemy's Οὐαράρ), the Moray Frith, now represented by the river *Farrar*.

Venicônes (Οὐενικωνες), Ptol.

Ver-ubion, Ptolemy's Οὐερουβίουμ ἄκρον. Cf. perhaps Ir. *ubh* 'sword-point.'

Ver-vedron, Ptolemy's Οὐερουεδροὺμ ἄκρον. Cf. perhaps O.-Slav. *vedrŭ* 'heiter.'

Vola, Volsa? (Οὔολα, Οὔολσα?), name of a river, Ptol.

The foregoing list of names and other words contains much

that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech.[1] Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish. Thus:

Vowels: the umlaut of *a* by *î* is *e*: *Elphin*; the breaking of *i* by *ā* is *e*: *Esk*; the umlaut of long *ā* is *ahe* in *pean-fahel*; the umlaut of long *ō* is *ohi* in *Catohic*; long *ā* becomes *ō*: *Catóc*; long *ū* becomes *ī*: *Bridei*.

Diphthongs: *ai* remains, *Tarain*, or becomes *oi*, *Cini-oiȝ*, *croibh*: *oi* becomes *oe* in Beda's *Oengus*, but *u* in *Un*-gust and *muthill*: *eu*, *ou* become *o* (*ó*?) in *Totalan*, *Ochil*.

Semivowels: a dental is developed before *j*, in *moneȝ*, *nonith*=W. *mynydd*, but Ir. *muine*; initial *w* (from *v*) either remains as in *ur-*, *uuid*, or becomes *f* as in *fahel*, *Fortrenn*.

Consonants: *c* between vowels remains, *Biceot*, *Catohic*; *ct* becomes *th*, developing a diphthong, *Naiton* (for *Neithán), *Oith*; *cc* remains: *brecc*, *brocc*, *mucc*; *cs* becomes *ch*, *Ochil*=W. *uchel*, but Ir. *uasal*, or *s*, developing a diphthong, *cois*; *qv* becomes *p*, *pean*, *pett*, *Perth*, *Pern*;

g between vowels remains: *Ougen*, or becomes a semivowel, *Muriel*; *-gl-* becomes *-il*, *-el-* in *Maelchon*=Maglo-cunos; *rg*, *Tolarg*, becomes *rgg* or *rc*, *Talorgg*, *Talorcc*, *Forcus*: *lc* remains, *bolc*;

t between vowels remains, *Catohic*, *Fetter*: *rt* remains, *art*, *gart*, *urgart*, *cartit*: *tt* remains, *catt*, *pett*; *tr* becomes *dr*, *Catmolodor*.

n is kept before *t*, as in *pant*, *grant*, *cint*, *Morcunt*, or the *t* is assimilated: *Morgunn*, gen. *Morgainn*;

Indo-European *p* is lost, *Esk*, *oll*, *Orcades*, *ur*.

lb becomes *lp*, *Alpin*, and the *p* is then infected, *Elphin*.

[1] Prof. Rhŷs, in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1890, p. 38, asserts that "both Macbeth and Maelbeth were real names current . . . . in the land of the northern Picts," and seems to suppose, p. 391, that 'beth' is a non-Celtic word meaning "hound." I have not inserted these names in the foregoing list of Pictish vocables. For "Macbeth" is a recent corruption of the Gaelic *Mac bead* (Book of Deir, iii. v), earlier *Mac bethad*, AU. 1041, 1058, which means literally 'son of Life' (*i.e.* a religious person), *bethad* being = Gr. *βιότητος*. And "Maelbeth" is a very recent corruption of the Irish *Mael bethad* 'tonsured (servant) of Life,' spelt *Maolbethadh* in FM. A.D. 944. An antithetical expression is *mac bdis* 'son of death,' *i.e.* a malefactor or wicked person, FM. 1600, p. 2218, the filius perditionis of 2 Thes. ii. 3. The "Maelbaethe" (rectius Mælbæthe or Mealbæaȝe), which Skene cites from the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031, is Mael-Boethi "servus Boetii," a well-known saint, bishop of Monasterboice, co. Louth.

initial *s* remains, *Si-mal*: vowel-flanked *s* disappears, *Iarn-bodb*, *Glun-merach*: *st* remains, *Drust*, *Ungust*, *Uurgest*.

Traces of declension are perhaps in *Achiuir*, *fahel*, *Catohic*, *Canonn*, *Cinedon*, *Cinadhon* (leg. *Cinioiðon*), *Manann*.

Diminutives in -án (*Accidan*, *Drostan*, *Fiachan*, *Iogenan*, *Itharnan*, *Mochan*, *Nectan*, *Talorggan*, *Totalan*); -nán (*Gartnan*); -nait (*Gartnait*); -icc (*Drusticc*).

Numerals: *oen* or *un*, *dvē*.

Prefixes: *ar*, *ate*, *at* (in *apor* = *at-bor*), *em*, *en-*, *in-*, *si-*, *us-*, *uu*, *ver-*, *uur-*.

V. I. Old-Norse Names and other Words.

Intercourse between the Irish and the Scandinavians began in 795 (when the Vikings made their first attack on Ireland) and continued for about four hundred years. As the Irish certainly wrote annals in the ninth and tenth centuries, and as the oldest Old-Norse manuscript dates from the end of the eleventh century (Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 426), we may expect that some light will be thrown on primaeval northern speech from the Scandinavian names preserved in the Annals, as well as from the Scandinavian words borrowed by the Irish. In this expectation we shall not be wholly disappointed, though as sources for Ur-nordisch the Irish documents are not to be named with the runic inscriptions, or with the loan-words in Finnish, Lappish[1], Russian, and English. Compare:—

Amlaib	with	Áleifr, Óláfr
Bárith, Barid	,,	Bárðr
elta, erell	,,	hjalt, jarl
Fulf	,,	Úlfr.
In-fuit, In-scoa	,,	Í-hvítr, í-skoa
Ímar	,,	Ívarr
Roalt	,,	Hróaldr
Ruadhmand	,,	Hrómundr
Tomrair, Tomrir	,,	Þórer

[1] See Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-lappischen*, Halle, 1870.

In *Amlaib, Imar, Tomrair, Tomrir,* the *m* merely indicates the nasality of the preceding vowel.

In the following list I have inserted, for sake of completeness and comparison, the Scandinavian names and other words which occur in the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, ed. Todd, Dublin, 1867, and in the Book of Leinster, pp. 172[a], 309[a]–310[b] of the facsimile. The former work is denoted by CGG. : the latter by LL. The runic forms I have got from Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* and Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik.*

Accolbh, FM. 928. **Hákúlfr*. The last syllable is certainly *úlfr*. Dr. Kuno Meyer thinks that the first is perhaps *hákr* in *mat-hákr* 'glutton,' *ord-hákr* 'foul mouth.'

Albdan, TF. p. 159, Albdon, LL. 25[b], Albdann, FM. 924, Alpthann, AU. 925, corruptly Albann, Alband, AU. 874, 876. Icel. *Halfdan.*

Amand, Pol mac Amaind, FM. 1103, p. 974, AU. 1103. Amond mac Duibginn, CGG. 206. Icel. *Ámundi*? *Hámundr*?

Amlaidhi, TF. 222, Icel. *Amlóði.* Saxo's *Amlethus*, Shakspere's *Hamlet.*

Amhlaeibh, FM. 851, 904, 943, 1027, etc. Amlaim, Tig. 997, 980, Amlaiph, AU. 856, 863, 865, 869, Amlaiph, AU. 870, Amhlaim, AU. 976, Amláib h*ua* Inscoa rig Lochl*ann*, LL. 172[a], 2; = Ólaib, ibid. 172[b], 17. gen. Amlaim, AU. 866. Icel. *Óláfr. Mac Amhlaoibh* is now *MacAuliffe.*

Anlaff, FM. 938 = the *Anláf* of the Saxon Chronicle, immediately from **Anleifr*.

Anrath mac Elbric, CGG. p. 164.

Aralt, Tig. 989, FM. 938, 998. mac Aralt, AU. 986, mac Arailt, AU. 988. Norse *Haraldr.*

Asgall, FM. 1170, Norse *Ásgell.* Mac Asgaill is now McCaskil.

Aufer, FM. 924. Norse *Afvirðr*, Icel. *Auvirðr*, A.S. *æfwyrd.*

Auisle, AU. 862, 865, Ausli, AU. 882, Oisli, LL. 310[a], 46, Oisle, TF. 866. Uailsi, FM. 861 = Icel. *auvisli* 'devastation,' personified.

Badbarr, Baethbarr, CGG. 24, 32. Icel. *Böðvarr*, from **Baðu-hari-r.*

Barith, TF. 873, AU. 880, FM. 878, 935, LL. 310[b], 13, 15, Barid, AU. 913, Baraid, CGG. 24, Barait, FM. 878, Báirith, TF. 873. gen. Baritha, FM. 888. Icel. *Bárðr*=Bár-röðr, Vigf. s.v. Þórr.

Or from *Böorðr, Böðwörðr, O.H.G. Badward, Noreen, in Paul's Grundriss, i. 466.

Birndin, CGG. 40. The *Birn* may be *Bjarni* or *Biörn* : the *-din* is obscure.

Blacaire, FM. 938. Blacair, AU. 944. Blocair, AU. 947, *Blaka*[illegible]*ri*, Orkn. Saga 105, nomen agentis from *blaka* 'to slap, to flutter'?

Brodor, CGG. p. 150, Brotor, ibid. pp. 164, 172, AU. 1014, Bro[illegible]ar, CGG. 206, FM. 1013. Brodor roth, Brodor fíuit, LL. 172[a], 6[illegible] 7. Icel. *bróður*, gen. dat. acc. of *bróðir* 'brother.'

Buidnin, gen. sg. CGG. 40.

Buu, loinges Milid Buu, CGG. 40. O.N. *Búi*?

Caittil, AU. 856. O.N. *Ketill*?

Cano gall, LL. 172[a], 13.

Carran, CGG. 78.

Cnutt, Tig. 1031, 1034. Cnút mac Sain ri Saxan, AU. [illegible] 035. Norse *Knútr*.

Colphín, CGG. 24. Norse *Kolbeinn? Kolfinna?*

Elbric gen. sg., CGG. p. 164. Cognate with A.S. *Ælfric*.

Elge, CGG. 38. Ailche, TF. p. 164, note *o*. Norse *Helgi*.

Elóir mac Iargni, FM. 885. Eloir mac Baritha, FM. 888. *Haldórr* (= Hall-þórr).

Eoan, CGG. 40. Eon Barun, CGG. 206. Norse *Jóann*.

Eric gen. sg. FM. 1103, p. 974. Norse *Eirikr*.

Erulb, AU. 1014, CGG. 41, gen. Eruilb, CGG. 164, 206, Erolb[illegible], FM. 1151. Norse *Herjólfr*.

Etalla, Etlla, given as Norse, CGG. 78. Prob. the A.S. *Ætl*[illegible], Beda H.E.

Fíuit, LL. 172[a], 7 = *Hvítr* 'white,' see *Infuit* infra.

Fulf, CS. 870. Ulbh, TF. 909. Hulb, FM. 904, 917. Ul[illegible]lf, AU. 869. Norse *Úlfr*. Goth. *wulfs*.

Goistilin, Gall. CGG. 206.

Gothfraidh, Gofraid, Tig. 989. Gothrin, Gofraigh, Tig. 103[illegible]36 Gothbraith, AI. 907, 908. Gothbrith, AU. 917. Goithbrith, AU[illegible]U 920. Gothfraid, LL. 25[b]. Gobraith, AI. 1078. Gofridh, TF. 87[illegible]1. Goffraig, AU. 1095. Iufraigh, FM. 1146. Iefraidh, CGG. 20[illegible]6. Norse *Jófreyr*, *Górröðr* (*Goðröðr*) 'Gottfried.' Hence McCaffre[illegible]ey.

Graggabai, AU. 917, a scribal error for *Cracabain* miswritt[illegible]en Cracabam, Simon Dunelm. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 686 B. *Krá[illegible]ku-bein* 'crow-leg,' a nickname, like *Kráku-nef*.

Griffin, CGG. 40, leg. Grissin?

Grisin, CGG. pp. 164, 206. Grisine, AU. 1014. May be *Ir.*

iminutives formed from Norse *gríss* 'a young wild pig.' Or is it or *Grísinn*, the *-inn* being the def. article? Cf. Suinin infra.

Hacond, CGG. 26. Norse *Hákon*.

Haimar, TF. 172. Is this Aymar = *Ailmar* from *Agilmar*?

Herling, LL. 172ᵃ, 18, *Erlingr*.

Hil, LL. 172ᵃ, 13. Icel. *Íllr*.

Hingamund, TF. p. 226. Norse *Ingimundr*. The *Igmund* of Brut y Tywysogion, 900.

Hona, TF. p. 144. *Onund*?

Horm, TF. p. 120. AU. 855. Norse *Ormr*.

Iercne, AU. 851, Iargna, TF. 851 (Iarngna, p. 230, l. 12, may be a misprint), gen. Iargni, FM. 885, corruptly Ergni, AU. 885. *Iárn-kne* 'Iron-knee,' of which the Irish name *Glún Iairn*, AU. 888, seems a version.

Illulb, Ilulb, Tig. 977. Culen [mac] Illuilb ri Alban, AU. 970. Amhlaim mac Ailuilbh .i. rí Alban, AU. 976. Perhaps *Íll-úlfr*.

Imar, Imhar, FM. 856, etc., AU. 856, gen. Imair, LL. 310ᵇ, 2, dat. Imur, Tig. 982, Norse *Ívarr*. Hence MacKeever.

Infuit, CGG. 78=*In-hvítr*, prehistoric form of **Íhvítr*, 'whitish, ery white, ever-white'?

Inscoa, LL. 172ᵃ, a nickname meaning perhaps 'Big shoes.'

Ladar, gen. Ladair, CGG. 206=Lotar, q.v.

Lagmand, AU. 1014, Laghmand, CGG. 40, Lagmaind, CGG. 65, gen. Lagmain, CGG. 206. From an oblique case of *lagamaðr* lawman,' as *ármand* infra from an obl. case of *ármaðr*. Now Lamont, MacLamond and perhaps MacCalmont.

Laraic, FM. 951, cf. perhaps O.N. *lær* 'thigh' (cf. Lær-Bjarni, Sturl. vii. 181). The *-aic* is obscure.

Leodús, LL. 172ᵃ 20 = *Ljóðús*, now the Lewis.

Liagrislach, CGG. 40. Here we have perhaps a comp. of O.N. *ljár* scythe,' and the Norse cogn. of A.S. *grislic, grýslic*, N.H.G. *grauslich*.

Lotar, CGG. p. 164=Hlöðver, Njala, 184.

Lummin, CGG. p. 164. Luiminin, CGG. p. 206. Luimne, AU. 1014.

Maghnus, gen. Maghnusa FM. 972, 1101. Hence MacManus

Mod mac Herling, LL. 172ᵃ, 18.

Northmann, LL. 171ᵇ, pl. dat. Nordmannaib, AU. 836.

Odolbh Micle, TF. p. 176. O.-Norse *Auðólfr inn Mikli*.

Odund, gen. Oduind, CGG. p. 40. O.-Norse *Auðunn*.

Oiberd, CGG. p. 40, perhaps a nickname, **óbjarto* 'beardless.' Or it is a clerical error for *Roiberd*=Hróbjardr (Robert), FM. 1433?

Ossill, CGG. 22, Oisill, CGG. 206. Perhaps *Eysill*, a nickname meaning 'little ladle.'

Oistin, AU. 874 = *Eysteinn*. Now MacQuiston.

Ona, LL. 310[a], 45, CGG. 22 = Hona.

Onphile, LL. 309[a], 36, CGG. 14, perhaps O.-Norse *áfelli* 'calamity,' cf. *Auisle* supra.

Otta, or perhaps Atta, wife of Turges, LL. 309[b], 16. *Auðig*, *Auðug*? Or is it = *Auda*, which occurs in Förstemann as the name of a daughter of Eckard v. Meissen?

Ottir, LL. 310[b], 42, AU. 917, Oittir, AU. 1014, TF. 909, pp. 230, 246, LL. 310[b], 57. Oitir dubh, CGG. p. 206. *Otter*, An. Camb. 913, = Icel. *O'ttarr* (A.S. *Ohthere*).

Plat, CGG. 152, Plait, CGG. 174. Icel. *Flatr* 'flat.' Cf. the nickname *Flat-nefr*. For *p* from *f* cf. *Piscarcarla*, LL. 172[a], 5.

putrall, see Roalt putrall, LL. 310[b], 31. A similar Irish word is glossed by *gruag* 'hair,' O'Cl. Perhaps it is for **futrall* = Low-Lat. *fōtrale*, N.H.G. *futteral*.

Ragnall, Tig. 980, 995, 1031, AU. 913, 916, Raghnall, CGG. 206, gen. Ragnaill, LL. 310[b], 12, TF. 871. Norse *Rögnvaldr*. Hence MacRannal.

Roalt[1] Putrall, LL. 310[b], 31 = Rot Pudarill, CGG. 28. Roilt, FM. 924, *Hróaldr*? runic RhoaltR (Vatn), OHG. *Hrodowald*.

Rodlaib, TF. 863, Rodolbh, TF. 852. gen. Roduilbh, TF. 860 = *Hróðúlfr*.

roth : Brodor roth, LL. 172[a] : *rauðr* 'red.'

Ruadhmand, Ruamand, CGG. 78, *Hrómundr*, from **Hróð*[illegible] *mundr*.

Saxulb, CGG. p. 20, Saxalb, LL. 310[a], 22 (misprinted 'Raal[illegible] by Todd, p. 229), gen. sg. Saxoilbh, AU. 836. **Saxi-úlfr*? A[illegible] A.S. *Sexuulf* in Beda, H.E. iv. 6.

Sciggire, LL. 172[a], 4, the Faeroe Islanders (*skeggjar*).

Scolph, LL. 310[a], 45, CGG. 22. Perhaps a corruption **Aska-úlfr*.

Sigmall, gen. Sigmaill, CGG. 78. Perhaps *Sigvaldi*, the Ir[illegible] scribe constantly representing *v* by (infected) *m*.

Simond mac Tuirgeis, CGG. 206. Norse, *Simon*.

Sitriuc, Tig. 977, 1022, 1031. Sitriucc, AU. 895. A.S. *Sikt*[illegible] Norse *Sigtryggr*.

Siucrad, CGG. 152. Siuc[r]aid, CGG. 164. Siuchraidh, AU. 10[illegible] *14*,

[1] For this (which is clear in the facsimile) Dr. Todd prints *Ascalt*.

Sichraidh, FM. 1102. Sioghradh, CGG. 206. Siugraid soga ríg Súdiam, LL. 172[a], 9. Siugraid mac Imair, LL. 310[b], 41. Norse *Sigurðr*.

Sichfrith, AU. 887, FM. 1013. O.N. *Sigfrid*.

Smurull, LL. 310[b], 31 (=Muraill, CGG. 28). Probably a nickname compounded with *smör* or *smjör* 'butter.'

Snadgair, CGG. 164. The *-gair* is probably *geirr* 'spear,' cf. Suart-gair, infra. The *snad* is perhaps for *snuad*=*snauðr* 'smooth,' or cf. *snúðr* 'twist,' 'twirl' (K. Meyer).

Snuatgaire, CGG. 40, gen. sg. of *Snuad-gair*=**snauð-geirr*.

Somarlid, CGG. 78. Norse *Sumarliði*. Hence MacSorley.

Sortadbud sort, LL. 172[a], 10.

Stabball, CGG. 78. Prob. a nickname: cf. *stapal* 'torch,' O'B.

Stain, Sdain, Tig. 1031, 1034, Stain, AU. 851, 846, Zain, TF. 851. Norse *Steinn*.

Suainin, CGG. pp. 40, 206, Suanin, CGG. p. 164. Perhaps a dimin. of *Suan=*Svanr* 'swan,' or is it *Sveinn*?

Suartgair, AU. 1014. A compound of *svart-r* 'black,' and *geirr* 'spear.'

Suimin, CGG. p. 40, a scribal error for Suinin, q.v.

Suinin, CGG. p. 206, Sunin, CGG. p. 164. *Svín-inn* 'the swine.'

Tamar, CGG. p. 38=Tomar, q.v.

Tolbarb, CGG. 78.

Tomar, CGG. p. 22, F.M. 994. Hence Toner.

Tomralt, FM. 923=Icel. *þórvaldr*.

Tomrar, AI. 852, TF. 869. Tomhrar, FM. 846. Tomrair, AI. 833, LL. 310[a], 46. Tomrair Erell, AU. 847. O.-N. *þórer*, *þóreirr*, *þór-geirr*.

Tomrir Torra, TF. p. 144. Icel. *þórir*.

Torbend dub, CGG. 164=Torfind, q.v.

Toirberdach, CGG. 40. Formed on *þorbjartr*? bearded like Thor?

Torfind, AU. 1124. Norse *þorfinnr*.

Torchar mac Treni, FM. 1171. Norse *þorgeirr*?

Torolbh, FM. 928=Torulb iarla, AU. 931. Icel. *þorúlfr*.

Torstan mac Eric, FM. 1103. Tórstain mac Eric, AU. 1103. Norse *þorsteinn*.

Turcall, gen. Turcaill, AU. 1124. *þorkell*. Mac-Thorcaill is now MacCorkell.

Turges, AB. 794, AU. 844. Turges and Turgeis, LL. 309[a]. Icel. *þorgestr*, whence *þórgestlingar*, Vigf. s.v. þórr.

Torgelsi, FM. 1167. Norse *þorgísli*.

Old-Norse Words Quoted.

conung, TF. 126, 228 = *konungr* 'king.'

erell, AU. 847, from **erl*, prehistoric form of *jarl*.

far-as, CGG. 174 = *hvar es* 'where is?' The context is: Is 'arsin tanic Plait a cath na lureach amach, 7 asbert fothri: "Far-as Domnall?" .i. cait ita Domnall? Ro[f]recair Domnall 7 asbert: "Sund, a sniding!" ar se. 'Thereafter came Plait forth from the battalion of the mailcoats and said thrice: "Where is Domnall?" Answered Domnall, "Here, thou villain!" saith he.'

litil, AI. 953. litill, CGG. p. 84. Norse *litill*.

micle, TF. 176. Norse *mikill, inn mikli*.

núi, TF. p. 164. The context is: As annsaide dorala an chrech Lochlannach inaighidh Cinnédigh . . . Rothogbhaid gotha allmhardha barbardha annseidhe, 7 stuic iomdha badhphdha, 7 sochuidhe 'ga rádh "núi, núi!" Then the Lochlann raiders marched against Kennedy. . . . They raised foreign, barbarous shouts there, and (blew) many warlike trumpets, and a multitude (was) saying "*knúe! knúe!* press on, press on!"—as the late G. Vigfusson orally explained the words to me. See his Icelandic-English Dictionary, s.v. *Knýja*.

In CGG. 202, *cing* and *prist* are given as Norse words.

V. 2. Irish Loans from Old-Norse.

This subject has been handled by Prof. Zimmer, in Steinmeyer's *Zeitschrift*, xxxii. 267 et seq., and by Dr. Kuno Meyer, in the *Revue Celtique*, x. 367—369.

armand *officer*, Tig. 1170, FM. 1170, p. 1176. pl. n. armainn .i. oificcigh, O'Cl., dat. ármannaib Tig. 1174. From an oblique case of O.N. *ármaðr* (K. Meyer).

at-cluic *helmet*, ALC. 1261, FM. 1261: (gl. galea), Ir. Gl. 2[illegible] = clocc-att, acc. sg. trena chlocc-aitt, FM. 1583, p. 1802. He[illegible] the *att* is=Norse *hattr* (or perh. A.S. *hæt*), and the *cluic* is ge[illegible] sg. of *cloc*, cognate with Highland *claigeann*, *claigionn* 'cranium.' A dimin. of *at*, viz. *atan*, occurs in a poem cited by Dr. Reeves, *Columba*, p. 322, where it is rendered by 'hood.'

banna, *a bond in writing*, pl. dat. bannaidhib, ALC. 1584. Formed on O.-Norse *band*.

bróc in fuath-bróc, bern-bróc. LU. 79ᵃ, 179ᵇ, 86ᵃ. O.N. *brók*.

cantarchapa, *a cope worn by ecclesiastics in the choir*, ALC. 1248, where *cantarchaptha* is printed in the text, *cantarchapath* in the translation and notes. O.N. *kantara-kápa*. The context is : Fedhlim . . . do thabairt . . . do chanánchaib Chille moire . . . cantarchaptha do sróll, 'Felim gave the canons of Kilmore choir-copes of satin.'

cnapp, *stud, button*, pl. dat. cnappaib, LL. 98ᵇ. ON. *knappr*.

costas, *provisions, eatables*, sg. gen. cosduis, ALC. 1577. acc. costus, FM. 1409. O.N. *kostr*, NHG. *kosten*. Cognate with *costud*, LL. 64ᵃ, 27 ; 263ᵃ, 46.

cuiniu .i. ben, 'woman,' Corm. from O.N. *kona*, from **kvenō*. So partchuine *harlot*, Corm. is=O.N. *portkona*. A.S. *cwĕne*, now *quean*.

elta *hilt*, LL. 268ᵇ, 47, O.N. *hjalt*.

fuindeóg *window, aperture* = *vindauga*. pl. fuinneóga, O'B.

íarla *earl*, AB. 1324, O.N. *jarl*. W. *iarll*, Corn. *yurl*. Hence íarlacht *earldom*, gen. iarlachta, ALC. 1535, p. 286, FM. 1398, p. 760. W. *iarllaeth*.

lipting, LL. 219ᵃ, lifting *taffrail*. O.N. *lypting* summa 'puppis.'

lonn, *a roller for launching ships*, from O.N. *hlunnr* (Bugge).

maróc *sausage*, founded on O.N. *mörr* (st. marva).

pundand, punnann *sheaf, bundle*, from O.N. *bundin* (Bugge).

rossál, rosualt, LU. 11ᵃ, 47, pl. n. rossáil, LL. 172ᵇ, 10. O.N. *hrosshvalr*, Eng. *walrus*.

rúm LL. 236ᵃ, O.N. *rúm*, the room or place for a pair of oars (K. Meyer).

sceld, scell *shield*, gen. pl. LL. 87ᵇ, 40, sceld-gur, LL. 83ᵃ, 1. O.N. *skjöldr*.

scot, *sheet*, pl. scćti, LB. 219ᵇ, 68. O.N. *skaut*.

sniding (leg. sníding) *villain*, CGG. 174. From O.N. *níðingr* with prothetic *s*.

sopp, *wisp, bundle of straw*, pl. n. suipp, LL. 93ᵇ. From O.N. *sópr* 'besom.' Zimmer (wrongly, I think) refers *sopp* to O.N. *svöppr* 'sponge.'

sparr, pl. dat. sparrib, LL. 107ᵇ, 12. O.N. *sparri*. Hence *sparre* 'a military gate,' indorus spairri na Gaillmhe, FM. 1597, p. 2008.

staca *stack*, FM. 1579, p. 1722. O.N. *stakkr*.

staíc *steak*, LB. 219[b]. O.N. *steik*.

starga *shield*, LL. 265[a], 18. *stargha*, O'B. O.N. *targa*, with prothetic *s*. Or from A.S. *targe*, *targa*?

tile *plank*, *partition*, LL. O.N. *þili* (K. Meyer).[1]

VI. 1. Anglo-Saxon Names.

Here follow the A.S. names found in the Irish Annals. I have inserted three from the Lebar na hUidre, p. 93. There are many more in the Irish abridgment of the first two books of Beda's H.E., which is found in Laud 610, ff. 89[b]—92[a].

Adulstan, AU. 936, 938, Atalstan, FM. 944 = *Æthelstán*.

Adulph ri Saxon, TF. 158. Adulf, AU. 857 = *Æthelwulf*, A.S. Chron. 855(6).

Ailfrid, FM. 900. *Ælfred*.

Albruit, Tig. 629, a scribal error for Albruic = *Ælfric*.

Aldfrith mac Ossu, AU. 703. Altfrith mac Ossa, Tig. 704 = Aldfrith, Tig. 716. *Aldferth*, *Aldfrith* (*Ealdferth*).

Alli rex Saxan aquilonalium, AU. 866, bellum filii, Ailli, AU. 630 = *Ælla*.

Almuine filius Osu, Tig. 680 = Ailmine filius Ossu, AU. 679, *Ælfwine*, son of Oswy, (infected) *m* being written for *w*, as in *Catmolodor* and *Simal* supra, and *Bristoma* infra.

Anfrith, AU. 631 = *Eanfrith*.

Anna: bellum Annae, AU. 655, TF. 657. See A.S. Chron. 654.

Beda, AU. 734, TF. 739; Béid, TF. p. 112. *Baeda*.

Bernith, Tig. 698. *Beornhæð*, *-hóð*, *-noð*, *-oð*?

Brechtraig, Tig. 698, scribe's error for Brechtraid = Brectrid, AU. 697, *Berctrad*, Beda, H.E. v. 24.

Bristoma, ALC. 1247, Bristuma, FM. 1256. From an oblique case of *Bricgstow*, AS. Chron. 1088, now *Bristol*.

Ceode espoc Iae, Tig. 712. Coeddi, FM. 710. *Ceadda*? *Cedde*.

Coniulf [printed Comulf] rex Saxonum, AU. 820. *Cénwulf*, kin of Mercia.

[1] To this I may add Prof. Bugge's remark (in a letter) that Ir. *fidhch* 'mousetrap,' lit. 'wooden cat,' agrees with O.N. *tréköttr*.

Cuitin, Tig. 718, mac Cuitine, Tig. 731, filius Cuidine, AU. 717, clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini, rex Saxan, AU. 730. *Cuthwine.*

Cuthbertus, AU. 687 = *Cuthberht.*

Dolfinn mac Finntuir, slain in battle by the men of Alba, AU. 1054. A *Dolfin* is mentioned in the A.S. Chron. at 1093, as ruling Carlisle.

Dunstan, Tig. 988 = *Dúnstán.*

Eanfraith [MS. -ch] frater Etalfraith [MS. -ch], Tig. 600 = *Eanfrith*, son of *Æthelfrith.*

Ecberctus [MS. ⁊berctus], Tig. 701, rectius 715, Ecbertus, TF. 729, Eicberict, AU. 728 = *Ecgbyrht.*

Ecfrith mac Ossa, Tig. 686 = Etfrith mac Ossu, rex Saxonum, AU. 685 = *Ecgferth.*

Edilfrido, TF. 687, a mistake for Ecfrido.

Edeldrida, TF. 687, 913 = *Ætheldryth, -thryth.*

Etalfraidh, Tig. 613 = Etilbrith, Tig. 671, Mors Ossu filii Eitilbrith, AU. 670. Edelfrid, TF. 909 = *Æthelferth* (*-frith*).

Eithilfleith famosissima regina Saxonum, AU. 917. Edelfrida, TF. 909 = *Æthelflæd.*

Etgair, Tig. 965. Etgair mac Etmonn, ri Saxan, AU. 974 = *Eadgar.*

Etmonn, AU. 974 = *Eadmund.*

Etuin mac Elle, Tig. 625 = E. mac Ailli, Tig. 631 = *Eadwine.*

Etulb, Tig. 717, AU. 716, Etulb ri Saxan tuaiscirt, AU. 912, Etalbh, TF. 913 = *Eadulf.* A gen. sg. Ecuilb, Ecuilp, AU. 716, 740, is prob. a scribal error for Etuilb.

Finn-tur, father of Dolfin, AU. 1054 = ON. *Þor-finnr* ?

Garailt, Tig. 732, Garolt TF. 732, Garaalt AU. 731 = AS. *Gárwald* or *Gárweald.*

Giuais. Aralt ri Saxan Giuais, AU. 1040. Giuoÿs, Ann. Camb. 900. A.-S. Gewissas *West Saxons*, Beda, E.H. ii. 5, iii. 7.

Ild, in monasterio Ild, AU. 712 = *Hild*, abbess of Whitby.

Lindas, LU. 93.

Moll, Tig. 764 = *Moll Æthelwald*, A.-S. Chron. 759. Prof. Napier tells me that it occurs also in the Northumbrian Liber Vitae. Is it borrowed from the Highland Gaelic *moll* 'chaff' ?

Offa rex bonus Anglorum, AU. 795 = *Offa*, King of Mercia, A.-S. Chron. 794.

Oisiric mac Albruit, Tig. 629 = *Osric* son of *Ælfric*, A.-S. Chron. 634. Oisirg father of Oissene (=Oswine) AU. 650.

Oissene mac Oisirgg, AU. 650 = *Oswine* son of *Osric.*

Osbrit lamfota, 'longhand,' LU. 93. *O'sbryht.*

Osrith mac Aldfrith, Tig. 717. AU. 715 = *Osred*, King of Northumbria, son of *Aldferth.*

Ossiu, Tig. 656. Osu, Tig. 680, 713. Ossu, Tig. 650, 671. AU. 641, 649, 655, 670, 679, 685, 712, 715, TF. 671. mac Gossa, AI. 694 for mac Ossa? A-S. *Oswiu.*

Osualt mac Etalfraith, Tig. 632. Osualt, Tig. 634. gen. Osuailt, Tig. 639. Ossualt, AG. 659. Ósalt, LU. 93. bellum Osubaldi AU. 638 = *O'sweald.*

Panta, Tig. 631. Pante, Tig. 650, 657. AU. 649, 655, 674. gen. Panntea, Tig. 675. *Penda*, Beda, HE. v. 24.

Pilu . . . Saxo, *Vita Columbae*, p. 227.

Tíne : the river Tyne; for brú Tine la Saxanu Tuaiscirt, AU. 917. Latinised *Tinus* by Beda.

VI. 2. Irish Loans from Anglo-Saxon.

As to the early intercourse between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, see Beda, H E. iii. 27. The monastery founded for the English at Mayo by S. Colman, of Lindisfarne, about the year 670 (Beda, H.E. iv. 4) may also here be mentioned. Some few of the following have already appeared in the papers of Zimmer and Kuno Meyer above referred to.

assan (gl. caliga), pl. n. assain, O'B., W. *hosan*, both borrowed from an oblique case of *hosa*, gen. *hosan.*

bád *boat*, gen. báid, ALC. 1517. A.S. *bát.*

barda, bharda *warders*, ALC. 1246, 1512, 1516. A.S. *weard.* Hence bardacht *wardership*, ALC. 1369, 1478, 1589. FM. 1584, 1600.

beór *beer*, gen. beóri, beoiri, LB. 215[a], 215[b]. A.S. *beór.*

blede *goblet*, Tig. 1115. A.-S. *bledu.*

boga *bow*, pl. dat. bodhadhaibh (leg. boghadhaibh), ALC. 1405. A.-S. *boga.* Hence boghadóir *archer*, O'B.

bord *border*, *brink*, FM. 1247, p. 320, 1318, p. 516, imel-bhord na habhand, FM. 1595, p. 1978, pl. dat. borddaib, LL. 254[b], 11, 256[a]. A.S. *bord* in such phrases as *innan bordes*, *útan bordes.*

bord *table*, an bord cr[uind] *the Round Table*, AU. 467. A.S. *bord* tabula. Hence also W. *bwrdd.*

crocan (gl. olla) = W. *crochan*, from A.S. *crocca*. O'B.'s *corcán*.

cromb *crooked* = W. *crwm*, from A.S. *crumb*.

fiatail *weeds*, gen. sg. fiataile, FM. 1582, p. 1784. Founded on A.S. *weód*, *wiód*. O'B. has *fiatghail* 'vetches.'

Futerna = *Hwiterne* in Galloway.

geta *gate*, Geta nua = *Newgate*, FM. 1535, glas geta, FM. 1596, p. 2006. pl. dat. getadaibh, FM. 1601, p. 2258. A.S. *geat*.

gúala, A.S. *geóla* 'yule.' ierngúala, LU. 121[b] = *se æftera geóla*.

maighden, *maiden*, pl. dat. maighdenaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012. A.S. *magden*.

pinginn, pinging *penny*, occurs in the idiomatic phrases *ara phinginn fein* 'at his own expense,' ALC. 1245, FM. 1245, and *dul fa phinginn* 'to become tributary,' FM. 1577, p. 1698. From A.S. *pending*, *penning*. An Ir. *penning* = O.N. *penningr*, also occurs (LL. 54[b], 2).

ritere *knight*, Tig. 729, ALC. 1177, 1200, ritaire, TF. p. 170. A.S. *ridere*.

rót *road*, LU. 104[b], 106[a], gen. sg. róid, FM. 1598, p. 2060, pl. dat. ródaibh, FM. 1592, p. 1920, A.S. *rád*.

scilling, scillinn *shilling*, pl. nom. sgillingi, FM. 1585, p. 1840. gen. sgillinn, ALC. 1549, p. 354. A.S. *scylling*.

srámach, sremach, *blear-eyed*, FM. 1380, 1363, deriv. of *sram* "matter running from the eyes," O'R. A.S. *streám*.

staighre acc. sg. *stair*, FM. 1454. A.S. *stǽger*.

stéd, sdéd, ALC. 1231, pl. dat. sdédaibh, ALC. 1277. A.S. *stéda*, 'horse.'

stiuraid, *steerer*, sdiuraidh, ALC. 1233. stiuraim *I steer*, *I guide*, ro sdiurastar, ALC. 1217. A.-S. *steóran*, *stióren*, *stȳran*.

stocc [misprinted síocc] in the alliterative phrase gach tegh, gach teghdais, gach stocc, gach staca, FM. 1579, A.S. *stocc*. Corn. *stoc* (gl. stirbs).

tráill *thrall*, Corm. Tr. p. 162, Old-Northumbr. *ȝræl* or ON. *þræll*. Hence tráillidheacht *slavery*, O'B.

I take this opportunity of suggesting that *gimach*, which occurs as an epithet for a scorpion (*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, l. 3651), may be a loan from A.S. *gimach* (gl. improbus), Epinal Glossary, ed. Sweet, p. 12, l. 31, later *gemâh*, and that *réfedh* 'rope,' FM. 1590, 1592 (pl. dat. *refedaib*, LU. 63[a], 18), may be connected with O.H.G. *reif* (whence Ital. *refe*), as W. *rhaff*, *rheffyn*, with A.S. *ráp*.

VI. 3. Irish Loans from Middle-English.

Lastly, we may set forth the following list of words, most of which are borrowed from Middle-English, though a few (cited from the Four Masters) may have been taken over from Modern English. We know from the decree of the Synod of Armagh, described by Giraldus (Hib. Exp. l. i. c. 18), that for some time before 1170 the Irish held large numbers of English slaves. From that year down to the present time the intercourse of the two peoples has been incessant; and now the jargons called Modern Irish are as full of English loan-words as Breton is of French.

act pairlimint, *a session*, do dol . . . docum acta pairlimint, ALC. 1585.

airteccal, *article*, gen. pl. FM. 1597, p. 2044.

balla *wall*, gen. sg. acc. blodhadh [leg. bloghadh] an bhalla, FM. 1595, p. 1980, pl. n. balladha, FM. 1572.

baránta, *warrant*, ALC. 1538, p. 314. Hence barántas, *warranty*, FM. 1600, p. 2164.

beinnsi, gen. sg. *bench*, iustis Beinnsi an Righ, FM. 1597, p. 2044.

brugen, *strife*, *conflict*, ALC. 1531, p. 276. N. Eng. *bargans*.

campa *camp*, FM. 1561, p. 1586.

caraiste, *carriage*, do chaiplibh caraiste, FM. 1597, p. 2032, caraisde, FM. 1598, p. 2060.

cing, *king*, *queen*, ALC. 1485; 1543, p. 342: cing Maria, ALC. 1547.

cistinech, *kitchen*, gen. cistinighe, FM. 1449, p. 946.

commesseóir *commissioner*, FM. 1583, p. 1802. pl. dat. comessieoraibh. Hence commessóirecht *commissionership*, FM. 1584, p. 1816.

composeision, *composition*, FM. 1596, p. 1996.

corinel *colonel*, FM. 1600, p. 2224.

cósta *coast*, pl. dat. cóstadhaibh, FM. 1580, p. 1732.

cros *cross*, gen. croise, FM. 1600, p. 2222.

cúpla, *couple*, pl. dat. cúpladhaibh, FM. 1599, p. 2108.

daoradh, *act of making dear* (costly), FM. 1598, p. 2076.

dignite, *dignity*, FM. 1600.

diúice, *duke*, ALC. 1307, 1581, p. 438, FM. 1449, p. 964.

druma, *drum*, ALC. 1589, p. 492, fuaim droma, FM. 1595.

fisicidh *physician*, FM. 1497, p. 1232; 1582, p. 1772.

fisicecht *medical science*, FM. 1504, p. 274.

flux *diarrhoea*, FM. 1536.

gairdian, *guardian*, ALC. 1540. gáirdián, O'B.

gairision, *garrison*, pl. n. garasuin, FM. 1599, p. 2110, pl. dat. gairisionaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2014, garasunaibh, FM. 1598, p. 2058.

gárda *guard*, FM. 1570, p. 1638, 1602, p. 2296.

general coccaidh, FM. 1595, p. 1960, gen. sg. generala, FM. 1596, p. 2000. Hence generaltacht, *generalship*, FM. 1597, p. 2020, generalacht, ibid. p. 2044.

giomanach, *yeoman*, pl. n. giomanaigh, ALC. 1561. gen. giomanach, ALC. 1542, p. 334, 1562, gímánchoibh, ALC. 1581, p. 438.

giosdáil, *joisting*, ALC. 1582. Eng. *joist*, Fr. *gîte*.

gobernóir, gubernóir, *governor*, ALC. 1585, FM. 1856, p. 1846, 1586, p. 470, sg. gen. gobernora, FM. 1586, p. 1844, goibernóra, ALC. 1586, p. 472. Hence gobernóracht *governorship*, FM. 1584, 1596.

gráinsech, F. *grange* : ar an Grainsigh mhoir, ALC. 1589, p. 502.

gunna, gonna, *a gun*, ALC. 1516, 1523, 1546.

haiste, *hatch* (of a ship), comla an haiste, FM. 1587, p. 1862.

imperess, *empress* (O.-Fr. *empresse*), gen. imperasi, ALC. 1189. An apocopated form, peress, gen. pereise, perisi occurs, Tig. 1172, ALC. 1171, 1183, 1210. Corn. *emperiz*.

iustis, *justiciary*, AB. 1230, 1234; iustisecht, *office of a justiciary*, FM. 1492.

liberti *liberties*, FM. 1585, pp. 1840, 1842.

loard, *lord*, gen. loaird, ALC. 1415, 1419, 1535, Mid.-Eng. *louerd*, *lauerd*, Ags. *hláford*.

Mairghrécc, *Margaret*, FM. Marghrec, ALC. 1364, gen. Mairgréige, FM. 1597, p. 2042.

maisde, *match* (Fr. *mèche*), FM. 1598, p. 2072.

marg, *a mark* (money), Tig. 1156, ALC. 1546, 1578.

margad, *market*, gen. margaid, Tig. 1134, A.I. 1090, AB. 1231.

muinission, *munition*, FM. 1599, pp. 2110, 2116. gen. munissioin, FM. 1601, p. 2272.

muscaed. *musket*, pl. dat. musccaédibh, FM. 1597, p. 2028.

Norbus=*Norwich*, FM. 1208.

ordonass, *ordnance*, ALC. 1516, 1551, gen. ordonáis, ALC. 1538, p. 314, dat. ordonás, ALC. 1581, p. 444.

parliment, acc. ar an bparliment, FM. 1595, p. 1984, *parliament*, gen. pairlimint, ALC. 1585, p. 466.

paitent, letters *patent*, ALC. 1568, p. 404. gen. paiteint, FM. 1603, p. 2342.

pécach *gaudy, showy*, FM. 1569. Founded on *peacock*?

píce *pike*, FM. 1599, p. 2114.

píosa *piece*, FM. 3311. The Eng. *piece*, Fr. *pièce*, comes from Low-Latin *pettium*, which represents a Gaulish **pettion*, cognat with W. *peth*, Pictish *pett*, M.Ir. *cuitt*, a primeval Celtic **qvetti-*.

pláta *plate*, eidedh pláta *plate-armour*, FM. 1570, 1597.

Plemendach, *Fleming*, Tig. 1176, with *pl* for *fl* as in Plendru Plóndrus, *Flanders*, ALC. 1585, pp. 468, 472 (but gen. s Flondrais, FM. 1586, p. 1856).

ploit *portion*, pl. acc. ploiti, TF. p. 28, Eng. *plotte* porciuncu Prompt. Parv.

pócoit, *pocket, pouch*, pl. n. pócoide púdair, FM. 1597, p. 20 4, gen. sg. pócóide, ibid. p. 2072.

port, *fort*, O'B. pl.n. puirt, FM. 1600.

Portigel, Poirtengél, *Portugal*, ALC. 1579, 1581, 1589.

post, *prop*, én-phost, *sole prop*, FM. 1383, p. 690, posta, O'B. pl. dat. posdadhaibh, FM. 1597, p. 2012. From Eng. *post*.

potaire, *potter*, FM. 1461, p. 1014, note p.

práca, *a large harrow*, FM. 1600, p. 2186. Eng. *brake*.

proaitsi, *provost*, FM. 1460.

protexion, protex, *protection*, FM. 1569, 1574, 1581, 1583, 1592.

próuision, FM. 1601, pp. 2270.

púdar, (gun)*powder*, FM. 1549, 1572, gen. púdair, FM. 1597, p. 2012.

punt, *pound*, tri mili punt '£3000,' ALC. 1584.

resiber = *receiver*, i.e. agent or treasurer, FM. 1581, p. 1760.

Salender, FM. 1600, p. 2160, *St. Leger*.

sép, sépet? the *chape* of a scabbard: ag sín ṡépea cloidem, ALC. 1244 = ag sinedh sepete a chloidimh, Ann. Conn.

sirriam, serriam, sirriem, siarrium, *sheriff* (Ags. *scirgeréfa*), ALC. 1225, 1247, 1258, 1586, 1588: suibṡirriam, FM. 1595, p. 2108, su-ṡirriam = *sub-sheriff*, ALC. 1587.

spidél *spital*, ALC. 1242, tech spidél, ALC. 1244, 1245.

spor, *spur*, ALC. 1376, FM. 376, Early Eng. *spore* (A.-S. *spora*, *spura*).

státa, *state, pomp*, FM. 1599, p. 2138, 1602, p. 2296. Hence státamhail *stately*, O'B.

statuite, gen. sg. FM. 1600, p. 2148, statúiti *statutes*, FM. 1537, . 1444.

stóras *stores*, gen. stóruis, FM. 1582 : *lán storús*, FM. 1594, is misprint for *lánstóras*, see Ir. Gl.

tábúr, gen. pl. *tabors*, Life of Aed Ruad, cited FM. 1598, p. 2068, ote: tápúr, FM. 1599, p. 2132. tabar, O'B.

tácla *tackle*, pl. gen. tácladh, FM. 1566, p. 1582.

taiplis, F. *tables*, *draughtboard*, gen. na taiplissi, ALC. 1554.

térma na samhna, *Michaelmas term*, FM. 1591, 1596, 1601.

treisireir, *treasurer*, ALC. 1579, tresinér, treisineir, FM. 1541, 547.

trétuir, gen. trétúra, *traitor*, FM. 1546, 1579. Hence trétúrdha *aitorous*, FM. 1601, p. 2258, tretúrecht *treason*, FM. 1581, 1583.

treinse, sg. *trench*, O'B. dat. treinnsi, FM. 1602, p. 2310, pl. insidhibh, FM. 1600, p. 2192.

trompadh, gen. pl. *trumpets*, FM. 1599, p. 2128, 2132.

tronc, *a trunk*, FM. 1598, p. 2074.

turnaé, *attorney*, FM. 1598, p. 2088. O'B.'s turnaidhe *minister*.

uardian, *warden*, ALC. 1585.

ucsanfort. This ἅπαξ λεγόμενον occurs in the following passage om ALC. 1540, referring to a literary congress at the seat of the acdermots: tángadar éixe 7 ollamain Eiriond co ucsanfport inigh 7 engna cúicidh Connacht, ALC. 1540, where Mr. Hennessy enders *ucsanfport* by 'seat.' I take *ucsanfport* to be = *Oxnaford*, nd translate: "The poets and ollaves of Ireland came to the xford of the hospitality and knowledge[1] of Connaught."

uers, *verse*, gen. pl. uersa, FM. 1224. Compound : uers-dénhuidhecht *verse-making*, ALC. 1224.

[1] Mr. Hennessy here renders *engna* (= *engne*, Windisch's Wörterbuch) by generosity."

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1890.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

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(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

MAY 9, 1891.

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TO THE

PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1888-89-90.

(By W. M. WOOD.)

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1887.

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ıer 18, 1887.

ı., in the Chair.

ıe Keltic Neuter Stems in *S*," by
s, V.P., D.C.L., LL.D., M.A. This
ctions for 1888-90.

ı, December 2, 1887.

ıH, D.Lit., M.A., in the Chair.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, November 4, 1887.

R. F. WEYMOUTH, D.Lit., M.A., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "Notes on some English Etymologies," by the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT, V.P., M.A., LL.D. (A copy of this paper is sent herewith, and it will also appear in the *Transactions* for 1888–90.)

Friday, November 18, 1887.

H. BRADLEY, Esq., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On the Keltic Neuter Stems in *S*," by the Honourable WHITLEY STOKES, V.P., D.C.L., LL.D., M.A. This paper will appear in the *Transactions* for 1888-90.

Friday, December 2, 1887.

R. F. WEYMOUTH, D.Lit., M.A., in the Chair.

The paper read was: "On some English Etymologies," by H. BRADLEY, Esq. This paper will appear in the *Transactions* for 1888-90.

Friday, December 16, 1887.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

A paper was read by Herr K. DORNBUSCH on "Volapük." He explained that Volapük was a new language, proposed for international use, and first published in outline in 1879 by the inventor, Schleyer of Konstanz. The idea of a rational language was far from new, as it had been worked at by Bishop Wilkins, by Leibniz, and by Descartes. Among modern writers, Prof. Max Müller had recognized the possibility of an artificial language, and had pointed out that such a system might be made far more regular, complete, and easy of acquisition than any existing idiom. There were several significant facts in other departments of life showing the need for an international language. Thus we had the metrical system, now almost universal on the Continent, chemical notation, telegraphic and marine signals, musical symbols, etc. It might be objected that an artificial language was an absurdity, and that only the traditional ones were capable of supplying the requirements of society. The answer was that all languages were created by the human mind; but in developing a natural language the mind proceeded instinctively and without conscious control of its own powers, while in working out an artificial language each step was an intentional calculation. In constructing Volapük, Schleyer formed the vocabulary by borrowing words from several European languages, ancient and modern, but chiefly from English. The choice of English was justified by the enormous number of speakers of this language—over 200 millions. The mixture of roots from various languages was a process similar to that which has always gone on when different nations have come in contact, and produced a common dialect, such as the Lingua Franca or as Pidgin English. But the process is carried out in Volapük far more systematically. Words, moreover, are not always borrowed by Schleyer in their original forms, but are often simplified and shortened. Thus: *Tim* from 'time,' *lif* from 'life,' *smal* from 'smallness,' and so on. Derivatives are formed from roots by adding prefixes and suffixes, thus: *Plan* = 'plant'; *av* suffix = 'science,' hence *planav* = 'botany.' Similarly *natav* = 'nature-science' = physics. Volapük had proved to be a very easy language to learn, and its use was widely spread over the Continent. France had led the movement, and in Paris there were Volapük classes in almost every mairie, as well as at the high commercial school. In the provinces branch societies had been formed in most of the towns. After France, the country which next took up the new language was Spain; then, in order, Portugal, Italy, Austria, and South Germany. Russia has a fervent Volapükist in Mr. Harrison, an Englishman residing in St. Petersburg, who lectured on the subject to his fellow-countrymen in that city last March. Denmark and Holland had also joined the movement. There were already

eleven journals published in or on Volapük in various countries, and a comic paper in Munich. A congress to settle doubtful questions was held in Munich last August, and an Academy was established to maintain uniformity in the language. Another international congress on Volapük will be held in 1889, in connexion with the Paris Exhibition.

In the discussion Mr. ELLIS remarked that Volapük presented a schoolboy's ideal grammar, there being only one declension, one conjugation, and no exceptions. He had been quite fascinated by the ingenuity and regularity of the system, and wished it every success. He thought it would be particularly useful to travellers and business men. Formerly he had believed that Italian might come into use as an international language—a purpose for which Italian was well fitted by its distinct, simple, and sonorous character. But at present the chances were against Italian and in favour of English, which was about the worst that could be chosen; and, indeed, had not been chosen at all, but had spread by the force of circumstances. The primary problem in inventing a new language was to get the roots. Bishop Wilkins founded his vocabulary on a classification of ideas. But that classification was now utterly out of date, and the words, therefore, would have lost their systematic meaning. Schleyer had escaped this result by taking existing roots, or what Linnaeus would have called 'trivial' roots. The greatest difficulty in the future employment of Volapük would be to preserve its unity; as it would become useless if it split up into dialects. He regretted to see that the Munich Congress had already made alterations in the system, and that the earlier grammars and dictionaries of Volapük were thus at variance with the later. If further changes were adopted, we should ultimately have a new confusion of Babel on the basis of Volapük. In particular, he regretted that the polite form of the pronoun second person singular had been abolished, as something of the kind appeared to be necessary, and was furnished at present in every existing language. Another great difficulty would be to teach the sounds of Volapük to others than Germans. The sounds of *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, and initial *ts*, were exceedingly troublesome to Englishmen. Schleyer had done well to avoid *r*—a very variable letter. In ancient Egyptian there was no distinction between *r* and *l*. On the other hand, Germans could not pronounce English *j*—a sound included in Volapük. When Prof. Max Müller lectured at the Royal Institution, he pronounced *relitshon* for 'religion.' Hence Volapük would be of use principally as a written and not as a spoken language.

Dr. FURNIVALL had expected to find a good deal of prejudice against Volapük, and hence was glad that it had been received with so much liberality. The merit of the language was that it was utterly empirical, and had come about naturally among business people. It would be a great relief from the necessity of learning that detestable German. Scientific theorists would of course object to it. Gaston Paris had condemned it, because each word was not

constructed so as to show whether it was a verb, noun, or adjective, etc. The great success of Volapük showed there was something in it.

Mr. LECKY regretted that so few members were present, as the subject of a rational language had already been discussed in the Society, and had excited much interest. Many students of the question agreed that the construction of such a systematic vocabulary and grammar was the most important practical application of philology—an object to which all historical, phonetic, and psychological researches in speech were preparatory. It was evident that Volapük fell far short of what a rational language should be. The vocabulary was entirely irrational. No word had any connexion with the meaning arbitrarily assigned to it by Schleyer. The root *Vol* would never suggest the idea of the "earth" to anybody. Even on Schleyer's method of borrowing existing words, *Vol* might mean 'theft,' 'flight,' 'volition,' 'volume,' a 'water-vole,' 'volcano,' or a 'shutter,' etc. Similarly *Pük* might be taken from a 'spook,' to 'pucker,' to 'puke,' etc. If words were not to be rational, they might at least be customary and familiar. But the English 'word,' was so deformed in making the new root *vol*, that no one could guess that any relation between them existed. Even when a natural descriptive word was already in general use, it was altered and spoiled in Volapük, as in *kuk*, from 'cuckoo.' A rational vocabulary could be founded partly on imitative sounds, as in 'cuckoo,' partly on natural exclamations, partly on signal-calls used in various branches of active labour, partly on symbolized definitions. In this last method, each letter of the word would express an element in the character of the object. As these ideas were widely held, they would, in all probability, soon take practical shape, and lead to the formation of a genuinely rational language. In the mean time, it was a waste of energy to learn such an imperfect essay as Volapük.

Mr. BRADLEY said that if Volapük was to be of any real use, its application should be restricted to commercial, mechanical, and purely utilitarian objects. Anything humorous or imaginative would break down the system. Poetry and higher literature generally implied metaphors, peculiar usages of words, unusual forms of phrases, and a general divergence from direct logical expression. This tendency would act differently in each country, and finally produce a variety of national idioms instead of one international system. As regards phonetics, some of the distinctions employed in Volapük were too minute for general adoption: *ä*, *e*, and *ei*, being identical to an English ear. Moreover, Herr Dornbusch had apparently made no distinction between *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b* in his reading of Volapük aloud. Hence the use of the system for purposes of speech seemed to labour under great difficulties. Volapük was, however, a creditable invention, and its future career would be followed with interest.

Mr. George DAY said that he was, besides the lecturer, the only active Volapükist in London. In eight days he had learnt enough

of the language to write a letter to a French adherent of the system. The well-known journalist, Francisque Sarcey, considered that a good knowledge of the language could be acquired in a few days. He (Mr. Day) had received letters in Volapük from California. He had never found that any difference of pronunciation prevented him from understanding foreigners who spoke Volapük. German-Swiss and Spanish speakers were quite intelligible to each other. He gave proof of this by reading specimens aloud.

A visitor remarked that there was another attempt at a rational language called "International," invented by Dr. Esperanto, of Warsaw.

Friday, January 20, 1888.

The Rev. Prof. W. W. SKEAT, M.A., LL.D., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY gave his yearly report on the progress of the Society's Dictionary. During the past year above 100,000 slips had been sent in by readers: 40,000 by Mr. Wm. Douglas, 25,000 by Mr. T. Austin, 10,000 from Emerson by Mr. A. Shackleton, 4372 by Mr. Henderson, 3000 by Dr. Mayow: less numbers, though often most valuable, by Mr. C. Grove, Prof. Chester, Mr. A. Beesley, Mr. Prosser (early uses from Patents), Mr. Colland, Miss Edith Thompson, Rev. J. T. Fowler, Cecil Deedes, E. Peacock, E. S. Wilson, B. R. Wilson, etc. Consulting helpers were Mr. Thistleton Dyer for botany, Mr. Corbridge for coal-mining, Mr. Martineau for rare books in the British Museum, Mr. J. T. Platts for Persian and Eastern terms, Prof. Pollock for legal terms, Prof. Rhys for Keltic words—about 1 per cent. of so-called Keltic derivatives are really so—Prof. Rieu for Persian and Turkish. The greatest helpers were the sub-editors: Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. Woods, Miss Browne, Messrs. Anderson, Beckett, Bousfield, Brandreth, Browne, Green, Henderson, Hailstone, Löwenberg, Mount, Nichols, Peto, Sugden, Schrumpf, Simpson, Smallpeice, Woods, etc. Part IV. of the Dictionary was all in proof to *Carbon*, finals to *Caudle*, copy in hand to *Carry*. Vol. I. would end with B, though Part IV. would also open Vol. II., which would contain C and D. Mr. Henry Bradley had been appointed joint editor of the Dictionary, and had begun E. He would be responsible for Vol. III. Henceforth each editor would have to produce a Part of 350 pages a year; that means four columns a day, four sent to press, four corrected and revised, and four returned in final. This speed must, to some extent, lessen research. No longer can twenty letters be written and much search taken to get six lines to find what *cadogan*, an eighteenth-century way of officers' dressing their hair, exactly meant. Some words had taken a long time to settle the development of their meaning; *carry* was three days' work. The sub-

editor gave it seventy-nine senses. These had to be grouped and reduced to sixty-three, with sub-headings. *Canon* was a hard word to work out, from the monk to the cathedral official. *Cantilevre, cant* (a corner), *cabal, cabinet, calvered salmon, campaign, can,* with all its meanings and inflexions, had also given much trouble. More good sub-editors were wanted, and more readers of early trade and art books in the Museum, and of modern novels and American authors, like Hawthorne and Lowell, whose promised readers in the United States had failed.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Murray for his report. Hope was expressed that Mr. Bradley's appointment and the regular publication of one part a year would be of great benefit to the Dictionary.

The Honorary Secretary wanted four editors of the work instead of two. Incompleteness was the necessary condition of such a book on its first issue; but, till it was out, no one had anything to work at in order to perfect it. Though the Dictionary was, and must be defective, it was still the best in the world.

Friday, February 3, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President,* in the Chair.

Dr. RICHARD MORRIS read a paper, entitled "Pâli Miscellanies." He first discussed the Buddhist origin of a passage in "Hitopadeça," i. 57:

> "Yo 'dhikâd yojanaçatât paçyatîhâmisham khagah
> Sa eva prâptakâlas tu pâçabandham na paçyati."

This verse is found in "Pañca Tantra, ii. 18:

> "Ardhârdhâd yojanaçatâd âmisham vaikshati khagah
> So 'pi pâçvasthitam daivâd bandhanam na ca paçyati."

The stanza as it occurs in the Jâtaka-book, ii. p. 51, is applied to a *vulture,* and not to a *pigeon*:

> "Yan nu gijjho yojanasatam kunapâni avekkhati
> Kasmâ jâlañ ca pâsañ ca âsajjâpi na bujjhasîti."

Childers registers *ussada* (=*utsada*) only in *ussada-niraya*. Passages were quoted showing the use of the word in the sense of "bump," "abundance," "perfume," "desire." *Hatthakacchapaka,* "a mode of obeisance," was compared with Sanskrit *kapotahastaka,* "a mode of joining the hands together." There was a mode of salutation called "the crocodile prostration" (*sumsumâra-patita*). *Kataggaha* was explained as "a winning throw," in contradistinction to *kaliggaha,* "a losing throw" (in a game of dice). *Dhûta,* in the sense of "ascetic," was compared with Sanskrit *avadhûta*; *dhona* (in "Sutta Nipâta") was connected with *dhona* in "ati-*dhona*-cârî" (in "Dhammapada"), and referred to the root *dhâv* (Pâli *dhov*), "to wash," *cf. dhota,* "washed." This is the view taken of *dhona* in the "Mahâniddesa." Prof. Fausböll connects it with *dhû,* "to

shake." *Khâri-bhâra* is wrongly translated "provisions" in the "Vineyya" texts; *khârî* = tâpasa-parikkhârâ. *Sâlitta-sippa*, "the art of slinging stones," was illustrated from the "Jâtakas," p. 418. *Odagya*, "elation," represents the older *audagrya* from *udagra* (Pâli *udagga*). *Jâpeti*, the causal of *jinâti* (from root *jyâ* or *jî*), was illustrated, together with the use of *rupati*=*lumpati*. *Unnaṅgalam karoti*, a frequent expression in the "Jâtakas," is equivalent to *khobheti* or *saṅkhobheti*. Childers's explanation of *dûteyya* was criticised. In the "Jâtakas" a *kuntanî* is said to have been employed as a messenger (*dûteyya*-hârikâ). *Nisabhandâna*, in "Anâgata-vamsa," was shown to be a mistake for *nisabhanthâna*, representing the older *âsabhanthâna* = "utamatthâna," Sanskrit *âshabhamsthâna* (Mahâvyutpatti). *Oramati*, which has usually the meaning of "to cease," "to stop," is employed in the sense of *vikkamati*, "to strive," "to use exertion" (see "Jât.," i. p. 498, and iii. p. 185). The phrase, "vikkamâmi na pâremi," was compared with a passage in "Çakuntala"—"*vavasidâmi na* pâremi." In the explanation of *oramati*, the Com. employs *osâreti*. This may stand for *osâyeti* or *osâpeti* for *vosâpeti* from *vy-ava-sâ*, "to strive." *Osâpeti* occurs in the "Samyutta," in the sense of "to betake oneself to." In the "Jâtakas," book i. p. 25, it means "to place," "to put." The difficult form *oseti*, sometimes written *opeti*, may perhaps be a contraction of *ava-sâyayati*="to put," "place." Dr. Trenckner would make two forms, and would refer them to *âvap* and *âvas*. In Sanskrit literature frequent mention is made of the faculty the *hamsa* has to separate the milk from a mixture of milk and water. In Pâli literature this power is ascribed to the *koñca*; and in "Sumangala," p. 305, Buddhaghosa compares an *ariyasâvaka* to a *koñca*, because if a mixture of spirit and water were put to his mouth, the water only would enter it.

Friday, February 17, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Dr. JOSEPH WRIGHT read a paper on "The Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire." After discussing the qualifications necessary for an investigator of dialects, and the principles upon which a dialect grammar should be made, and stating that dialect work was almost worthless unless it was done by a man with a sound theoretical and practical training in phonetics and philology, Dr. Wright mentioned, from his own dialect and standard English, several sound laws which could only be grasped upon philological principles, such as the change of initial *kl-* to *tl-* and *gl-* to *dl-*; the change of final *t* to *r* in monosyllabic words, when *t* is preceded by a short vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, *e.g. a mīt im* beside *a mer im* "I met him"; the Windhill forms *brig*, *flig*, *rig* (back), *lig*, *mig*, *seəg*, *neəg*, *eəg*, *flik*, *reik*, beside standard English bridge, fledge, ridge, lie, midge, saw (a tool), gnaw, haw- (in hawthorn), flitch, reach; the development of *b*

between *m—l*, *m—r*, and of *d* between *n—l*, *n—r* in standard English, where the Windhill dialect has not developed them, *umə* "humble," *treməl* "tremble," *slumər* "slumber," *lumər* "lumber," *anəl* "handle," *kinəl* "kindle," *thunər* "thunder," *ganər* "gander"; or why the *u* in words of French origin has influenced the *s*, *t*, in standard English words like *sugar*, *future*, &c., but has simply been diphthongised to *iu* in the Windhill dialect, *siugər*, *fiutər*, &c. He next proceeded to show the great use to which dialect work might be put, to clear up many unsettled points of Old and Modern English phonology; as that the *u* in O.E. *rust* "rust," *slum* "slumber," must have been long, because in the Windhill dialect the vowel in these words now appears as *ā*, *rāst*, *slām*, "slumber," which presupposes an old long *ū*. The Windhill dialect still keeps quite apart, O.E. *ē* (=W. *ī*), *ǣ* (=W. *iə*), and old *e* in open syllables (=W. *ei*), all three of which have become *ī* in standard English; and several other vowel sounds which have regularly fallen together in the literary language, such as *jōd* "yard" (=3 feet) and *jād* "yard" (=enclosed space), *wək* "work" verb, and *wāk* "work" noun, *li* "to lie" (mentiri), *lig* "to lie down," etc. Dr. Wright strongly condemned the prevalent tendency to assign undue importance to Scandinavian influence upon English. And, although he granted that there is a sprinkling of Norse forms in English, he quoted several forms generally supposed to be due to Norse influence, but which he maintained had been regularly developed on English ground from their corresponding O.E. forms; such as the development of O.E. *d* to voiced *th* in words like father, mother, weather, gather, hither, thither, whither, etc., where *d* has become *th* through the influence of the following *r*. He said that in very many English dialects, as in the Windhill dialect, intervocalic *d* followed by *r* invariably becomes voiced *th*, even in words of French origin, as *pāthər* "powder," *consithər* "consider," which shows the absurdity of assuming Norse influence upon such words. After this he gave a phonetic description of the vowel system of the Windhill dialect, tracing each sound back to its O.E. form. In the historical part, he was obliged to confine himself almost exclusively to the Windhill development of the O.E. vowels and diphthongs of accented syllables, mentioning here and there only what their development was in other than chief accented syllables. But Dr. Wright volunteered to treat the rest—the vowels of other than chief accented syllables, the consonant system (which he said contained many peculiarities) and the accidence—at some future meeting. He also promised a paper on "Some Mistaken Notions of the Principles of English Philology, as illustrated in Modern Etymological Dictionaries."

Friday, March 2, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Robert L. Cassie, shorthand-writer, was proposed for admis-
on into the Society by the Hon. Sec., by leave of the Council.

The paper read was "On Omissions, Redundancies, and Develop-
ents in Western English Dialects," by F. T. ELWORTHY, Esq. He
stanced the way in which prepositions and pronouns, and verbs
d pronouns were amalgamated; how the past participle was used
r the infinitive, *zeed* for 'see'; how *it* was used for 'them,'
ferring to 'apples' collectively, '*un* to a single apple; 'hath her
loss 'un? 'has she lost it?' Larf *of*, is laugh *at*; 'titch o 'un,'
uch it. Water burns, and fire scalds in West Somerset; you tear
e window, and break your clothes. 'About a dree or more an'
venty' has the old *a* before the numeral. 'About' is always
llowed by 'of': 'get un reddy about of a Friday, about of a
x o'clock.' About also is 'for the purpose of': poor trade (soil)
out o' growin o' corn? 'Putt un down tap o' the table,' upon the
p of the table. To=at; to zeven o'clock; 'he was to skittles;'
buried to cemetery.' The subject is often put after the predicate.
Goes very catchin (lame), that horse.' *A* is dropt after 'such':
he jitch grubber,' (the horse) is such a grubber. *The* is left out
fore 'same as'; before place-names, etc., 'send to lime' to the
me-kiln. 'You'll be putt to doors,' put out of the doors. A
pedigree' is a rigmarole; *nif* is 'if'; 'gather' collect money.
We shall force to stap work,' be forced to stop work. 'Twadn
y boy dude it,' it wasn't my boy who did it. 'There' and
when' are often left out. 'Zweet's a nut,' as sweet as a nut.
Shockin bad what yours be' compared to what yours are. Pre-
positions are often left out, 'mother-law' 'this quarter's hour,'
uarter of an hour), 'vor ax o' ee,' for to ask you. For redundan-
es, negatives are multiplied, five together in some short sentences.
Like' may be tackt on to any sentence. 'Here': 'these here
re be,' 'these here here taytotals,'—with whom West-Somerseters
n't hold; 'thik there there' that one. Day: 'Midsummer-day
y, Lady-day day.' To: 'where they be tu,' where they are.
arternoon' this afternoon, 'to-morrow tarternoon' to-morrow after-
on. For: 'why vor he com to go' why he came to go. In: 'tidn
indeterment,' that is, no detriment. 'To-morrow cum wik,' to-
orrow week. 'Last Tuesday was mornin,' Tuesday morning.
t: 'not a morsel-bit left.' Development: strong perfects were
creasing: a mother said 'wear'd' clothes, her child 'wore,' and
e mother then adopted 'wor'd.' The third person *eth* was disap-
aring and *us* taking its place as an intrans. form. New words like
single' for a steel pen (without a holder) were coming in. The
hool board was not killing dialects; it was only developing them.

The Paper was part of, and was read from the Introduction to
r. ELWORTHY'S *Word-Book of West Somerset* for the English
ialect Society, a book since printed: and to that the reader is
ferred for fuller information.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr. ELWORTHY for his Paper.

Friday, March 16th, 1888.

A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Robert L. Cassie was duly elected a Member of the Society.

The Paper promised for the evening not having been sent, Dr. FURNIVALL gave an account of THOMAS VICARY (the first Resident Surgical Governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital), and his *Anatomie of the Body of Man*, 1548, which Dr. FURNIVALL and his son Percy, a Student of Barts, are editing for the Early English Text Society, Part I. to appear in its Extra Series, 1888.

The first tidings of Vicary [1] (who was probably born between 1490 and 1500) are, that he was 'a meane practiser (had a moderate practise) at Maidstone,' and was not a traind Surgeon. In 1525 he is Junior of the three Wardens of the Barbers' or Barber-Surgeons' Company in London. In 1528 he is Upper or first Warden of the Company, and one of the Surgeons to Henry VIII., at £20 a year. In 1530 he is Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and is appointed—in reversion after the death of Marcellus de la More—Serjeant of the Surgeons, and Chief Surgeon to the King. This Headship of his Profession, Vicary takes in 1535 or 1536, together with pay of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, and holds it (under Edw. VI., Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth) till his death in 1561 or 1562. He is the Paget of his great Tudor time.

In 1535, a fresh Grant is made to Vicary of either his old twenty pounds a year, or a fresh one. In 1539, Vicary gets from Henry VIII. a beneficial lease for 21 years of the Rectory-house, tithes, &c. of the dissolvd Boxley Abbey in Kent, close to Maidstone; and as he is a person of influence with the King, a rich Northamptonshire squire, Anthony Wodehull, who has an infant daughter, and is probably a patient of the chief Court Surgeon, appoints Vicary as one of the Trustees of his Will (proved Oct. 11, 1542), with a view (no doubt) to the protection of his girl's property and person during her nonage. In 1541, as the acknowledgd Head of his profession, Vicary is appointed the First Master of the newly amalgamated Companies of Barbers and Surgeons, and is painted—with other Surgeons, Barbers and Physicians—by Holbein. In this year 1541, he also gets a beneficial lease for 60 years, from Sir Thos. Wyat, the poet, of lands in Boxley, Kent. In 1542, he and his son William (also probably a Surgeon) are appointed by Henry, Bailiffs of Boxley Manor, &c. in Kent, with yearly salaries of £10 each. In Sept. 1546-7, Vicary is again Master of the united Company of Barbers and Surgeons. In Dec. 1547, he marries his second wife, Alice Bucke.

[1] This sketch is used in the Temporary Foretalk to Part I of *Vicary*, and also in *Notes and Queries*.

In 1546-7, Henry VIII. handed over Bartholomew's (with ther Hospitals, &c.) to the City of London. He gave it a mall endowment (nominally £333 odd) out of tumble-down ouses, which he charged with pensions to parsons. The balance f the endowment was but enough to keep, as patients, 'thre or oure harlottes, then being in chyldbedde.' So the City set to ork, raisd £1000 for repairs, fittings &c., practically re-opend he Hospital, for 100 patients, and, on 29 Sept. 1548, appointed hief-Surgeon VICARY as one of the 6 new Governors of the Hospital o act with the 6 old ones. Vicary must soon after have become esident Surgical Governor of the Hospital. He was re-appointed nnually; he is given the old Convent Garden in June 1551; and n June 1552 is made 'one of the assistants of this house for the erme of his lyffe' (extract by Dr. N. Moore). He has 3 Surgeons nder him, at £18 (1549), and then £20 (1552) a year each. The Hospital finds him a Livery gown, and repairs his house. He holds is appointment till his death, late in 1561, or early in 1562. That o him is due part of the Hospital organization, and some of the eautiful unselfish spirit shown in the City 'Ordre' for Barts in 1552, e do not doubt. This 'Ordre' no one can read without admiring.

In Sept. 1548, Vicary was, for the 4th time, elected Master of he Barber-Surgeons. In 1548 too, he publisht his *Anatomie*, the irst in English on the subject. The book was reprinted by the urgeons of Barts in 1577, with a few Forewords; and from the nique copy of that issue, the earliest now known, our reprint s made. Frequently supplemented, Vicary's little *Anatomie* held he field for 150 years. (Unluckily the biographical details of n Italian doctor in one of the added Treatises have been lately et down to Vicary.)

In 1553, Queen Mary made a special grant to Vicary of the rrears of his Chief Court-Surgeons' Annuity of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, which e came into in 1536, on De la More's death or resignation. In 554 he was appointed Surgeon to Mary's husband, K. Philip; and n 1555, Philip and Mary re-granted to Vicary—his son William eing doubtless then dead—the Bailiffship of the Manor of Boxley, c. and the 2 Annuities of £10, which Henry VIII. had granted to icary and his son in 1542. Year by year Vicary quietly workt on, oing his duty to the sick poor at Barts, and in the Barber-Surgeons' ompany. He had saved money enough by March 1557-8, to lend is brother-in-law, Thos. Dunkyn, yeoman of St. Leonard's, Shoreitch, £100, which he secures in favour of his nephew Thomas icary, of Tenterden in Kent, clothier; and possibly about this time e buys of Jn. Joyce a house and some land next to Boxley Church, n Kent, which he devises to his nephew Stephen Vicary, son of his rother William, late of Boxley. In Sept. 1557-8, he is, for the 5th nd last time, Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

On Jan. 27, 1560-1, Vicary makes his Will; and he probably ies late in 1561, or early in 1562, as the last payment to him of is Annuity of £20 is in Sept. 1561, and his Will is proved by his idow on April 7, 1562. Where he is buried, we have not yet been

able to find. Shortly before his death he was (says Mr. S. Young) named in a Commission of Queen Elizabeth's to the Barber-Surgeons' Company to press Surgeons for her military service.

We shall, in our Forewords, give further details about Vicary and his life and times; and in our Appendix to Part I., 250 pages of Documents, extracts from Records, &c. about Vicary, the London and Surgeons of his time, &c.

Vicary's *Anatomie* was the first English Handbook printed on its subject. It is mainly from tradition, and not dissection. It begins at the top of man's head, and goes down to his toes, giving a short description of each part of the body. It has some curious words. How many of our members know what *Syfac* is, or *Myrac*?

"The wombe is the region or the citie of al the Intrils; the whiche reacheth from the Midriffe downe vnto the share inwardly, and outwardly from the Reynes or Kydnes, downe to the bone Pecten, about the priuie partes. And thys wombe is compounde and made of two thinges, that is to say, of *Syfac* and *Myrac*. *Syfac* is a Pannicle, and a member spermatike, official, sensible, senowy, compound of subtil Wyl, and in complexion colde and drye, hauing his beginning at the inner Pannicle of the Midriffe. And it was ordeyned because it should conteyne and bind together al the Intrals, and that he defende the Musculus so that he oppresse not the natural members. And that he is strong and tough; it is because he should not be lightly broken, and that those thinges that are conteyned goo not foorth, as it happeneth to them that are broken, &c.

"*Myrac* is compound and made of foure things, that is, of skin outwardly, of fatness, of a carnous pannicle, and of Musculus fleshe. And that it is to be vnderstanded that all the whole from *Sifac* outwards, is called *Myrac*, it appeareth wel by the wordes of Galen, where he commaundeth, that in al woundes of the wombe, to sewe the *Sifac* with the *Myrac*; and by that it proueth, that there is nothing without the *Sifac*, but *Myrac*."

By Dr. Neubauer's help we find that *Sifac* is the Peritoneum, and *Myrac* the soft parts of the belly. These words, like Zirbus, the omentum, were no doubt taken from the Middle-Age Latin translation of the Arab Doctor, Haly Abbas. 'Wyl' seems to mean fibres. *Isinon* and *Gwidege* are other awkward words.

"And that pannikle that is meane betweene the Wesand and the throte bol, is called *Isinon*. Also ye shal vnderstand, that the great Veines which ramefie by the sydes of the necke to the vpper part of the head, is of some men called *Gwidege*, & of others *Vena organices*, the incision of whom is perillous."

Isinon has beaten us. On *Gwidege* we find only in Florio, '*Guidégi*, certaine veines in the throate.' It is, says Dr. Neubauer, 'A corruption for Arab. '*irek*, vein: the '*i* = *ain*, is the strongest guttural, written by *gw*; the confusion of *r* and *d* is common in Arabic texts.' A few other words and passages were quoted.

The thanks of the Meeting were passed to the reader of the Paper for filling-up the vacant evening.

Friday, April 6, 1888.

A. J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A., of Balliol Coll., Oxford, was proposed by Dr. F. J. Furnivall as a candidate for admission into the Society.

The Paper read was: "On the different MSS. and Versions of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* in the British Museum," by Dr. Percy Andreae. The Museum, the writer said, has in its possession eighteen MSS. of Hampole's poem, only four of which proved complete, and these four, unfortunately, all containing later and considerably modified texts. These eighteen MSS. form four distinct groups, traceable to four different versions of the poem. Three of these versions, A, B and C, comprising no less than sixteen MSS., are again derived—more or less indirectly—from a common source Q, rarely differing from the text of the fourth version Z, as represented by the two remaining MSS., Harl. 4196, and Cotton Galba E IX. Proof of this was afforded by a comparison of the three shorter and considerably altered versions A, B, and C, with the text of version Z. The result of this comparison, which extended over 500 lines taken from various parts of the poem, was to show that the reading of version Z, on which Dr. Richard Morris based his excellent edition of the poem, is in all essential particulars invariably corroborated by the reading of at least one of the three other versions. Slighter points of difference from Z, common to *all* the three versions, A, B, and C, only serve as evidence of their common origin in a source Q. The reasons for the innumerable alterations of the original text, which characterize the sixteen MSS. belonging to versions A, B, and C, are, for the most part, of a metrical kind. Metre and rhythm were not Hampole's strongest points. His verse was often barely distinguishable from rhymed prose. The number of feet in each verse varied between four and seven; and as to rhythm, it was sometimes only attainable by dint of an accentuation which rendered the language almost unrecognizable. These faults—and various other peculiarities, such as constant reiteration of the same words and phrases, a favourite practice of Hampole's—versions A, B, and C, had been at pains to modify. Dialectal considerations, on the other hand, were rarely the cause of textual alterations. Indeed, the midland version B had, curiously enough, taken less liberties with the original text than the two northern versions A and C. Yet the usefulness of this midland text for clearing up certain textual and dialectal obscurities of the original poem is not to be denied. In allusion to the intention of the Early English Text Society to bring out a new edition of Hampole's poem, Dr. Andreae pointed out that a better text than that from which Dr. Morris had edited his work was not likely to be found. However, in a new edition, the Q text, which was the original source of versions A, B, and C, should be taken into account. Possibly the Q text itself might still be discovered among the

thirty or forty, if not more, MSS. of the poem still extant in the various public and private libraries of the country. If not, the editor's task would be to reconstruct it from the texts of versions A, B, and C. The paper concluded with a brief account of the interpolations peculiar to some of the MSS., and a reference to the inadvertent omission of fourteen lines in Dr. Morris's edition.

Friday, April 20, 1888.

E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford, was duly elected a Member of the Society.

A Petition for the continuance to the late Dr. R. G. Latham's widow and daughter of his Civil List Pension of £100 a year was signed by all the Members present.

Mr. ALEX. J. ELLIS, *Vice-President*, read a paper on *Home and Colonial Cockneyisms* as respected pronunciation. For the home usages he dwelt especially on the transposition of *h*, the use of *-in'* for *-ing* in participles, the sounding of *paper* like *piper*, and of *nose* like *nows*, the use of *aow* for *ow* in *cow*, the lengthening of *o* to *aw* in *dog*, *coffee*, the euphonic *r* in *saw-r 'im*, the conversion of *ca* into *keb*, *light* nearly into *loyt*, *news* into *noose*, *loin* into *line*, the transposition of *w* and *v*, and other points. He showed that none of these habits arose in London, but had been imported, some recently, while older habits had gone out. He contended, therefore, that there was no cockney dialect at home. But it seemed possible that one would be established in the Australasian Colonies, as evidenced by the result of an examination of school-children by Mr. Samuel McBurney, late Principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, in 1887, through many places in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand, reported especially for Mr. Ellis's *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. These were given in a remarkable tabular form which will appear in that work at length, and fully showed the existing prevalence of so-called Cockneyisms independently of the parentage of the children.

Friday May 4, 1888.

The Rev. Dr. R. MORRIS, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum was proposed by Dr. F. J. FURNIVALL, from personal knowledge, as a candidate for admission into the Society.

Mr. ALEX. J. ELLIS gave the following account of the present state of Part V. of his *Early English Pronunciation*, containing "The Existing Phonology of English Dialects."

On the first meeting in May last year, Mr. Ellis read his "Second Report on Dialectal Work," in which he stated that the first draft for all England was complete, and gave an account of what the

Scottish portion was intended to contain, and at the same time exhibited his maps of the Dialect Districts of the whole of the English-speaking part of the country. In the year since elapsed the following progress had been made:

On 30th July, 1887, the whole of the first draft of the Lowland Scotch division, including the Orkneys and Shetlands, was completed, and on the following 15th August the first draft of the abridgment of the whole work for the English Dialect Society was also completed. On 14th October following, the MS. of the Southern, Western, and Eastern divisions was finally corrected for press and sent to the printer. On 8th November, 1887, the first proofs were received. Up to the present day 29 pages of Preliminary matter, and 304 pages of the book itself, giving a total of 333 pages, have been put in type, containing the whole of the Southern, Western, and Eastern division districts 1 to 19, together with the commencement of the Midland division. Of these, 16 pages of Preliminary matter and 208 pages of the work itself, in all 14 sheets, have been printed off. The remaining 96 pages are under correction and more or less advanced. Mr. T. Hallam, who has contributed so much information by his travels for the purpose of examining and recording dialectal pronunciation in the Midland Counties and those adjoining them on the South, has kindly undertaken the correction of all portions founded upon his notes; but on account of his business engagements and his conscientious reference in all cases to his original notes, which is sometimes very laborious, considerable delays have occurred in some sheets, which accounts for so much matter being still under correction.

The manuscript for the whole of the Midland division, districts 20 to 29, has, with the exception of a few pages depending on Mr. Hallam, been finally corrected for press, and will be sent to the printers next week. Of the Northern division, districts 30 to 32, only the first has been finally corrected for press, the second is under revision, and the third, together with the whole Lowland Scotch division, districts 32 to 42, still requires preparation for press. The chapter on Results cannot, of course, be written till the whole of this correction has been accomplished. The remainder of the Preliminary matter, containing the Alphabetical County List of the numerous contributions received, of which the first draft is ready, the Alphabetical Informants' List, and the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype, with explanations of the meaning of the signs and references to the pages where they are more particularly explained, cannot, of course, be completed till the rest is in type. All this would probably occupy 500 pages more.

If all be well, Mr. Ellis hopes that the work will be completed by this time next year. At present he is giving up more than half his time and strength to the work. Thus out of the 363 days which have elapsed since his second report he has worked on dialects for 233, and out of the 1918 hours for which he has been enabled to work on any subject whatever during that time, he has devoted 1043 hours to this book. It will probably take as many

hours more to complete it, and circumstances prevent him from feeling absolutely certain that he will be able to accomplish his work by the time anticipated; but if he does not it will be his misfortune, not his fault.

Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH gave an account of some work he had been doing as one of the Subeditors of the Society's Dictionary. It related to words beginning with H.

1. Of *Home-Rule*, he said the invention of the compound, or at all events the first memorable use of it, was to be attributed to the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan, the editor of the *Nation*. Mr. Sullivan placed the words THE VOTE FOR HOME RULE as one of the headings for the national petition to the Queen published in the *Nation*, July 28th, 1860. The phrase has not been met with again until several years afterwards. It was not even used with reference to the celebrated movement set going by some Irish Protestants out of disgust with Mr. Gladstone, at the Bilton Hotel, Dublin, on May 19th, 1870, and termed 'The Home Government Association of Ireland.' This movement was afterwards joined by the great body of the Irish Nationalists, and the name Home-rule soon after given to it. The phrase was used by Mr. G. Brodrick in a lecture given by him in the early part of 1871, and published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1871. The first utterance of it in Parliament is attributed to Mr. J. F. Maguire, the Member for Cork, who, on the 26th June, 1871, told the House that there was "a wonderful amount of misconception in respect to what is termed 'Home Rule'" (Hansard, ccvii. 634). That was a memorable sound of the terrible phrase, for from the date of that speech, as may be seen from the newspapers, it came rapidly into universal use.

2. The original meaning of *home* in O.E. was the village or community as distinguished from the *tun*, the separate holding or dwelling. It was the translation of the Lat. *vicus*, and the Lith. and Gr. cognates have the same meaning, but the Skr. cognate *kshema* signifies a place of rest. The Pali form is *khemam*, and is a term for *nirvāna*, the Buddhist state of eternal bliss. We also speak of heaven as 'home,' and of the grave as our 'long home.'

3. With reference to one of the meanings of *heat*, a mistake in Dr. Johnson's Dict. was referred to: "5. One violent action uninterrmitted. The continual agitations of the spirits, must needs be a weakening of any constitution, especially in age; and many causes are required for refreshment between the heats. *Dryden*." He 'cause' is a misprint for 'pause.' See Pref. to the *Fables*, ed. 170[illegible]0, p. 5, and all subsequent editions. Further on we have also in Johnson, "7. Course at a race, between each of which courses there is an intermission.

> Feign'd zeal, you saw set out the speedier pace;
> But the last heat, plain dealing won the race.—*Dryden*."

In both of the foregoing quotations, though different definitions are assigned to them, the meaning of the word *heat* is absolutely the same. In Dryden's century, constant notices are given in the

London Gazette of plates to be run for in heats for horses, and even women ran for smocks in half-mile heats. It is clear enough, therefore, that Dryden uses this word in its figurative sense in both the above-mentioned passages. The learned editors of the later dictionaries complacently repeat Johnson's first-mentioned quotation with its misprint—without any misgiving as to its obvious want of sense in consequence of that misprint—with the exception of Worcester, who wisely omits it, if he was not able to verify it. In Webster's and the Imperial dictionary the quotation is given with the omission of the context which shows that the word is used in a figurative sense, all that is retained being "Causes are required for refreshment between the heats;" as if with the object of making the quotation do duty for a literal race of horses.

4. In referring to the word *heart*, Mr. Brandreth gave an account of the logical basis on which he conceived the different meanings of the word should be placed. It was not quite correct to speak of the heart as the seat of the emotions without qualification. The heart was only connected with the emotions when they were deep, strong, or otherwise intensified. The existing dictionaries made no distinction in the examples given between the heart as the seat of such emotions, and as signifying the emotions themselves. This distinction should be clearly drawn. There would still, however, remain a very large class of expressions, which can only be satisfactorily explained by regarding the heart as personified in them. Such expressions as 'joy, sorrow of heart,' 'the heart rejoices, sorrows,' 'pleasure to a feeling heart,' are all instances of personification. The heart, too, had eyes, ears, tongue, and even a heart of its own. In Queen Elizabeth's time it used to go down on its knees. Again, the heart is sometimes put for the man himself, not as a personification. Thus we may say 'an innocent heart was condemned to death,' 'the poor little heart was much to be pitied.' A beloved person is 'a dear heart,' 'a sweet heart.' As with the emotions, so it is necessary to distinguish between the heart as the seat of courage, and as courage itself. We speak both of 'courage in the heart,' and also of 'lack of heart.' The same distinction is to be made in regard to the heart as denoting the intellect. With reference to this sense of the word, some remarks were made about the peculiar expression of 'getting or learning by heart.' No earlier quotation had been found for it than that from Chaucer, "I . . . kan by heart every language." It appeared to be a literal translation of the French *par cœur*. This mode of expression, as far as was known, had not been developed in any other language.

5. With reference to the word *health*, it was stated that the principal meaning in O.E. was cure or healing, and this sense lasted until the end of the sixteenth century; as in COVERDALE, *Acts* iv. 22, "The man upon whom this token of health was done was above 40 yeare old." Next, health came to mean 'healthiness,' as in TREVISA, *Spec. of Early Eng.* pt. ii. 235, "Brytain passeþ Irlond yn fayr weder & nobleté, bote noȝt in helthe," where it is a translation of *salubritas*. Then when Romance words, like 'cure,

remedy,' took the place of the early sense of health, and the derivatives of health, as healthiness, etc., were used for salubrity, O.E. *heal* became obsolete, its sense being absorbed by 'health.' The only meaning of health in connection with the body, according to our modern dictionaries, is "freedom from bodily illness, a sound and healthy state of all the functions." There seems, however, another sense, quite as obvious, which is never given, namely "The state or condition generally of the functions of the body," in such instances as 'asking after a person's health,' 'a delicate state of health,' 'good or bad health.'

6. In regard to the word *head*, a new account was said to have been opened for the unspoken language of the head, which embraced a great number of movements and uses of the head, such as bearing up, holding high, hanging, lifting up, nodding, scratching, shaking, tossing, turning, turning aside, wagging, etc. Figurative expressions connected therewith were also given under the same heading. In the discussion which followed, Mr. MARTINEAU said with reference to *heart*, that he believed in most cases where heart was taken to mean mind or intellect, it would be found that it was derived from the Bible sense of that word, as indeed appeared in the quotation Mr. Brandreth had himself given in illustration of his remarks, viz. "Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart."

Friday, May 18, 1888.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Rev. Professor SAYCE, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum was duly elected a Member.

The *Treasurer* read the Society's Cash Account, for 1887. A vote of thanks to him and the Auditors, Messrs. D. P. FRY and H. B. WHEATLEY, was passed.

Thanks were also voted unanimously to the Council of University College for the use of the College rooms for the Society's Meetings.

The *President* read his Biennial Address "On the extinct Languages of Western Asia; the Decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the bearing of it on Comparative Philology." The Address is issued with this *Abstract*, and is also printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

A vote of thanks to Prof. SAYCE for his Address and his services to the Society during the past two years was past by acclamation.

The following Members were elected its Officers for next Session:

President: THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D., M.A.

Vice-Presidents: WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.; ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS, B.A., F.R.S.; HENRY SWEET, M.A., PH.D.; JAS. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., M.A.; PRINCE LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE; THE REV. PROF. W. W. SKEAT, M.A., LL.D., LITT. DOC.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1887.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1887. CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance				35	18	4
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To Sums received in 1887—						
For Arrears	8	8	0			
,, Entrance Fees	4	4	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1887	84	0	0			
,, Life Composition	10	10	0			
				107	2	0
Excess on Cheques				0	1	6
For Sale of Transactions				82	1	8
				225	3	6
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				19	19	0
				£245	2	6

1887. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—Austin & Sons, Irish Glosses, Abstracts, etc.				134	8	8
,, Maps—Philip & Son, for Mr. Ellis's Dialects				2	14	0
,, Index to Transactions, Mr. Wood				2	2	0
,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				20	1	9
,, Bankers' Charges				0	4	2
,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk (1886)				2	2	0
,, Postage and other Expenses, Hon. Sec. (1886–87)				2	0	0
,, Treasurer's Postage, etc., including the Dictionary				1	6	6
,, Balance at Bankers (including Dictionary account)	58	0	1			
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	0	16	4	58	16	5
				223	15	6
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				21	7	0
				£245	2	6

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

APRIL 28, 1888.

Ordinary Members of Council: HENRY BRADLEY, ESQ.; E. L. BRANDRETH, ESQ.; PROF. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, PH. D., LITT. DOC.; F. T. ELWORTHY, ESQ.; C. A. M. FENNELL, A.M., LITT. DOC.; HY. HUCKS GIBBS, M.A.; T. HENDERSON, M.A.; JAMES LECKY, ESQ.; PROF. R. MARTINEAU, M.A.; W. R. MORFILL, M.A.; PROF. NAPIER, M.A., PH.D.; J. PEILE, M.A., LITT. DOC.; THEO. G. PINCHES, ESQ.; PROF. J. P. POSTGATE, M.A., LITT. DOC.; W. R. S. RALSTON, ESQ.; PROF. C. RIEU, PH.D.; THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.; E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L.; H. WEDGWOOD, M.A.; R. F. WEYMOUTH, D.LIT., M.A.

Treasurer: BENJAMIN DAWSON, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.

Hon. Secretary: F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., PH.D., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.

The new *President*, Dr. R. MORRIS, then took the Chair, thanked the Society for his election, and promised a paper on Pali next year.

Friday, June 1, 1888.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair.

The Papers read were (1) "On the Vocalic Laws of the Latin Language," by E. R. WHARTON, M.A., Jesus College, Oxford. (Read by the writer's brother.)

(2) "A List of Words used by the Cayapas Tribe of Indians in the interior of Ecuador and their equivalents in the Quichua, the Northern Peruvian Dialect," by Mr. GUSTAVUS WILCZYNSKI, communicated by Mr. Charles Cheston, Solicitor.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Writers and Readers of the Papers, which are issued with this *Abstract*, and will be printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

Friday, June 15, 1888.

HENRY BRADLEY, Esq., in the Chair.

R. T. Elliott, B.A., late Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, was proposed as a candidate for admission by the Rev. Prof. SAYCE.

The Paper read was by A. J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, "On the Conditions of a Universal Language in reference to the Invitation of the American Philosophical Society, and its Report on Volapük," which has been issued, and will be printed in Part I. of the Society's *Transactions for* 1888-90.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr. ELLIS for his Paper, and five hundred extra copies of it were ordered to be printed for distribution in America, here, and on the Continent.

The *Hon. Sec.* explained that the delay in the issue of the *Quarterly Abstract* was due to the illness of its Editor, Mr. JAMES LECKY.

APPENDIX.

CAXTON'S SYNTAX AND STYLE

(WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MSS. AND PRINTS OF THE ROMANCE OF *BLANCHARDYN AND EGLANTINE*)

BY

DR. LEON KELLNER

OF VIENNA.

(From Dr. K.'s edition of Caxton's englisht *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* for the EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, 1890.)

PRINTED FOR THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1890.

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LIST OF BOOKS QUOTED IN THE INTRODUCTION.

Abbott, A Shakspearian Grammar.
Ælfric's Homilies. Ed. B. Thorpe.
Ælfric's Lives of Saints. Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S.
Ancren Riwle. Ed. Morton.
Ayenbite of Inwyt, by Dan Michel. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Aymon, The four Sonnes of, by Caxton. Ed. Octavia Richardson, E. E. T. S.
Beowulf. Ed. M. Heyne, Paderborn, 1879.
Blades, William Caxton, 4°.
Blanchardyn and Eglantyne. The present edition.
Blickling Homilies. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Boorde, Andrew. Ed. J. F. Furnivall, E. E. T. S.
Charles the Grete, by Caxton. Ed. S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S.
Chaucer, Boece. Boethius's De Consolatione philosophiæ. Ed. R. Morris, 1886. Chaucer Society.
Chaucer. Ed. R. Morris, 1866, 6 vols.
Chronicle, Anglo-Saxon. Ed. Earle.
Cura Pastoralis, Pope Gregory's. Old English Translation. Ed. Sweet, E. E. T. S.
Curial, Caxton's. Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S.
Cursor Mundi. A Northumbrian Poem of the 14th Century. Ed. R. Morris, I—V. London, E. E. T. S.
Curtesye, Book of, by Caxton. Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S.
Einenkel, Streifzüge durch die M.E. Syntax. Münster, 1887.
Elene, Cynewulf's. Ed. Zupitza. Berlin, 1877.
Eneydos, Caxton's. Ed. M. T. Culley, E. E. T. S.
Gascoigne, Steel-Glass. Ed. Arber.
Genesis and Exodus, Story of. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Gesta Romanorum. Ed. S. J. Herrtage, 1879, E. E. T. S.
Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex. Ed. L. Toulmin-Smith. Heilbronn, 1883.
Greene, Robt., Works. Ed. A. Dyce.
Guy of Warwick. Ed. Zupitza, E. E. T. S.
Hampole, Prose Treatises. Ed. Perry, E. E. T. S.
Huon of Burdeux, by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners. Ed. S. L. Lee, E. E. T. S.
Koch, C. F., Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache II. Second edition. Revised by Zupitza.
Layamon's Brut. Ed. Sir F. Madden.
Lyly's Euphues. Ed. Landmann. Heilbronn, 1887.
Marlowe's Works. Ed. A. Dyce.
Melusine. Ed. A. K. Donald, E. E. T. S.
Morte Darthur, by Malory. Ed. O. H. Sommer, 1889.
O. E. H. = Old English Homilies, I. II. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Old English Miscellany. Ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S.
Orm. = Ormulum. Ed. White-Holt.
Orosius. Ed. Sweet, E. E. T. S.
Peele's Works. Ed. A. Dyce.
Piers Plowman. Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S.
Schmidt, Alex., Shakspere-Lexicon.
Shakspere's Works. Globe Edition.
Spenser's Works. Ed. R. Morris.
Starkey, England in the Reign of Henry VII. Ed. J. M. Cowper and S. H. Herrtage, E. E. T. S.
Trevisa, Higden's Polychronicon. Ed. Churchill Babington and Rawson Lumby.
Wills, Bury. Camden Society.
Wills, Early English. Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S.
Wulfstan, Homilies. Ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.
Wyclif's English Works. Ed. F. D. Matthew, E. E. T. S.

INTRODUCTION.

I. SYNTAX OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 1. *Relations between the Noun and the other parts of speech.*

From the logician's point of view, every 'part of speech' has a province of its own, strictly limited and separated from the other 'parts'; but in practice, language constantly cuts the line drawn by Aristotle, and some English students are wont to say that nearly every short English noun and verb can be used as verb, noun, and adjective, while nearly every adjective can be used as a noun: 'a plant, plant-life or plant-culture, to plant; tea, tea-district, we'll tea you at our tent; love, love trifles, to love; his english, English ways, to english; the true, the beautiful; true that line,' &c.

In Old English there are several instances in which both noun and adjective are denoted by the same form of a word, as *earfoð* (difficulty and difficult), *leoht* (light *sb.*, bright *adj.*), *weorð* (worth, *sb.* and *adj.*), *yrre* (wrath, *sb.* and *adj.*); every adjective may be used substantively, in the singular as well as in the plural, in the positive as well as in the comparative and superlative degree; the infinitive and the verbal noun (in *-ung*, *-ing*) may be said to belong to the noun as well as to the verb. Theoretically, the tendency of every literary language of the present day is to observe the laws of logic in grammar and style, and to restrict as far as possible the use of every part of speech to its own dominion, though practically, as stated above, speakers and writers claim and exercise full freedom in this respect. Caxton and his contemporaries did not care to be fettered by niceties of logic, and thus we have to state the following relations, in his books, between the noun and the other parts of speech.

1. *Nouns used as adjectives.*

We have kept in Modern English a few such expressions as 'queen-mother, queen-dowager, lord-lieutenant,'[1] where 'queen,' 'lord'

[1] At the Philological Society's Meeting on Nov. 1., when parts of this Introduction were read as a Paper, the Members divided these 3 sample-words into two classes, I. two nouns, 'queen-mother'; II. noun and adjective, 'queen-dowager,' 'lord-lieutenant.'

are to be looked on more as appositions than as the first part of compounds; and there are others, like 'fellow-creature, deputy-marshal, champion-sculler,' where 'fellow,' 'deputy,' 'champion' are used quite adjectively. But while in Modern English this use is restricted in common speech to a few cases,—I exclude the conscious archaisms in poetry and historic romances,—Caxton is very free in forming such *appositive compositions*:—

the paynem kynge Alymodes, *Blanchardyn* 38/2, 90/25, 133/11; a man straunger,[1] *ibid.* 43/9 (original: homme estrange); a knyght straunger,[1] 51/19, 125/33; lady paramours, 78/31, 205/23; leches cyrurgiens,[1] 102/18; kynge sarasyne,[1] 129/8, 133/31 (sarasyn is a pure adjective as well, cf. 131/15); kyng prysoner, 148/5; felon conspiratours, 178/16; felon paynems, 189/1; felon enmyes, 205/25.

This is quite a common Middle English use.

Cursor Mundi—yon traitor juu, 4397; knau barns (male children), 5544. Cf. *Orm. Gloss.* s. v.

Chaucer—a coward ape, III. 198; felon look, V. 9.

Gesta Romanorum—the fole knyght, p. 20; lorell knaue, p. 80; a leper man, p. 190; the traitour servant, p. 316.

Early E. Wills (ed. Furnivall)—the freres prechoures, 17/2.

Morte Darthur—queens sorceresses, 187/27; cf. 212/19. the same traitour knyght, 289/34; cf. 290/17, 294/33.

This use becomes rare in the 16th century, and probably dies out for a time, though it is afterwards revived in literary, if not in common, speech. Berners, in his *Huon of Burdeux*, has still 'a felon traitour,' I. 5/4; 'thou false traitour knyght,' I. 41/26. But the edition of 1601 alters the latter passage into '*trayterous* knyght.' 'Traitor knight' and like expressions will, however, be found in plenty of later poems and romances, though more or less consciously as archaisms.

2. *Adjectives used substantively.*

Compared with its power in Old English, and even in the first two centuries of the Middle-English period, the adjective of the present day has lost a good deal of its vigour and independence. By inflexion, any adjective could formerly express alone what it can now say only by adding a noun: e. g. *se góda* (the good man), *þæt*

[1] This postposition of the adjective-noun, due to French influence, will be dealt with under Arrangement of Words.

gód (the good, in opposition to evil), *þá gódan* (the good ones, the righteous). We can still use: 'the good and evil of this life, of adversity,' &c.; 'the good (*pl.*) shall be happy, the evil (*pl.*) miserable, hereafter.' But in consequence of the inflexion having decayed, the independence of the adjective was to some extent given up, in order to avoid ambiguity. In Modern English prose we only retain—and in the plural only, as to persons—those which exclude all ambiguity, *e. g.* 'the poor and the rich,' always *plural* now, Psalms and Bible used *singular*, or whose ambiguity the context removes. Caxton's use of the adjectives is, in this respect, nearly modern.

The adjectives used substantively may be divided into the following groups:—

(*a*) Adjectives qualifying concrete nouns, mostly persons.

Specyall = friend, *Blanch.* 84/34; elsewhere, frende specyall, 72/10, 73/30, 75/9.

crysten = christians, 154/1, 183/31 (crysten men, 140/2).

famyllyer = intimate friend. 'That night noon of them alle, were he neuer so moche her famyllyer, cam to see her,' *Blanch.* 51/16.

the quycke = the quick (living) flesh. Cf. the French: toucher au *vif*, 'loue smote her ayen wyth a darte *to the quycke* tyll þe herte of her,' *Blanch.* 67/32.

his elder = his elders. 'He passed them that were his elder in age,' *Blanch.* 13/21. Original: les plus sagies de soy.

(*b*) Adjectives used as abstract nouns.

Such adjectives in the positive degree are rarely met with. 'Casuall fryuolles,' *Blanch.* 44/21, translates Old French 'frivoleances.' 'yet ought ye to maynten & holde *thapposite*,' *ibid.* 44/17; in certayne, 97/1.

To this group belong also the adjectives denoting *a.* languages, as: frenshe, *Blanch.* 1/24; englysshe, 1/24, 2/9; *b.* colours, as: in red, 64/10, 164/5; and *c.* adjectives in the genitive case used adverbially, as: of freshe, *Blanch.* 164/12, 165/21; of newe, *ibid.* 100/26, 147/18, 195/7. The latter correspond to the Middle English 'newes,' *Story of Gen. and Exodus* (ed. R. Morris), l. 240, and note; of lyght = lightly, 129/33.

There is one instance of an abstract adjective in the comparative degree: 'men must suffre, for *better* to haue,' *Blanch.* 68/25.

But it occurs pretty often in the superlative:—The thykkest of the folke = the thykkest press, 42/6, 59/5, 106/8, 167/16; it is for your best, 44/23, 185/19; he sholde do the best and the worst, 48/16; at the last, 188/20, and frequently.

3. *Prepositions used as Nouns.*

'Her best biloued (Blanchardyn) was alle redy com *to his aboue* ouere Rubyon,' *Blanch.* 85/3; *his aboue* (in this as well as in the following two passages) translates the French *au-dessus*; 'they were come *to their aboue* of their enmyes,' 142/32; 'ye are therof come *to your aboue*,' 149/27.

4. *The Adverb used as a Noun.*

There is one instance only in *Blanchardyn*: 'he had called alle his barons and lordes, & alle the gentylmen *of there aboute*,' 98/16. Cf. Modern English, *the whereabouts*; perhaps also *Aymon*, 59/5: 'ye shall now here and understande from *the* hensfourthon a terryble and a pyteous songe.'

§ 2. *Abstract and concrete Nouns interchanged.*

Logic classifies nouns, with reference to the mode in which things exist, into concrete and abstract. However, not only in poetry, but also in simple prose both classes are often (as now) interchanged.

(*a*) Abstracts used in a concrete sense:—

counseyll (as now) = French *conseil*. '(She) spake at that same owre wyth *certayne of her counseyll*,' *Blanch.* 76/32.

chivalrie = knights. 'I do yelde and delyuere into your handes the kynge of Polonye, your enemye, whiche I haue taken with the helpe of your sone, and of your noble and worthy cheualrye,'[1] 108/34. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 47/22.

love = lover, sweetheart (as now), 25/2, 26/15, *et passim*. Cf. Gloss. *lover* occurs 30/14.

grace = gracious person. 'I presente this lytyl book unto the noble grace of my sayd lady,' 1/7, 8. ('Her Grace, your Grace,' now.)

Verbal nouns in *-ing*, originally abstracts, often become concrete.

clothing = clothes, *Blanch.* 148/18, 159/32. (*Bible*: 'her clothing was of wrought gold.')

kyssing = a kiss. 'That one onely kyssyng that I toke of yow,' *Blanch.* 134/8.

[1] So in Byron, Macaulay's *Ivry*, &c. &c.

It is doubtful whether 'helpes' in the following passage is correct, or a misprint for helpers:[1] 'Would Subyon or not, and all his helpes, the noble lady was taken out of his power,' 197/21. *Helpe* = helper looks suspicious, because it does not occur, so far as I am aware, elsewhere in Caxton; but it is used in the same sense in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, l. 3409:

> And (Ietro) at wiðð moysen festelike,
> And tagte him siðen witterlike
> Under him *helpes* oðere don.

Of course 'helpe' is not to be confounded with 'help'; the latter is abstract, the former concrete; cf. hunte = hunter. *Layamon*, 21337; *O. E. Hom.* II. 209; *Orm.* 13471; Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1160; *Stratmann*, s. v.; Skeat, *Notes to Piers Plowman*, p. 102.

Abstracts used for concretes are not very common in Middle English:—

Cursor Mundi, barunage = barons, 4627, 8533.

Chaucer, message = messenger, *Man of Law's Tale*, 333. Cf. sonde = messenger, *O. E. Hom.* I. 249, *Story of Gen. and Ex.* Glossary.

Langland (*Piers Plowman*), retynaunce = a suit of retainers. Skeat, *Notes to P. Pl.*, p. 46. treuthe = a true man, a righteous man, Skeat, *l. c.* 297.

A few are retained in Modern English, as a justice = judge, a witness, &c.

(*b*) Concrete nouns used as abstracts.

I know of only one instance in *Blanchardyn*, *chief* = beginning: 'or euer he myght come to the chyeff of his enterpryse,' *Blanch.* 17/4. Chief is = *cap* (caput), which exactly answers to *heafod*, head. Cf. *Morte Darthur* 144/8: 'ther by was *the hede of the streme*, a fayre mountayn.'

field = battle, occurs in *Morte Darthur* 172/17, and is often to be met with in Elizabethan authors: *Gorboduc*, l. 230; Gascoigne, *Steel-Glass*, pp. 58, 63, 64; Spenser, *F. Q.*, I. iii. 379; Shakspere, Schmidt, *s. v.*

§ 3. *Number.*

[1] Cf. our 'lady-help,' and 'help' (American), the regular word for servant.

Not all nouns can be used in the singular as well as the plural; some are restricted to the former, some to the latter. The so-called *pluralia tantum*, which are so numerous in Modern English (bellows, gallows, etc.), are not to be met with in *Blanchardyn*. *Tydinge* is used in the singular as well as in the plural. Cf. Gloss., 'well garnyshed of *vytaylle*,' *Aymon*, 182/31. *Gallows* occurs three times. 'he shold doo make and to be sette up *a* galhouse,' 187/24; 'to make him deye upon *the* galhouse,' 189/3; '(he) sawe a payre of galhouse,' 188/2. The French has *les fourches*. To conclude by the spelling, which also occurs in *Four Sons of Aymon*, 331/22, Caxton apparently connected the word with *house;* hence the singular, as proved by the indefinite article in the first instance.

There are several nouns in the singular and singular form, which, according to modern use (save as to 'foot'), should appear in the plural:

'Men see *atte eye* his beaulte,' 54/34, 118/1, 10; 'which of heyght was *XV fote* long,' 56/34, 163/26; '(they) fel both doune humbly at the *fote* of him,' 126/14; 'they followed after at the back of hym, as the yonge lambe do the sheep,' 106/27.[1]

On the other hand, we find a few plural forms where we should expect the singular:

'When the fayr beatryx, that at her wyndow was lening her hande ouer her bres*tes*,' 189/11. In Old English, as well as in the other Teutonic languages, 'breast,' even with reference to male persons, was often used in the plural. Cf. Grein, *s. v.* breost.

heuens = sky, 43/18, 98/5. The same in Old English, Grein, *s. v.* heofon.

shores = shore. 'They were nyghe the lande, where as the sayd mast, and Blanchardyn upon it, was cast of the waves unto the shores,' 97/35; 'he sawe hem in grete nombre, for to fyght nyghe by the see shoris,' 162/4.

Abstracts are, in Modern English, restricted to the singular; in Old and Middle English the plural is very frequent. It then denotes either *singular actions*, as: godnesses, *Orm. Ded.*, 252, 276, etc.; *different kinds of the conception*, as: twa sarinesse beoð, *O. E. Hom.*,

[1] Or lambe = lambren? Stratman quotes 'lombe' as plural from *Robert of Gloucester*, 369.

I. 103, 105; gleadshipes, *Saules Warde*, 263; or the unusual force of the conception:

'whiche boke specyfyeth . . . . of the grete adventures, labours, anguysshe*s*, and many other grete diseas*es* of theym bothe,' *Blanch.* 2/3, 4; 'the grete humylyte and courtoysy*es* that were in Blanchardyn,' 50/12; 'sore wepynge & sorowynge his byttirness*es*,' 114/18; 'they beganne to make grete festes and grete Ioy*es*,' 201/1; 'other infinyte thynges that are wont to tarry the corag*es* of some enterpryses,' 17/11; 'But their corages were neuer the lesse therfore,' *Aym.* 262/29 (original: couraiges); 'all rewth*is* layde aparte' (French, regretz), 17/8, 20/6; '(he) toke ayen his strenth*es* and corage wythin hymself,' 190/13; '(he) gaff louynge and thank*es* to our lord,' 98/6, 119/36, 132/13.

Plurals of verbal nouns (-ing) occur: 26/3 (wepynges); 30/11 (the same); 132/13 (praysynges); 133/29 (the same); 174/10 (sobbynges). Cf. *O. E. Hom.*, I. 103, 105, 253, 255; *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 18, 19, 24, 83; *Gesta Rom.*, 174, 176, 235, 287; *Morte Darthur*, 173/14, 193/32; *Huon*, 16/8, 172/17, 325/7, 387/24.

CASES.

§ 4. *The Nominative Case.*

The Nominative in Middle English ranges over a wider area than in Old English. First, its dominion is enlarged in consequence of the other cases losing their characteristic inflexions, and being mistaken for the nominative; secondly, it is used in syntactic connections and expressions which were unknown to the older periods of the English language.

In the struggle between the nominative and the accusative (or dative?) case of the personal pronoun (*ye* and *you*), as late as the end of the 15th century, the nominative is far from being overcome.

1. The first function of the nominative is to express the subject of a sentence. So far as the *logical* subject is concerned, there has been no change from Old English down to Modern English times.

2. But in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, the grammatical subject became much more frequent and important than ever it was before.

(*a*) While Old English is very rich in impersonal verbs, there is a tendency in the later periods of Middle English towards the personal expression, that is to say (as Koch puts it), what once appeared as a

dim sensation is made to appear as the conscious action of the fr[illegible] mind. Instead of '*hit hreówe*ð, *hit sceame*ð, *hit lica*ð, *hit langa*[illegible] there appear 'I repent, I am ashamed, I like, I long.' This nat[illegible] development was favoured by two external causes. In such instan[illegible] as 'Wo was this kyng,' *Chaucer*, II. 193, what is an indirect ob[illegible] was mistaken for the nominative case; and secondly, the Fre[illegible] model had great influence. See Chapter VI. on the Impersonal V[illegible] p. xlvii, below.

(*b*) The second encroachment of the nominative on the dative case took place in the passive constructions of transitive verbs governing a direct and an indirect object, or of intransitive verbs followed by prepositions. This innovation was brought about first by the dative and accusative cases being confounded. Objects governed by verbs like 'command, answer,' etc., were consequently looked upon as accusative cases, and were treated as such, so that they became capable of the passive construction.

In Caxton's time, however, that process was not yet completed; hence such expressions as the following, which we still keep: 'as was tolde him by the knyght,' *Blanch.* 43/1; 'all that was told him,' 196/20. See the chapter on the Passive, p. lxi, below.

3. The Nominative absolute wholly supplanted the Old English dative, and became much more popular than the Old English construction (apparently from Latin) had ever been. This use, which is quite common in the 14th century (for Chaucer, cf. *Einenkel*, p. 74, ff.), occurs rather frequently in the time of Caxton, and offers nothing of special interest:—

'*This ansuere y-herde*, Alymodes . . . made his oost to approche,' *Blanch.* 57/28; '*and that doon*, . . . he shall mowe,' etc., 73/24;—preceded by after, 94/6; *Charles the Grete*, 44/21, 47/31, 58/31, 61/12, 62/17, and *passim*; *Huon*, 3/29, 39/5.

4. Another function of the nominative case was that in connection *with the infinitive*: –

e. g. 'I say this, be ye redy with good herte To al my lust, and that I frely may As me best liste do you laughe or smerte, *And neuer ye to gruch it night ne day.*'—*Chaucer*, II. 289. See the chapter on the Infinitive, p. lxiv, below.

5. *Interchange of the Nominative and the Accusative cases.*

(*a*) Though the use of *you* instead of *ye* occurs as early as the middle of the 14th century ('yhow knaw,' Hampole, *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 127, l. 4659; cf. *Book of Curtesye*, Introduction, p. x), the nominative holds its place on to the time of Henry VIII.

Caxton, as a rule, has preserved *ye;* it is only in the inverted position (imperative, less frequent in interrogative sentences) that *you* is introduced; but the number of *ye*'s, even in that position, prevails.

In *Blanchardyn* there are two *you*'s in the imperative:—

'Come you with me,' 60/28; 'be you sure,' 185/17. (The instances are, of course, much more numerous in *The Foure Sonnes of Aymon* and *Morte Darthur*.)

Aymon. 'But knowe *you*, that Hernyer dyde mysse of his enterpryse,' 90/15; 'Fayr chyldren, now be *you* sure,' 129/1; 'defye *you* hym on my behalfe,' 157/32; 'now gyue *you* me good counseyll,' 203/14, 361/9, 412/26.

Interrogative sentences. 'What be *you*, fayre knyghte?' 91/25; 'telle me, how thynke *you?*' 170/1; 'what thynge aske *you* of me?' 246/20, 184/31, 291/31, 343/17, 373/29.

Morte Darthur, 206/6, 240/22, 242/14, 251/29, 255/16, 255/33, 269/8, 279/18, etc., etc.

Huon, 33/9, 33/19, 41/5, 79/32, 98/10, 102/5, 110/13, etc.

There are, however, several instances of *you* in another position:

'You holde,' *Aymon*, 26/18; 'Cosin, sayd Reynawde, *you* speke well and wysely,' *ibid.* 132/33; 'now up, Ogyer, and *you*, duke Naymes,' *ibid.* 157/23; 'yf *you* wyl yelde your selfe to his merci,' 189/22, 432/14, 438/10.

(*b*) There is another instance in which the nominative case has been encroached upon by the dative. That well-known tendency of using absolute personal pronouns in the dative case, which has divided the French pronouns into two different classes (*conjoints* and *absolus*), and which appears in such modern English phrases as 'it is *me*, older than *me*,' is not wholly unknown to Caxton. He always has 'it is I'[1] (never *me!*), but in the following passages, p. xiv, there is apparently a faint germ of that use.

In *Blanchardyn* the dative occurs twice where we expect the nominative case; but there seems to be a sort of mixed construction: 'And syn aftre, he lyghtly dyde sette hande on the swerde, of the

[1] Chaucer 'it am I.'

'She bereth in her herte care ynough and dyspleysure for the loue *of him.*'—*Blanchardyn*, 73/33, 76/5, 77/25; 'for right moche he desyred to shewe hymself, for his *ladyes loue*,' 83/8.

3. The genitive denoting quality is used in the same way as in Modern English; only it is noteworthy that Malory treats it quite as if it were an adjective, so as to use it in the comparative and superlative degree. 'She is the fairest lady and *most of beautie* in the world,' *Morte Darthur*, 357/23; more of beautie, 358/13, 358/18, 360/33, 450/13, and frequently. Instead of *of*, *a* sometimes appears:—

'yf he had been yet man *alyue*, I wolde haue gyuen you tyl his wyff.'—*Blanchardyn*, 93/22. alyue = of life; cf. liues = alife.—*Rob. of Gloucester*, 301/376; *Owl and Nightingale*, 1632; Morris, note to l. 250 of *Story of Genesis and Exodus*. 'I am not a power to reward the after thy merite.'—*Blanchardyn*, 109/9.

4. The genitive of the personal pronoun instead of the possessive pronoun occurs very frequently:—

(I) 'knewe wel that the story of hit was honeste.'—*Blanchardyn*, 1/11. 'the sowle of the (thee),' 17/21; 'for pryde of her,' 39/14; 'the herte of hym,' 39/33, 64/17, 86/20, 87/31, 92/7, 106/17, 114/32, etc.

This use is especially worth noting, when it occurs in sentences like the following:—

'ye haue exposed the body *of you and of your men*,' 171/20. In Modern English we should say: 'your body *and those* of your men.' Malory once says: 'I pray you hertely to be my good frende and *to* my sones,' *Morte Darthur*, 406/28.

5. The partitive genitive was not a great favourite with the English of the 14th and 15th centuries. After comparing the use of this case in that time with what it was in Old English, we cannot but conclude that the idea of partition attached to such phrases as MÁÐMA FELA (many treasures), *Beówulf* 36, in Old English was about to be supplanted by that of the simple apposition. Apart from the fact that the numerals, as well as many indefinite adverbs and pronouns, no longer governed the genitive, compare the following expressions:—

Robert of Gloucester (quoted by Koch, II², p. 169): 'þe þrydde

del my kingdom, y geue þe,' 285; 'þe þrydde del ys londe,' 711; 'From þe on ende Cornewayle,' 178.

Chaucer (*Einenkel*, p. 93): 'A busshel venym,' IV. 267; 'no morsel bred,' III. 215; 'the beste galoun wyn,' III. 249.

E. E. Wills (ed. Furnivall): 'a peyre schetys,' 4/16, 5/8, 41/24, 76/16, 101/18; 'a peyre bedes,' 5/3.

Bury Wills (Camden Society): 'a pece medowe,' 47; 'a peyre spectaclys,' 15; 'a quart wyne,' 16; 'a galon wine,' 30.

But there was a sudden stop in the development towards apposition instead of the genitive; and at the end of the 15th century there was a sort of reaction in favour of the Old English use. Expressions like those quoted above are not to be met with in Caxton; only a few traces of the Middle English tendency remained.

Maner without *of* occurs in *Blanchardyn* three times: 'by al manere wayes,' 50/19; 'all manere noureture,' 74/8; 'al manere poyntes,' 109/16; while there are 18 instances of *maner* + *of* viz., 28/20, 53/17, 55/27, 58/19, 60/31, 73/34, 93/32, 111/28, 117/27, 119/2, 119/11, 159/34, 174/12, 177/4, 186/8, 188/26, 197/28, 200/18.

Other is used for 'others of.' '*Other* her gentyll women,' 76/31; 'other his prysoners,' 121/25.

Also *any* occurs for 'any of':—

'Affermyng that I oughte rather tenprynte his actes and noble feates than of Godefroy of boloyne or *ony the eight.*'—Caxton's Preface to *Morte Darthur*, 2/1.

In *Aymon* is a curious remnant of what must have been rather common in the 14th century, as Chaucer offers several instances of it. The passage runs as follows: 'but of all Fraunce I am *one of the best & truest knyght* that be in it,' 272/23. These are the parallels in Chaucer:—

'Oon of the grettest auctour that men rede' (5 MSS., one has 'auctours'), III. 234; 'On of the best farynge man on lyue,' III. 8; 'On of the best enteched creature,' V. 35 (cf. *Einenkel*, p. 87).

This odd expression is made up of two constructions: I. 'One the best knyght.' II. 'One of the best knyghtes.' The former, which was at last supplanted by the second, crops up many times in Middle English, and has its parallel in other numerals:—

'Oute of þilke hilles springeþ þre þe noblest ryueres of al Europe.' —*Trevisa*, I. 199. 'I deuyse to Iohane my doughter . . . III. the

best pilwes after choys of the forseyde Thomas my sone.'—*E. E. Wills*, 5/9. 'I wyll that Richard my sone haue tweyne my best hors.'—*ibid.* 23/23. 'II. the best yren broches.'—*ibid.* 46/17. 'too the best sanapes,' 101/ 24, *Guy of Warwick* (ed. Zupitza), 8095; 'at two the firste strokes,' *Morte Darthur*, 343/29; 'two the best knyghtes that euer were in Arthurs dayes,' *ibid.* 419/31.

This free use of apposition (instead of the modern genitive) did not die out before the time of James I.:—

'Enough is, that thy foe doth vanquisht stand
Now at thy mercy: Mercy not withstand:
For he is *one the truest knight* aliue.'—*Faerie Q.*, I. iii. 37.

'Or who shall not great Nightes children scorne,
When two of *three her Nepheuces* are so foule forlorne?'
Ibid. I. v. 23.

'His living like sawe never living eye,
Ne durst behold; his stature did exceed
The hight *three the tallest sonnes* of mortall seed.'—*Ibid.* I. vii. 8.

'Was reckoned *one the wisest* prince that there had reigned.'
Shakspere, *Henry VIII.*, II. ii. 48.

Apart from this liberty, we have to state a few other noteworthy points respecting Caxton's use of the partitive genitive.

(*a*) There are numerous instances of the *independent*, or, as it is sometimes called, the elliptic genitive partitive, which is so often met with in Chaucer; cf. 'Of smale houndes hadde sche, that she fedde,' II. 5. Before Chaucer the instances are rare. Perhaps the following passages may be looked upon as approaching that use:—

'hwa se euer wule habbe lot wiþ þe of þi blisse: he mot deale wiþ þe *of þine pine* on eorþe.'—*O. E. Hom.* I. 187. 'man eggeþ his negebure to done oþer to speken him harm, oþer s(c)ame, and haueþ uiþ elch wiþ oþer, and makeþ him to forlese his aihte, oþer *of his rihte*.'—*O. E. Hom.* II. 13. 'þe priue þyeues byeþ þo þet ue steleþ naȝt of oncouþe ac of priueþ. And of zuichen þer byeþ *of* greate and *of* smale. þe greate byeþ of þe kneade and þe ontrewe reuen.'.. —*Ayenbite*, 37.

Caxton has several instances of this use:—

'(She) tolde hym that she was right wel content of his seruyce, and wolde reteyne hym in wages, and gyue hym *of her goodes*, for he was worthy therof.'—*Blanchardyn*, 75/5. 'wherof the kynge was right wele content, and reseyued hym *of* his hous.'—*ibid.* 99/21; = as one of his house, or court. (Cf. *Huon*, I. 13/20: 'the two sonnes

of Duke Seuyn of burdeux shal come to the courte, and, as I haue harde say, the kynge hath sayde that, at there comynge, they shal be made *of hys* pryuey counsell.') 'And wyte, that Guynon hadde wyth hym of the beste knyghtes of Charlemagne.'—*Aymon*, 91/18. 'and therefore lete us set upon hym or day, and we shalle slee doune *of his* knyghtes: ther shal none escape.'—*Morte Darthur*, 121/10. '(He) charged hym that he shold gyue hym *of* al maner of metes.' —*ibid.* 214/20. (Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, 197: 'þe knyghte of baldak sent to the knite of lumbardye *of* al maner thinges.')

This use too was continued in the time of Henry VIII.:—

'I wyll ye take *of* your best frendys.'—*Huon*, 5/25. 'this that I haue shewid you is of truth.'—*ibid.* 61/26. 'I requyre you, shewe me *of* your newes and adventures that ye haue had.'—*ibid.* 566/12. 'Englysh marchauntes do fetch *of* the erth of Irlonde to caste in their gardens.'—*Andrew Borde*, p. 133; cf. p. 170.

From an alteration of the 1601 edition of *Huon* we may perhaps conclude that the English of that time did not relish this use in prose. The original edition has: 'for incontinent they wyll sende *of* theyr shyppes, and take thys shyp,' 212/29; the edition of 1601 alters *of* into '*some of*.'

(*b*) Here and there indefinite pronouns like 'much, many (other)' are followed by *of* + *noun*: 'for he hath doon to us this day so moche *of* euyl.'—*Blanchardyn*, 169/22. 'wherof soo many *of* children (were) faderles, and soo *many churches* wasted.'—*Aymon*, 27/19. 'a grete many of prysoners.'—*ibid.* 87/4. But, as a rule, the modern use prevails.

(*c*) There is another sort of Genitive, which we may, perhaps, not improperly term *pseudo-partitive*, viz. that which appears in sentences like 'a castle of hers, a knight of Arthur's.' It is true, that in many cases we might translate these phrases by 'one of her castles, one of Arthur's knights'; but there are many examples in Middle English which do not admit of such an explanation, and the Modern English use ('that beautiful face of hers!') proves that no idea of partition is included in such expressions. After a close examination of the oldest instances as met with in the 14th century (second half?), we see that they are brought into existence by another necessity.

In Old English the possessive pronoun, or, as the French say, 'pronominal adjective,' expresses only the conception of belonging

and possession; it is a real adjective, and does not convey, as at present, the idea of determination. If, therefore, Old English authors want to make such nouns determinative, they add the definite article:

hæleð mín se leofa, *Elene*, 511; þú eart dóhtor mín séo dýreste, *Juliana*, 166; þæt tacnede Leoniða on his þæm nihstan gefeohte and Persa, *Orosius*, 84/31; Mammea his sio gode modor, *ibid.* 270/26; mid hire þære yfelan scéonnesse, *Blickling Homilies*, 5/1; openige nu þin se fægresta fæþm, *ibid.* 7/24; þonne bið drihten ure se trumesta staðol, *ibid.* 13/10; hé wolde oferswíðan úrne ðone écan déað, *Ælfric's Homilies*, I. 168/1; úre se ælmihtiga scyppend, *ibid.* I. 192/6; þurh his þæs mǽran forryneles and fulluhteres ðingunge, *ibid.* I. 364/5. The article preceding the possessive pronoun: se heora cyning, *Orosius*, 56/31; seo heora iugoð, *Blickling Homilies*, 163/3; seo hire gebyrd, 163/9, etc.

In Middle English the possessive pronoun apparently has a *determinative meaning* (as in Modern English, Modern German, and Modern French); therefore its connection with the definite article is made superfluous, while the indefinite article is *quite impossible*. Hence arises a certain embarrassment with regard to one case which the language cannot do without. Suppose we want to say 'she is in a castle belonging to her,' where it is of no importance whatever, either to the speaker or hearer, to know whether 'she' has got more than one castle—how could the English of the Middle period put it? The French of the same age said still 'un sien castel'; but that was no longer possible in English. There's only one instance of indefinite article + possessive pronoun that has come to my knowledge, and that is of the early period of Middle English: *Sawles Warde* (*O. E. H.*, I. p. 265): 'for euch an is al mihti to don al þat he wule, ȝe, makie to cwakien heouene ba ant eorþe wið *his an finger*' (for one is mighty enough to do all that he desires, yea, to make heaven and earth quake with *one of his fingers*. Translation by R. Morris).[1]

We should expect the genitive of the personal pronoun (of me, etc., as in Modern German),—and there may have been a time when this use prevailed,—but, so far as I know, the language decided in

[1] Other instances, however, may have escaped my notice, and it is worth while to search Middle English literature for evidence on this hitherto puzzling point.

favour of the more complicated and rather absurd construction 'of mine, of thine,' etc.

This was, in all probability, brought about by the analogy of the very numerous cases in which the indeterminative noun connected with *mine*, etc., had a really partitive sense (cf. the examples below), and, moreover, by the remembrance of the old construction with the possessive pronoun.

There is a good deal of guesswork in this explanation, of course; but one thing is sure—it was the impossibility of connecting the indefinite article with the possessive pronoun which suggested the new construction. This is proved by indisputable chronological facts.

I. First, we find the indefinite article (or the equally indefinite words *any, every, no*) in connection with *of mine, of thine*, etc. This construction is met with in the 14th century.

II. Next, analogy introduces the indefinite article in connection with the double genitive of a noun, 'a knyght of king Arthur's.'

III. Last, we come across definite pronouns (this, that) in connection with *of mine;* and exceptionally the definite article occurs there also in connection with the double genitive of a noun (the knight of kyng Arthur's).

CHAUCER: A friend of his, IV. 130, IV. 257, IV. 356; an hors of his, II. 271; an old felaw of youres, III. 97; eny neghebour of myne, III. 198; every knight of his, II. 239; no maner lym of his, V. 170.—Cf. that ilke proverbe of Ecclesiaste, II. 226; *this my* sentence heere, III. 40; oure wreche is this, oure owen wo to drynke, IV. 184 (*Einenkel*, pp. 86, 87).

Early E. Wills: I will that William . . . be paied of their billes for making off *a liuery of myn*, 53/20; ȝif any servaunt *of myn* haue labord for me . . . 53/23 (both instances ab. 1420 A.D.); I will that Chace haue a habirion *of myne*, 54/7; he may haue such a good honest booke of his owne, 59/9; every child *of hires* lyuynge at the day of my decesse haue xx ti to their mariage, 107/1.

Bury Wills (A.D. 1434): and more stuff I haue not occupied *of hers*, p. 23; such goodes *of myn* as shall be sold, 24; such tyme as money may be reysid of goodes as shal be sold *of myn*, 36.

In neither of these 'Wills' volumes is there any instance of the second or third stage of the development of our construction. Cf. *E. E. Wills:* this my present testament, 49/4; similar cases are in 51/5, 79/26, 119/15.

Gesta Romanorum offers instances of II, but not of III: I am forrester of the Emperours, 206; a noþere knyȝt of the Emperours, 241.

In CAXTON the *I. group* is represented by numerous instances: And for this cause departeth now my sayd lady from *a castell of hers*, *Blanchardyn* 38/6. (Original: dun sien chastel.) He toke also a grete spere from the hande of *a knyght of his*, ibid. 107/32; for the kyng Alymodes hath a daughter of his owne . . . *ibid.* 125/4; a yeoman of his owne, *ibid.* 201/18; a town of his, *Aymon* 69/15; a gentylman of his, 412/29; a neuewe of his, 527/22. Cf. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, 35/35, 38/28, 365/12, 366/2, 369/17, etc.

Group II. is often met with in the *Morte Darthur:* a knyghte of the dukes, 37/7, 9; Syre gawayne, knyghte of kynge Arthurs, 146/30; I am a knyghte of kynge Arthurs, 153/32, 263/31, 263/34, 330/22, 331/19; a trusty frende of Sir Tristrams, 363/8; and ryght so cam in knyghtes of kynge Arthurs, 386/29; and he had gotten hym ten good knyghtes of Arthurs, 459/33; and therewith foure knyghtes of kynge Markes drewe their swerdes to slee syre Sadok, 469/30, 521/24, 522/12, 635/21.—In two instances *s* is omitted: Thenne came forth a knyght, his name was lambegus, and he was a knyght of syr Trystrem, 318/16; there was a knyghte of kyng Arthur, 331/17.

The frequent occurrence of this genitive in connection with Arthur and his knights has often (in English Grammars, &c.) suggested the supposition that there is a sort of ellipsis in this construction: a knyghte of kynge Arthurs = a knyghte of kynge Arthurs *court.*[1] But first of all, such instances as 'a trusty frende of syr Tristrams,' 'I am forester of the Emperors,' do not admit of such an explanation—unless we say 'among Sir T.'s friends,' 'among the Emperor's foresters';—and secondly, there are no other examples of this elliptic construction in Caxton or Malory.

Of Group III., there are *two* instances in *Blanchardyn* with *that*, and a few with the definite article in *Morte Darthur:*

'as for to wene to haue her, thou haste *that berde of thyne* ouer whyte therto; thy face is so mykel wonne, and *that olde skynne of thyne* ys ouer mykel shronken togyder,' 186/22-25. Original: 'vous auez la barbe trop grise, la face trop usee, et le cuir trop retrait.'

Elsewhere Caxton is not afraid of using *this* in connection with the possessive pronoun. Cf. this my towne, *Blanch.* 73/18; this her werre, 90/1.

[1] Cf. two knyghtes of kynge Arthurs Courte, 297/1, 6, 16, 298/33, etc.

There are two passages in *Morte Darthur* belonging to this group: 'Alle the knyghtes of kynge Arthurs,' 330/9; 'he sholde haue her and her landes of her faders that sholde falle to her,' 488/14;—in both instances the partitive genitive is wholly excluded.

B. The Genitive governed by adjectives and verbs is, on the whole, the same as in Modern English. But it is worth noting that the ideas of *reference* and *cause* are still expressed in Caxton by *of*, while, in Modern English other prepositions (*in, as to, with* &c.) are preferred.

(*a*) Reference :—

The childe grewe and amended sore of the grete beaulte . . . *Blanchardyn*, 13/6; of the tables and ches playing, and of gracious and honeste talkynge, he passed them that were his elder in age, 13/9; demaunding of the batailles of Troy, 14/13, 15/8; sore troubled of wyttis, 45/8; nought dommaged of nothing, 48/31; there was no man that of prowes and worthynes coude go beyonde hym, 65/21; wele shapen of alle membres, 99/14; sore chaunged of face, 145/30; what wyl you do of me?, 146/16. Cf. 150/25, 178/21, 184/6, 193/14;—*Aymon*, 54/25, 64/5, 290/32;—*Morte Darthur*, passim.

(*b*) Cause :—

(They) judged hem self right happy of a successoure legytyme, 12/17; (the kyng) that of this adventure was ful sory and dolaunt, 21/4; Blanchardyn sore angry and euyll apaid of that he sawe . . . 28/13; sore passioned of one accident, 68/20;—*thank of*, 49/33, 60/25; pardon of, 50/9, 10.

Of is sometimes replaced by *ouer:* Right enamored they were ouer hym, 66/25; auenged ouer hym, 86/30. Once *for of* occurs: and also *for of* the grete dysplesure that he had . . . 111/34.

(*c*) For the Genitive used adverbially, see *Adverb*, p. lxxvii.

§ 6. *The Dative Case.*

After the decay of the Old English inflection there was a tendency to make up for it by the preposition *to*. But from the time in which the *Old English Homilies* were composed, down to our own days, *to* never became the rule.

In Caxton *to* is often used after verbs, where we omit it, especially after *tell*:—

Now anon brynge *to me* myn armes, *Charles the Grete* 48/15; but on the same page: he shold brynge hym hys armes, l. 4; after

brought he hym hys hors, l. 22. I assure *to* you by my faith that I shall do it . . . *ibid.* 49/30; I graunte *to* you alle my goodes, *ibid.* 50/3; I do *to* the grete amytye, *ibid.* 55/34. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 20/17; *Aymon*, 362/31, 367/9.

Tell. and whan thou hast told *to* me thy name . . . *Charles the Grete*, 53/16; I telle to the, *ibid.* 54/17. Cf. 55/2, 57/23, 61/3, 86/5, etc.

Demand is usually followed by *of;* but there is an exception, perhaps brought about by French influence: 'Thenne cam kyng Alymodes forthe, and demaunded *to* the stywarde' . . . *Blanchardyn*, 283/23. *Require*, also, occurs with *to: Blanchardyn*, 168/3; *Aymon*, 34/20. *Ask*, followed by two objects, occurs: *Aymon*, 362/31; (he) asked for hym *to* two of his men.

There is one instance of *offend* + *to:* 'Yf there be ony man here that I haue offended *unto*,' *Morte Darthur*, 292/19.

The *Ethic Dative* is not frequent in Caxton:

'A right grete and impetuouse tempeste rose, that lasted *us* thre dayes,' *Blanchardyn*, 100/9; their sorrowe redoubled *them* full sore, *ibid.* 119/34; the bloode ranne *me* doune, *Aymon*, 88/19. (But ye withdrawen *me* þis man.—Chaucer, *Boethius*, ed. Morris, p. 7. Caxton has: fro me.)

§ 7. *The Accusative Case.*

A. The Accusative Case, as governed by transitive verbs, sometimes differs in *Caxton* from the modern use.

Besides such verbs as 'demand, require, serve, tell,' quoted above, *behold* is followed by *of*, e. g. *Aymon*, 391/26; and especially noteworthy is the construction of *swear*. In Middle English this verb is followed by *on*. Cf. *Chaucer*, IV. 363: and this *on* every God celestial I swere it yow, V. 222. Caxton uses 'swear' as a transitive verb, and makes the accusative case follow it: he sware his Godes, *Blanchardyn*, 92/25, 107/22; swore God, *Aymon*, 38/4, 73/14, 87/10, 185/4, 201/33, 459/11, 471/7, 515/7, 526/17. In *Aymon* are only three examples of 'swear' followed by a preposition: (he) sware *by* God, *Aymon*, 61/29; he sware *by* saint Denys, *ibid.* 411/11; I swere *upon* all sayntes, *ibid.* 85/4.

From one passage of the *Ayenbite*, and another in *Blanchardyn* we may safely infer that this use is due to French influence.

Ayenbite, p. 6: huo þet zuereþ wiþ-oute skele *þane name* of oure lhorde . . . he him uorzuereþ, *Blanchardyn*, 107/22; The kynge of polonye . . . sware his goode goddes, that he sholde neuer haue loye at his herte. Original: 'jura ses bons dieux.'

Dan Michel always translates literally; and Caxton too, in this case, introduced the French construction.

The *Cognate Object* occurs several times:

And there she had not been no longe whyle, when she had *perceyued* the playn *choys and syght* of a right grete and myghty nauye, *Blanchardyn*, 56/2; (choys = syght). deye a shamefull dethe, *ibid.* 190/4, and very often in the other works of Caxton. I rebuke hym neuer for no hate that I hated hym, *Morte Darthur*, 349/4; the good loue that I haue loued you . . . *ibid.* 364/4.

B. The *Accusative absolute* is used with great freedom by Caxton and Malory, and even by Berners. Instances abound. I quote only a few to illustrate my statement:—

He fonde hym *the terres* (= *tears*) *at the eyes of him* makynge his full pituouse complayntes, *Blanchardyn* 123/24; (there) he toke a bote, prest and garnysshed wyth eight goode felawes, eche of them an ore in his hande . . . *ibid.* 154/7; The good erle, then, the prouost, and the knyghte of the fery, their swerdes in their handes naked, toke and seysyd her by force, *ibid.* 180/19; Thenne came syluayn, his felawes wyth hym, and ascryed the two barons to dethe, *ibid.* 205/19. Original: 'siluain auant auec ses compaignons.'

C. For the Accusative with Infinitive, *see Infinitive*, p. lxx.

D. The *Adverbial Object* exhibits some peculiarities worth stating.

(*a*) Time. *Never the days of her lyff* she sholde wedde paynem nor no man infidele, *Blanchardyn*, 65/15. Malory has: *neuer his lif*, 127/23; cf. Chaucer. Imeneus, that god of weddyng is, Seigh neuer his lif so mery a weddid man, II. 333; many a wighte hath loued thynge he neuer saugh his lyue, V. 8 (cf. *Einenkel*, p. 52; Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, ll. 1747-8); (he) wend neuer to haue come *tyme enough*, *Blanchardyn*, 158/4. Original: 'a tans (temps).' Cf. 170/5; *Aymon*, 265/19, 343/5; *Morte Darthur*, 228/24; *Huon*, 332/8, 334/10.

That tyme, in *Morte Darthur*, 48/8, is equivalent to '*at* that tyme,' *ibid.* 49/16. Cf. the same tyme, *Blanchardyn*, 127/13, 128/8, 143/29; and at that same houre, 139/8; at the tyme, 194/32; *Morte Darthur*, 363/35; and the instructive example, *Morte Darthur*, 356/7, 8: *sometyme* he was putte to the werse by male fortune, and *at sometyme* the wers knyghte putte the better knyghte to a rebuke.

(*b*) Manner.

Seeyng that *noon otherwyse* he myghte doo, *Blanchardyn*, 30/26; and noon otherwyse wyll I doo, *ibid.* 93/25; the best wyse that he myght or coude, he ordeyned his bataylles, 162/27, 171/32;—but we find too: *in* like wise, 98/23; *in* the best wyse, 125/24, 166/2.

Chaucer never uses *other wyse;* only *other weye, other weyes.* Cf. *Einenkel*, p. 66.

§ 8. *The Article.*

There are several remarkable peculiarities about Caxton's use of the Article.

(*a*) Nouns in the Vocative case are preceded by the definite article instead of O:—

'Sith that we haue lost thee, farewell *the* ioye of this world!' *Aymon*, 574/30; 'Then syr Launcelot cryed: *the* knyght wyth the blak shelde, make the redy to Iuste wyth me!' *Morte Darthur*, 392/16.

(*b*) Possessive Pronouns used substantively are sometimes preceded by the definite Article:—

'Thenne toke the prouost his spere, and so dyde Blanchardyn *the his*,' *Blanchardyn*, 48/20 (Original: la sienne); I praye you that euery man force hymself to do worthily hys deuoyr, that your worship and *the oures* be kepte, *Aymon*, 72/21; In whiche he hath not rendred the reason or made any decision, to approve better *the his* than that other, *Eneydos*, 23/19.

(*c*) Numerals denoting part of a whole are sometimes preceded by the definite Article:—

'And yf perauenture one of them dare not come allone hardyly, late come *the* two or thre or foure of the moost valyauntest' . . . *Charles the Grete*, 41/27; and yf *the* foure dare not come, late come fyue, *ibid.* 29. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 355/5: wete thou wel, said sir Tristram, *the* one of us shalle dye or we departe.

In the last two groups Caxton copied only too faithfully his French originals. I do not know of any other Middle English instance of 'the his'; but as for 'the two,' there is the authority of Chaucer and the unknown translator of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, if not to sanction it as a good Middle English expression, at least to excuse it:

And sins he ran . . . And borwed him large boteles thre; and in *the two* his poysoun poured he; The thrid he keped clene for his

drynke, *Cant. T.* III. 103; And if thou maist so fer forth wynne, That thou resoun derst byginne, And woldist seyn thre thingis or mo, Thou shalt fulle scarsly seyn *the two.*—*Romaunt of the Rose,* V. 77/8.

Perhaps the following expressions too may be attributed to French influence:—

The captayne gaff *the* goode nyght to the damoyselle, *Blanchardyn,* 51/27 (Original: la bonne nuit); and gaff hym *the* goode nyght, *ibid.* 74/26; onely the captayne of Tormaday, that cam for to make unto her *the* reuerence, *ibid.* 51/17. Cf. 77/2, 158/16: Blanchardyn coude not kepe hymself, but that *the* grete teerys dropped fast out of his eyen, *ibid.* 145/33.

(*d*) Before two adjectives qualifying one noun, the Article is often repeated:—

He sawe there under in a playn a moche ample and *a* grete medowe, *Blanchardyn,* 32/2; the prouoste of the towne dyde ordeyne a stronge and *a* bygge warde, 58/20; ye be enamored of a hyghe and *a* ryche pryncesse, 75/7; he was a ryght valyaunt and *a* hardy prynce, 113/20; makyng *a* grete and *a* solempne oath, 177/16.—There are, in *Blanchardyn,* but two exceptions[1]: A noble and victorious prynce, 1/26; the rude and comyn englysshe, 2/9.

(*e*) The definite article is repeated where one of the two adjectives is in close connection with the noun. Thus in *Blanchardyn* 'proude' and 'pucelle' are looked upon as one noun, hence the following expressions:—

The right gracious and fayre, *the* proude pucelle in amours, 76/30; the fayer, the proude pucell, 83/12; the right desolate, the proude pucelle, 89/29; cf. 94/9, 96/7, 127/10, 129/29. There are two exceptions: the fayr pucelle and proude in amours, 128/8; the fayr proude mayden, 131/10.

(*f*) There are three instances (in *Blanchardyn*) of the indefinite article used in analogy to *such* + *adjective* + *a*:—

It nedeth not to be doubted that he is come to his extremyte of prowes and valyantes, wythout that amours hathe be the cause in the persone of *some hyghe a* pryncesse, 72/20; hy gaf to hym-self grete merueylle, and was wel abashed of *that soudayne a* wylle that was come to hym, 126/9; which is the most fayr, and the most

[1] These are where Caxton is writing his own English, not englishing another man's French. I wish all his Prologues and Epilogues, as collected in Blades's quarto, could be examined for other contrasts of his phraseology. —F. J. F.

noble, and the most complete *a* lady, and most pleasaunt of all the remnaunt of the world, 156/13.

§ 9. *The Adjective.*

For adjectives used substantively see § 1, p. vi. For the arrangement of noun and adjective see the chapter below, on 'The Arrangement of Words.' The tautology in the formation of the comparative and superlative degree (more better, most best) so well known from Shakspere, occurs here and there in Caxton, and is extremely frequent in *Morte Darthur* :—

more werse, *Blanch.* 23/33; more better, *ibid.* 91/35; the most valyauntest, *Charles the Grete,* 41/27; more sonner, *ibid.* 44/18; most next, *ibid.* 44/17; more gretter, *Curial,* 5/13. *Morte Darthur,* 74/37, 142/8, 144/29, 35; 148/5, 215/29, 218/3, etc.

Adjectives referring to preceding nouns are *not* yet followed by *one* :—

So grete a stroke and *so heuy* he gaffe hym, *Blanch.* 62/22; god hath well kept hym from so moche an hap and so hyghe, 75/24; a trusty man and secret, 81/23, 86/17, 97/20, 110/2, 156/14, 163/4, 169/17, 178/2, 179/5, 200/29. *Aymon,* 392/9, 504/20. *Morte Darthur* constantly.

But the Middle English use of '*one*' *following a noun* is met with in Malory several times :—

There lyueth not a bygger knyght than he is *one,* 72/22; (it) was grete pite that so worthy a knyght as he was *one* shold be ouermatched, 87/35; such yong knyghtes as he is *one* . . . ben neuer abydynge in no place, 251/25. Cf. Chaucer: For in my tyme a seruaunt was I *on,* II. 56, V. 112. The oldest instance quoted by Mätzner, *Glossar,* is from *Robert of Gloucester,* p. 17: 'a wonder maister was he on;' but without the preceding article, the use goes as far back as the *Ormulum* :—

> þatt ȝho wass adiȝ wimmann *an*
> All wimman kinn bitwenen. 2333.

So far as I know, but one instance occurs in Caxton of *one* following an adjective :—

And after whan thou shalt haue employed thy body, thy tyme and thy goodes for to deffende the, another *newe one* cometh to the courte, and shall supplante thy benediction.—*Curial,* 12/13.

The syntax of the numerals is that of our own day.

THE PRONOUNS.

§ 10. *Personal Pronouns.*

(*a*) Cases interchanged. *See* § 4, p. xi.

(*b*) Use of *thou* and *ye*.

Thou is used from superiors to inferiors, or from equals to equals *as a sign of contempt or defiance:—*

Lohier, the son of Charlemagne, delivering his message to the duke Benes of Aygremonte, addresses him with '*thou*,' *Aymon*, pp. 24, 25; and so do all the knights challenging each other to fight. Instances abound.

In many cases *thou* and *ye* are used in the same speech:—

Blanchardyn. Eglantyne always addresses her lover with 'ye'; but on p. 109 the following passage occurs: 'Ha, my right trusty frend . . . . that hath ben the pyler, susteynynge under *thy* swerde bothe myself and all my royaulme, I am not a power to rewarde *the* after the meryte that *ye* deserued to haue of me. Well *ye* haue shewed . . . the excellent vertu of humylite that is in *you*,' etc., ll. 9 ff. Again, Beatrice addressing her father Alymodes with contempt, says: 'medel *thou* nomore wyth loue, leue thys thoughte, and make no more *thyne* accomptes for to entre wythin thir cite; for yf *ye* haue taken and bounde my husband . . .' 186/28 ff.

Aymon. Ogier the Dane addressing his sword Cortyne: 'Ha, Cortyne that so moch I haue loued *the*, and, certes, it is wel rayson, for *ye* be a good swerde, and in many places *ye* haue wel holpen me,' 268/1 ff.

—Charlemagne asks Rypus to hang Richard: 'Rypus, yf *ye* wyll do soo moche for me that *ye* wyll go hange Rychard, I shall make *the* lord of grete londes,' 333/6—8.

—Mawgis blaming Rypus: 'Ha, rypus, *thou* traytour, euyll man, *ye* haue always be redy for to doo some euyll against us, but sith that I haue found *you* here I shall not seke *you* nowhere else,' 339/17 ff. Cf. 435/10 ff., 468/8 ff.

Morte Darthur. The lady's thanking Sir Lancelot for his killing the giant: 'For *thou* hast done the most worship that euer dyd knyght in this world, that wyll we bere recorde, and we all pray *you* to tell us *your* name,' 199/15 ff.

—Sir Raynold addressing Lancelot: '*thou* art a strong man, and I suppose *thou* hast slayn my two brethren . . . I wolde not haue a doo wyth *you*,' 202/35 ff. Cf. 209/14, 211/8, 214/13, 224/20, 226/5, 227/14, 234/14, etc.

This change of the pronoun in the address may be observed even in good Elizabethan prose :—

'Young gentleman, althoug[h] my acquaintaunce be small to intreate *you*, and my authoritie lesse to commaund *you*, yet my good will in giuing *you* good counsaile should induce you to beleeue me, and my hoarie haires (ambassadors of experience) enforce *you* to follow me, for by howe much the more I am a straunger to *you*, by so much the more *you* are beholdinge to mee, hauing therefore opportunitie to vtter my minde, I meane to be importunate with *you* to followe my meaninge. As *thy* birth doth shewe the expresse and liuely Image of gentle bloude, so *thy* bringing vp seemeth to mee to bee a greate blotte to the linage of so noble a boute, so that I am enforced to thincke, that either *thou* dyddest want one to giue *thee* good instructions, or that *thy* parentes made *thee* a wanton wyth too much cockeringe; either they were too foolishe in vsinge no discipline, or *thou* too frowarde in reiecting their doctrine, eyther they willinge to haue *thee* idle, or *thou* wylfull to be ill employed.'—Lyly, *Evphves*, p. 2, ed. Landmann.

Philautus answering to Evphves: 'friend Euphues (for so *your* talke warranteth me to terme *you*), I dare neither vse a long processe, neither louing speach, least vnwittingly I should cause *you* to conuince me of those thinges which *you* have already condemned. And verily I am bolde to presume vpon *your* curtesie, since *you yourself* haue vsed so little curiositie, perswading my selfe that my short answere wil worke as great en effect in *you*, as *your* few words did in me. Try all shall proue trust; heere is my hand, my heart, my lands and my lyfe at *thy* commaundement: *Thou* maist well perceiue that I did beleue *thee;* and I hope *thou* wilt the rather loue me, in that I did beleeue *thee.*'

Lucilla, declaring her love to Euphues, uses both *thou* and *you*. —*Ibid.* p. 50.

Cf. *New Custom* (Dodsley's Collection, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. IV.), p. 18; *Trial of Treasure* (*ibid.*), p. 264; Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, l. 189 ff.; Greene, *A Looking-Glass for London and England;* for Shakspere, see Abbott, § 231.

(*c*) Personal pronouns are emphasized by a preceding *it is*. It is he . . . *Aymon*, 33/9, 251/18; it is she, *Blades*, p. 166; it was I, *Morte Darthur*, 38/21, 83/25. In *Malory* the older expression occurs several times: I am he, 36/18; I was he, 67/7.—'It is *me*' was never used by Caxton, though he had the strong temptation of the French.

(*d*) Pleonastic use of the personal pronoun. If the predicate is separated from the subject by any adverbial, participial, or adjectival (relative) clause, a personal pronoun is pleonastically inserted to mark the subject:—

The proude pucelle in amours, with what peyne and grief that it was, atte thynstaunce and requeste of her sayd maystresse, *she* mounted anon upon her whyte palfray, *Blanch.* 45/4; The kyng thenne, after the knyght had thus spoken to hym, *he* gaff commandment . . . *ibid.* 102/16; How Gryffon of Haultefelle and Guenelon, after that they hadde slayne the Duke Benes of Aygremonte, *they* retorned to Paris, *Aymon*, 58/13; whiche, whan he sawe that Guycharde was entred into the castell, *he* retorned ayen, *ibid.* 73/6; the whiche whan he founde not his master in the chirche, *he* was al abasshed, *ibid.* 573/16; the damoysel that came from la Beale Isoud unto syr Tristram alle the whyle the tournament was advoynge *she* was with Quene Guenever, *Morte Darthur*, 389/8; thenne Kyng Arthur with a grete egre herte *he* gate a spere in his hand . . . *ibid.* 391/18, 395/37.

This pleonasm is very frequent after participle clauses:—

Thenne one of the daughters of the provost, *knowyng* that Blanchardyn was armed and redy to goo out wyth her fader, *she* cam and brought with her a fayre whyte coueryng . . . *Blanch.* 61/5; the Kynge Alymodes, *seeynge* the grete prowes that was in Blanchardyn, and that non so hardy durste approche hym, *he* began to crye aloude . . . *ibid.* 88/18; cf. 126/17, 128/28, 129/27, 138/9, 144/14, 150/19, 152/33, 167/12, 170/2, 173/24, 181/15.

But the pronoun was not the rule. The number of the passages quoted above is 13; but there are 16 (in *Blanchardyn*) where the pronoun is omitted, 22/20, 26/17, 27/23, 33/3, 41/27, 48/1, 50/1, 53/2, 56/12, 57/24, 93/11, 118/10, 148/22, 152/9, 166/30, 169/16. This use crops up very often in the *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 3, 5, 45, 171, 209, 210, 221, 233, 235, 276, 316, 335.

After adjectival or relative clauses this use may be traced back to the earliest periods of the English language. A few instances will suffice for the present occasion:—

Ælfred's Orosius. Ac þa lond on east healfe Danaïs þe þær nihst sindon, Albani *hi* sind genemnede, 14/23; and he Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cyning, se cuðe manna ærest drycræftas, *he hine* oferwinnand ofsloh, 30/10; cf. *ibid.* 12/16, 26/20, 72/13, 98/2, 124/16, 188/26, 204/6.

Cura Pastoralis. Ure ældren, þa þe þas stowa ær hioldon, *hie* lufedon wisdom, p. 4; cf. 22.

Blickling Homilies. Lazarus, þe Crist awehte þy feorþan dæge þæs þe he on byrgenne wæs ful wunigende, *he* getacnaðð þysne middangeard, 75/4; cf. 85/25, 147/2.

Ancren Riwle. þeo ilke þet he bledde vore ne brouhten heo him to presente ne win et. 114.

O. E. Hom. I. pp. 3, 7, 9, 253; II. pp. 15, 19, 41, etc. *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 17, 18, 40. *Story of Gen. and Exodus*, ll. 1003-4, 1065, 3839. *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 283, 285, 7184, 8940, 9014, etc., etc.

Caxton exhibits several instances of this pleonasm :—

He that wyll bee enhaunced in price, *he* oughte not to looke so nyghe, *Aymon*, 354/23; *he that* beginneth a game, *he* oughte to see an ende of it to hys proffyte, 355/6; and again the Frenshemen *that* sawe their kynge come agen, *they* were ryght glad, 413/19; for he that had ony mete, *he* hyd it incontynent, 422/2; and Charlemagne, that sawe aymon goo thus quyte, and that he had garnysshed mountalban of vytayllis, *he* was full angry for it, 436/14; this mornynge, thenne, reynawde *that* was wythin ardein, after that he had herde his masse, *he* called his thre bredren, 476/10; and thenne therle Faffras that was a worthy knyghte and a wyse, *he* wente to the gate of saynt stevyn, and kepte hym there, 504/21; for he that shall deye in the sawtynge of the holy cite, *he* shall be saved wythout doubte, 512/8.

There are many instances of the pleonastic personal pronoun after the compound relative *who that* or simple *who* = whosoever.

And who had seen him at that tyme, *he* wolde not haue trowed that he had be a man . . . *Blanch.* 194/21; who soever rekeneth wythoute his hoste, *he* rekeneth twys, *ibid.* 202/6; *who that* beleueth ouermoche in dremes, *he* doth agenste the commaundemente of god, *Aymon*, 222/12; *who that* doth you goode, *he* leseth well hys tyme, 269/18, 363/5, 368/5, 420/28, 453/3, 514/15, 590/24.

For the apparently pleonastic use of personal pronouns in the oblique case, see 'Relative Pronouns,' p. xlii.

(*e*) *Personal Pronoun omitted.*

A. As subject.

This omission is a remnant of the oldest stage of the language, when the personal endings of the verb made any pronoun (as a subject) superfluous, as in Greek and Latin. It is common to Old English, Middle English, and Old French :—

Old English. Her com Eomer from Cwichelme West Seaxna cininge. þohte þæt he wolde ofstingan Eadwine cininge, *Chronicle*, ab. 626; cf. 656 (Laud MS.) þæs on þæm afterran geare Hannibal sende sciphere on Rome, and þær ungemetlice gehergedon (*scil.* hie, namely the army), *Orosius*, 180/3; cf. 68/27, 134/6.

Middle English. and ȝif he hit naueð, aȝefe (*scil.* he) swa muchel swa he mai, *O. E. Hom.*, I. 29; þa he iseh Martham and Mariam Magdalene þe sustren wepe for hore broðer deð, and ure drihten ðurh rouðe þet he hefde of hom, schedde of his halie eȝene hate teres, and hore broðer arerde, and (*scil.* heo, they) weren stille of hore wope, *ibid.* 157; þu seist þat on gode bileuest (*scil.* thou), *ibid.* II. 25, l. 2; after þe forme word of þe salme abugest gode (*scil.* thou), *ibid.* l. 4. Cf. 71, 89, 93, 97, 101, 111, 119, 123, 197, 199, 215. *Gen. and Exodus*, ll. 1183, 1729, 1732, etc., etc.

Caxton is extremely free in omitting the pronoun. The instances occurring may be divided into the following groups:—

1. When the subject is the same in two co-ordinate sentences, it is omitted in the second. The omission is striking, whenever there is a clause inserted between the two principal sentences:—

So ranne the vasselles to gyder, and roughte eche other by suche a force upon the sheldes, that they were brusen and broken all to peces; theire speres (that sore bygge and stronge were) broke also all to peces. And *thenne toke* theire swerdes (*scil.* they) . . . *Blanch.* 28/11; A lytyl shal here cease *oure matere* to speke of hym, unto tyme and oure shal be for to retorne to the same. And shall shewe the sorowes and the complayntes of the proude pucelle in amours (*scil.* it, namely, *oure matere*), *ibid.* 43/5; [the provost is introduced making a long speech; then the author continues:] and thenne (that is, after the speech) wythout taryeng drewe his swerde (namely, the provost), 49/29. On p. 52 the subject for the first sentence of the 16th chapter must be supplied from the preceding chapter:—whan the proude lady in amours understode the squyer speke thus, the bloode ranne up at her face, and [she] wexed red as a rose, 64/16; wherof the provost was not lesse reioysshed than blanchardyn was. The dyner was redy, and [they] made an ende of their proces tyl another tyme, 81/26; cf. 14/21, 16/10, 22/15, 30/27, 32/7, 33/18, 41/19, 41/24, 42/8, 43/1, 52/17, 58/23, 64/16, 64/20, 66/17, 66/21, 67/4, 68/4, 69/1, 85/27, 85/32, 88/11, 99/32, 100/21, 106/8, 108/19, 127/4, 146/9, 157/3, 170/29, 174/20, 195/22, 203/29.

2. When the subject is the same in a principal and a subordinate sentence, the pronoun is omitted in one of them.

(*a*) Pronoun omitted in the subordinate sentence:—

Blanchardyn emonge other passetymes, delyted hymself in hawkynge and huntyng, wheras right moderately and manerly [he] mayntened hymself, 13/18; cf. 21/2, 22/11, 25/8, 39/25, 97/32, 152/28, 169/13.

(*b*) Pronoun omitted in the principal sentence:—

And for tabredge, after the rewthes, syghes and wepynges that so moche incessantly or wythout ceasse made the noble pucelle, [she] fell doune sterk ded upon the stomak of her most dere louere, 30/13; cf. 30/20, 49/11, 52/21, 53/24, 54/6, 65/3, 127/16.

3. When the subject of a subordinate sentence is not the same as that of the principal one, and is yet omitted, it must be supplied from the context.

How be it I knowe right wel, and make no doubt at all, but that first of all hit shall tourne for pryde of her, tyl a grete displeasire unto her, and [she] shal be therof wors apayed more than reason requyreth, *Blanch.* 39/15; certaynly I shal doo folow hym; and byleue for certayn that *his* laste daye is comen, and [he] shal deye, 44/12; cf. 45/16, 45/21, 87/10, 97/3, 133/33, 146/13, 150/23, 167/16.

4. *It* preceding impersonal verbs is omitted.

There are but two instances of this omission in *Blanchardyn*:—

But [it] seemed that she sholde slee herself to be more hastely venged, 43/26; so [it] taryed not long after thys was doon that the tempeste ceassed, 137/29.

Other instances: *Charles the Grete*, 41/6, 47/28, 49/11, 50/7, 63/11, 77/14, 83/9, 83/24, 85/7, etc. *Morte Darthur*, 136/7, 145/34, 163/35, 217/4, 241/34, 266/5, 278/20, 318/9, 354/29, etc. *Aymon*, 24/15, 27/26, 31/32, 39/29, 43/26, 45/3, 47/3, 48/24, etc.

B. A pronoun as object is very rarely omitted.

'But the knyght that was ryght courteys, guyded hym and *conduyted* a whyle,' *Blanch.* 39/30, is scarcely to be called an omission (see 'Arrangement of Words,' p. ci); but the pronoun is certainly wanting in the following passage: 'For as to his fadir, he wolde not touche,' *Aymon*, 85/29. Cf. Starkey, *England in the Reign of Henry VII*, 71/66: as for thys matter we shal ryght wel avoyd.

(*f*) The Emphatic Pronoun (himself, etc.) is used either in apposition (he himself), or independently (himself):—

For yf I sholde doo it, he hymself sholde blame me for it, *Aymon*, 189/33; and he hymselfe is delybered for to take the habyte and to become a monke, *ibid.* 280/23. By my faith, said Charlemagn, myself shall it be, *ibid.* 387/19; he thrested his swerde in one of his flankes wel depe, and hys swerde, hymself, and the place was all bybled of the blood, *Charles the Grete*, 77/12; wherin hym self is buryed, *ibid.* 37/24. There are not instances enough to decide which use prevails.

Own is sometimes inserted: 'I shall hang you my owne self.' *Aymon*, 339/13.

§ 11. *The Reflexive Pronoun.*

Both the simple and the compound forms occur, but the latter are apparently the rule. Of thirty instances occurring on the first forty-two pages of *Blanchardyn*, only three are simple, namely, 1/22, 2/10, 41/21.

§ 12. *The Possessive Pronoun.*

(*a*) *My*, *thy*, are used before consonants; *mine*, *thine*, before vowels. *Its* never occurs; in its place we find *his*, as in Old and Middle English. For the possessive pronouns used substantively, 'mine, thine, ours, yours' is the rule; 'our, your' occur, but quite exceptionally:—

I haue herde that ye haue called me and my broder the sones of a traytour, and that the kyng knoweth well that our fader slewe yours by trayson, wherof I wylle ye wyte that ye lie falsely, but your fader dyde assaylle *our* by trayson, *Aymon*, 545/10; Ye wolle enforce yourselfe to rescue oute of daunger of deth, my lorde and *youre*, my good husband Sadoyne, *Blanchardyn*, 189/25. *his* is sometimes preceded by the definite article. *See* 'Article,' p. xxvi.

The possessive pronouns are sometimes preceded by *this*: 'This their message,' *Morte Darthur*, 160/30. Cf. above, § 5, on the Genitive Case, p. xv.

(*b*) The possessive pronoun *my* is used as a term of courtesy. It occurs very frequently in connection with *lady*, so as to form almost *one word*. This is made evident by the repetition of *my* in the following instances:—

Unto the right noble puyssaunt and excellent pryncesse, *my* redoubted lady, *my* lady Margarete, duchesse of Somercete, etc., *Blanchardyn* (Dedication), 1/2; I haue told you her byfore, that the paynem kynge Alymodes apparreylleth hymself to make werre

to *my* lady, *my* maystresse, the proude pucelle in amours, *ibid.* 38/3; *my* lady *my* susters name is dame Lyonesse, *Morte Darthur*, 232/13; I byleue certeynly that he shall doo soo, for the kindness that *my lorde my* fader dyde shewe unto Charlemagne, *Aymon*, 427/33; I praye you ryde unto *my* lorde *myn* unkel kynge Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 267/32. I met with only one exception: At yonder wyndowe is *my lady syster* dame Lyones, *ibid.* 237/3.

Instead of 'my lady his moder,' Caxton says several times *his lady moder: Aymon*, 57/34, 62/20, 81/13.

(*c*) The possessive pronoun is often replaced by the genitive of the personal pronoun: the head of him = his head. See 'Genitive.'

(*d*) *his* instead of the genitival inflexion *'s* is very rare:—

And with that renne, blanchardyn *his* courser ran ouer þe provost that he tradd upon one of his armes, *Blanchardyn*, 48/35; to what thynge Charles *hys* sone and *hys* doughters were instructe and taughte to doo, *Charles the Grete*, 28/1; this lord of this castel, *his* name is syr Damas, *Morte Darthur*, 126/17 (not exactly equal to a genitive); the fyrste knyghte *hys* hors stumbled, *ibid.* 220/30.

(*e*) *mine* is sometimes equivalent to *of me* used in an objective sense. It occurs in connection with the gerund, and translates the French *mon*, etc. 'Thou knowest well, that I dyde was *in my deffendynge*,' *Aymon*, 88/26; 'it was I that slewe this knyght *in my deffendaunt*,' *Morte Darthur*, 83/25. This is false analogy to the other gerundial constructions, like 'in my talking,' etc., formed out of the intransitive or transitive verbs. There is a parallel passage in Chaucer:—'Another homicidy is doon for necessite, as whan a man sleth another *in his defendaunt*,' III. 312. One MS., however, has *him defendaunt*.[1]

§ 13. *The Demonstrative Pronouns.*

With the exception of one remnant of Middle English use, the syntax of the demonstrative pronouns is really the same in Caxton as in our own time. *That* is sometimes used in connection with *one* and *other*:—

[1] Perhaps the following passage cannot be explained in the same way:—'Syre, ye be a right fayre Iouncell . . . and *to my seming* right wel worthy to haue the grace and fauour of the right gentyll damoyselle,' *Blanchardyn*, 37/22. Probably 'seem' is here 'think'; 'to my thinking' is still in use. Cf. the chapter on the Impersonal Verb.

That one looked upon th*at other* for to see who wold sette fyrst honde upon hym, *Charles the Grete*, 44/26; *that one* was named babtysme, and *that other* grabam, *ibid.* 59/17-18. Cf. *ibid.* 59/24-5, 62/19, 70/21.

The same is often used as a mere equivalent of the simple personal pronoun :—' Where by experience he shuld lerne to bere armes, and shuld exercyce and take payne and dyligence upon hymself to knowe the ways of *the same* = of them ' (*scil.* armes), *Blanchardyn* 16/6; cf. 19/16, 22/1, 38/9, etc. It crops up very often in Elizabethan times: Marlowe, *Tamb.* I. 2; *Edward* II. l. 1439; Greene, *Looking Glass*, 135 *a*, 142 *a*; Greene, *Alphonsus*, 228 *a*, 228 *b*, 229 *a*; *Gorboduc*, 18, 23; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 609 *a*, 624 *a*. For Shakspere, see Schmidt, *Lexicon*, s. v.

§ 14. With regard to *Interrogative Pronouns* it is noteworthy that *what* often refers to persons :—

She loked bakward for to se *what* he was that so hastely rode after her, *Blanchardyn*, 41/30; moche grete desyre I haue to wyte and knowe *what* he may be, 64/1; (he) asked of him *what* he was,[1] of what lande and of what lynage, 99/35. Cf. 43/13, 128/17, 154/11, 183/20, 194/3. Very often in *Morte Darthur*, and also in Berners's *Huon*, we find '*what* he was and *who* was his father,' 17/22. Cf. 23/12, 29/11, 30/3, 30/13, 54/7, 104/11, etc.

§ 15. *The Relative Pronoun.*

(*A.*) The relative clause either follows its antecedent, or rather *correlative*, or precedes it. Accordingly we find two sorts of relative pronouns in Caxton :—

I. That, which, the which, whom, where, as.

II. Who, who that, whosoever (whomsoever).

(I.) *That* is used of persons and things, *especially after pronouns* (he, that), but is restricted to the nominative and accusative case, when used alone, and is never preceded by a preposition. Of all the relative pronouns it is by far the most frequent.

'*That* conveys a vague idea of reference; this is its function compared with the other relative pronouns. It answers thus to

[1] Though we say still '*What* are you? an engineer or a teacher?' meaning 'of what profession or business are you?' the first quotation above shows that *what* in it means *who*.

Old English *þe*, to the German *was*, used by illiterate people, and to the Hebrew *ascher*.

Dr. Abbott's rule with regard to the Elizabethan use of *that* does not apply to Caxton. *That* is not only used (*a*) after a noun preceded by the article, (*b*) after nouns used vocatively, in order to complete the description of the antecedent by adding some essential characteristics of it. Cf. the following passages :—

That used of persons: *Blanchardyn*, 1/9 (theym that); 12/17 (people of the lande that Iudged hemself right happy); 14/5 (theym that); 15/2 (Blanchardyn that); 15/22 (knyghtes that); 19/16 (dyuers there were that); 19/19 (blanchardyn that); 19/21 (no tonge humayn that); 19/23, 24; 20/1, 21/11, 22/2, 4, 17; 23/2, 7, 13, 17, 19, 24; 25/15, 16, 22, 24; 26/16, 27/11, 28/6, 31/2, 9; 32/13, 22, 25; 33/4, 5; 38/8, 39/29, etc.

That used of things: 12/5, 19; 15/6, 16, 21; 16/7, 17, 19; 17/10, 14; 18/10, 22; 19/1, 14, 15, 25, 26; 20/19, 22/9, 11; 23/6, 24/9, 26/1, 7, 19, 25; 27/4, 16, etc.

Next in frequency comes *which*. It refers to persons and things, but differs from *that* in three points.

1. It not only follows an immediate antecedent, but may be separated from it by other nouns :—

he found the foot of the hors of hym for whom he wente in enqueste, *whiche* (*sic.* the foot) he folowed ryght quykly, *Blanchardyn*, 25/19; at thynstaunce and requeste of my sayd lady, *whiche* I repute as a commaundemente, I haue reduced, 1/23; he gate a ryght goode and riche swerde, that longed unto the kynge his fader, *whiche* afterward was to hym wel syttynge, 17/15; where he fonde the leest courser of the kinge his fader, *whiche* was the fairest and the best that coude haue ben founde in ony contreye at that tyme, 18/1; cf. 19/10. There is a very instructive instance in *Morte Darthur:* 'when syr Gaherys sawe hys tyme, he cam to their beddes syde, alle armed, with his swerd naked and soddenly gat *his moder* by the here and strake of her hede; whenne syr Lamorak sawe the blood dasshe upon hym all hote, *the whiche* he lefte passynge wel (*i. e.* his moder), wete ye wel he was sore abasshed,' 452/27.

2. *Which* is used in connection with prepositions. Upon whiche, *Blanchardyn*, 18/7; in whiche, 22/2, 28/17, 31/16; through whiche, 32/3, 62/2.

3. It replaces a personal or demonstrative pronoun, in order to bring about a closer connection between the two *logically co-ordinate* sentences :—

I, wyllyam Caxton . . . presente this lytyl book unto the noble grace of my sayd lady: *whiche boke* I late receyued in frenshe from her sayd grace, etc., *Blanchardyn*, 1/7; I haue reduced this sayd boke out of frenshe into our englyshe: *whyche boke* specyfyeth of the noble actes and fayttes of warre . . . *ibid.* 1/25 (= and it); cf. 33/6; the noble mayden behelde hym moche humbly, *whyche* toke a ryght grete pleasure to see his gracyouse and assured behauyng, 77/7 (= and she); but this function is shared also by *the whiche* and *whom.* Cf. Of *whom* and of *their* behauynge I shal make mencion after, *Charles*, 38/22.

The whiche (answering to the French *liquels*) is used most of persons in the same function as *which*, *Blanchardyn*, 13/3, 18/16, 22/18, 26/10, 27/8, 29/7, 32/14, etc.

Whom, so far as I am aware, is used of persons, and in connection with prepositions. Of whom, 15/15; for whom, 25/18; to whom, 37/7. Cf. 82/12, 90/19, 94/22, 98/31, 99/3, 104/5, 105/11, etc.

Where, followed by *of* or *by*, refers to persons and things, and whole sentences, and is equivalent to *which* and *whom.*

The childe grewe and amended sore of the grete beaulte, *wherof* he was garnyssed, *Blanchardyn*, 13/6 (French *dont*); and (that) gaff hym a wylle for to be lyke unto those noble and worthy knyghtes, *wherof* he sawe the remembraunces, 15/19; thurgh the cite were herde the voyces, *wherby* they were soone aduertysed, 20/4; (he) wrapped his wounde, *wherof* he so sore sorowed, 23/11; and thenne toke their swerdes, *wherof* they gaafe many a grete stroke, 28/11; cf. 28/16; he sholde vaunce hymself for to kysse suche a pryncesse that neuer he had seen before, and *wherof* thacquentaunce was so daungerous, 40/25; the rayson *wherby* I so saye I shall show it unto you, 53/9, etc.

Referring to sentences: but trowed all they that were present that they had be bothe ded, *wherof* the pyteous cryes, wepyng and lamentacyons began to be more grete . . . 20/2, 20/5.

As is used after *such* as in Modern English; cf. 1/20, 2/11, etc., but *such* is also often followed by *that*:—

It shall not be taken so lightly as men wene, for suche folke doo kepe it, *that* well and worthily shall deffende it, *Aymon*, 73/11; ye aske counseyll of *such that* cannot counseyll theymselfe, *ibid.* 208/14; I requyre and byseche alle *suche that* fynde faulte or error . . . Blades, *Caxton*, 170. Cf. Chaucer, *Boeth.* (ed. Morris): such a place that men clepen theatre. On the first forty pages of *Blanchardyn*, the share of these pronouns expressed in figures is:—

	Persons.	Things.		Persons.	Things.
That	39	51	Whom	3	—
Whiche	6	17	Where	2	7
The whiche	7	1	As	1	1

(II.) *Who* as a relative preceding the correlative is met with in Old English in connection with *swa*, and becomes in Middle English *whose*, later *whoso*.

Who that is declared by the grammarians not to appear before the second half of the 14th century; cf. Koch II.[2], p. 282. But there are instances of an earlier date :—

þenne azaines kinde Gaþ *hwa þat* swuche kinsemon ne luueþ and leueþ (then against nature goes each man who loveth such a kinsman and leaveth, *Morris*). *þe wohunge of ure Lauerd* (*O. E. Hom.* I. p. 275).

to *quat* contre sum *þat* þu wend, *Cursor Mundi*, 1149. Cf. 1151; qua þat, *ibid.* 1969.

huo þet yelpþ; he is aperteliche godes þyef, *Ayenbite*, 59; *huo þet* godeleþ his encristen, he is accorsed of god, *ibid.* 66; cf. 70, 75, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94, etc.

For Chaucer, see Koch, *loc. cit.*

Caxton has both *who* and *who that* equivalently: for *who that* was that tyme yrought of hym, his dayes were fynyshed, *Blanchardyn*, 169/4; *who* had seen hym at that tyme, he wold not haue trowed, that he had be a man mortal, *ibid.* 194/20; for *who that* believes ouer moche in dremes, he dooth againste the commaundemente of god, *Aymon*, 222/12; *who that* dooth you goode, he leseth wel hys tyme, *ibid.* 269/17; *who* had seen the grete mone that alarde . . . made for their cosyn, he wolde haue grete pyte for to see them, 363/3. Cf. 368/5 (who that), 420/28 (who), 453/3 (who that), 514/13 (who), 590/24 (who). Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 43/29, 45/23, 176/35, 264/23, 378/23, etc.

(*B.*) Relative pronouns in the sentence.[1]

The structure of the relative clauses in Caxton is far from being the same as in Modern English. There are three principal types of relative constructions :—

(I.) The antecedent or correlative is a noun in a complete sentence, which is followed by a many-worded adjective or relative clause :—

'She conceyued a ryght faire sone, whiche was named Blanchardyn.'—*Blanchardyn*, 12/12.

(*a*) If the relative pronoun is in the nominative case, the construction, as a rule, is the same as in Modern English. There are only a few exceptions :—

[1] For convenience' sake I prefer to discuss this important point in this place, instead of in the Syntax of the Sentence, as the system requires.

Ine þise zenȝeþ moche uolk : ine uele maneres . ase þise fole wyfmen . þet uor a lite wynnynge, *hy* yueþ ham to zenne, *Ayenbite*, 45.

A knight ther was and that a worthy man, *That* fro the time that he firste began To riden out, *he* louede chevalrie.—Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (quoted by Zupitza in a note to Koch II². p. 278).

I have not come across any such instance in Caxton, but have found two in Malory's *Morte Darthur* :—

Now tourne we unto sire Lamorak *that* upon a daye *he* took a lytel Barget and his wyf . . . 330/24 ; here is a worshipfull knyght sir Lamorak *that* for me *he* shal be lord of this countreye, 334/2 ; sir Trystram *that* by adventure *he* cam . . . *ibid.* 407/21.

(*b*) The relative is an oblique case. Then, as a rule, the relatives enumerated above are used in connection with the corresponding preposition : 'Of whom, to whom, whom or which,' etc. But there are exceptions in this case too. Instead of the simple relatives, there occur

In the genitive : relative + his (her), their.

In the dative and accusative } relative + him (her, it), them.

Old English. Hwæt se god wǽre, þe þis *his* beâcen was, *Elene*, 162 ; se mon ne wât, þe *him* on foldan fægnost limpeð, *Cod. Ex.* 306/25 (quoted by Koch, p. 277).

Middle English. Þe pope Gregorie þþat þe fende *him* hadde wel neiȝ icauȝt, *Greg.* ed. Schulz, 16 *a* ; a doughter þþat wiþ hire was hire moder ded, *ibid.* 32 *a* ; It was hire owhen child, *þat* in *his* armes aniȝt she went, *ibid.* 748 ; there were maydenes thretty, that for hys seruyse in the halle there there loue on hym can falle, *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, l. 180, *see* note (Koch, p. 278, note by Zupitza).

There are a few instances in Caxton and Malory :—

Thenne answered Rubyon to Blanchardyn, that the daughter of the myghty kynge Alymodes, the euen before had gyuen unto hym her sleue, *the whiche* in presence of her father she had taken *it* from her ryght arme, *Blanchardyn*, 84/12, 13 ; he fonde hym, the terres at the eyes of hym, makynge his full pituouse complayntes, *the whiche* sadoyne had herde part *of hem*, 123/25 ; Syre, I say the same for the knyght, that is the most parfyt in all beaulte and condicyons *that*[1] *his* lyke can not be founde, 155/8 ; *the whiche* thenne, by old age and lyuynge many yeres, *his* blood was wexen colde, *Eneydos*, 14/21 ; *of whom* may not wel be recounted the valyaunce *of hym*, *Charles*, 38/20 ;

[1] Perhaps 'that' is here = so that?

for he had lost moche of his blode by his foure mortal woundes, *of whyche* the leste *of them* was suffysaunt for hym to haue deyed, *ibid.* 235/10; A, syr, ye are the same knyghte *that* I lodged ones in *your* castel, *Morte Darthur*, 266/15; so leue we sire Trystram in Bretayne, and speke we of sire Lamerak de galys, *that* as he sayled, *his* shyp felle on a rok, and perysshed all, 330/2; and that was she *that* Breunys saunce pyte took that shelde *from her*, 345/11, 12.

This use continued in the 16th century:—

I know no man lyuyng *that* I or my brother haue done *to hym* any dyspleasure, Berners, *Huon*, 19/24; *the whiche* treasure I gaaf part *therof* to the kynge, 263/9; I pray thee, show me what be yonder two prynces that goth up the stayres, and *that* so moch honour is done *to them*, 286/9.

Very rarely is a relative in the oblique case followed by a redundant personal pronoun:—

(they) were all murderers, *wherof* the pryncypall and the mayster *of them* all was named syluayne, *Blanchardyn*, 204/8; It is by cause ther is come in to thy court he that hath slayne my brother *whom* incontynente thou oughtest to haue slayne *hym* quyke, *Huon*, 141/24.

The edition of 1601 omits *hym*. There is perhaps a change of the construction in *Blanchardyn*, 192/29: 'they recountred a peynem, *which* they toke, and broughte *hym* before Blanchardyn.'

(II.) The correlative sentence is divided into two parts by the relative clause:—

'He that wyll be enhaunced in price, he oughte not to loke soo nyghe.'—*Aymon*, 354/23.

In Old and Middle English this type is nearly always a sort of anacoluthon to our modern eyes and ears, and perhaps it was such indeed. The essential point in which this construction differs from the modern use is, that *the correlative always appears in the nominative case*, without regard to its place in the sentence; it is only the redundant pronoun, personal or possessive, in the second part, which marks the subjective or objective case of the correlative, *e. g.*, in Modern English we might say:—'*To her who* was not skilled in receiving such guests, his acquaintance was hard to make,' but Caxton has:—'and *she* that was not lerned to receyue suche geestes, sore harde was his acquaintance *to her*.'—*Blanchardyn*, 67/29, 30.

Accordingly I distinguish two groups of type II.

(*a*) The correlative is the subject of the sentence. Then the redundant *personal* pronoun appears in the nominative case.

This pronoun is, as said above (*see* 'Personal Pronoun'), very frequent in Old English and Middle English. Perhaps we might say that this is the rule; at least the *Old English Homilies* seem to suggest such a supposition. There are in the Second Series twenty-three instances of the redundant pronoun, namely, p. 15, l. 4 from top; p. 15, l. 4 from foot; p. 19, l. 9 from top; p. 43, l. 3 from top; p. 45, l. 16 from foot, and on pages 69 (twice), 73, 75, 99, 115 (twice), 133 (twice), 143, 153 (three times), 155, 159, 201, 203, 207; while only six passages omit it, namely, on pages 11, 17, 19, 73, 111, 151.

In Caxton this is no longer the case. There is not one instance of the group (*a*) in *Blanchardyn;* and in *Aymon* they are not very numerous. *See* 'Personal Pronoun.'

(*b*) The correlative is the object (direct or indirect) of the sentence; then, as a rule, it is in the nominative case, and the redundant personal pronoun is either in the genitive (his, her, their) or dative (accusative) case:—

Alle synfulle men þe heued-synnes don habbeð, and nelleð þerof no shrift nimen he bihat *hem* eche fur on helle, *O. E. Hom.* II. 41; alle þo þe here synnen forleteð and beteð he heleð *here* synwunden mid fulcnege, *ibid.;* þat (Harleian MS. þei þat) etys me ȝitt hungres thaym, and þey þat drinkes me ȝitt þristes *thaym.* Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 3.

In Caxton, (*b*) is apparently the rule:—

The rayson wherby I so say, I shall show *it* unto you, *Blanchardyn*, 53/9, 67/30 (quoted above); but this that I haue tofore wryton, I haue taken *it* oute of an autentyke book, *Charles*, 38/24; he perceyued a right myghty nauye, wherof *they* that were come upon lande, he sawe *hem* in grete nombre, *ibid.* 162/3; that whiche I haue done in this behalue, I haue donn *it* for the beste, 185/19; *they* that were about hym rebell, he dompted and subdewed *them*, 196/15; very instructive instances, *ibid.* 215; *he* that deyeth in fleyinge, *his* soule shall neuer be saued, *Aymon*, 232/26; but the sorou that the kyng made for his quene, *that* myghte no man telle.—Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 274/34.

I found but a few instances of modern construction:—

And *them that* ben poure and caste doun, maketh she oftymes to ryse and mounte from certaynte to Incertaynte, *Curial*, 6/13; and *them that* were hurte, he lete the surgyens doo heale their woundes, Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 174/13.

There is one instance in Malory in which—if Caxton or his compositor did not introduce a first *gaf* not in the author's copy—both the old and modern uses are mixed in one: 'Thenne the kyng stablysshed all his knyghtes and [*gaf*] *them* that were of londes not ryche, *he gaf them* londes . . .' *Morte Darthur*, 118/13. Malory (if the first *gaf* was his) began with the modern construction: 'and gaf them that were of londes not ryche (londes),' but in the second half of the sentence he found it would be quite confusing and impossible to add 'londes' only to his long adjective 'that were of londes not ryche,' and he therefore repeated the words which governed 'londes,' the old use suggesting itself to his memory as a justification for his cumbrousness. This use occurs very often in Berners:—

The londe *that* they hold, gyue *it* to Charlot your sone, *Huon*, 5/13; with my sworde I so defendyd me, that *he* that thought to haue slayne me, I haue slayne *hym*, 27/5, 6; he that lieth there deed before you, I slew him in my defence, 34/11; *all the mete that* he could get in the towne, he shuld by *it*, 84/33.

(III.) *The relative sentence precedes its correlative.*

'*who* had seen hym at that tyme, *he* wold not haue trowed that he had be a man mortal,' *Blanchardyn*, 194/21. The use of the personal pronoun in the correlative is the same as in type II.

In the *Ayenbite* the pronoun is the rule, just as in the French Original (qui-il, quiconque-il); quite exceptionally it is omitted, *e. g.* 'huo þet wyle lede guod lif; zeche þet he habbe þet zoþe guod,' p. 94 (omitted also in the Original). In the *Gesta Romanorum*, too, it is always to be met with:—

who that euer comith thedir, *he* shall fare wele, p. 15; who so euer wold come to that feste, *he* sholde haue his doughter, p. 87; who so euer gote therby to the holy londe, *he* shall in pes go, p. 106; who so euer wolde rin with his dowter, *he* shulde wed her, p. 122; who so euer gothe with her to bedde, *he* shall anon falle in to a dede sleep, p. 160; who so euer bere it upon him, *he* shal haue loue of al men, p. 180; whosoeuer haue hit, *he* shall euermore joy, p. 286.

CAXTON. *Blanchardyn*, 194/21 (quoted above); whosoeuer rekeneth withoute his hoste, *he* rekeneth twys for ones, 202/6; who that was that day yrought of hym, *his* dayes were fynyshed, 169/4;—*Aymon*, 222/12, 269/18. *See* above, p. xl.

Malory, *Morte Darthur*. *Who that* holdeth against it, we wylle slee *him*, 43/29, 30; *who* saith nay, *he* shal be kyng, 45/23; whosomeuer is hurte with this blade, *he* shalle neuer be staunched, 176/35; who that may first mete ony of these two knyghtes, *they* sholde torne hem unto Morgan le fays castel, 378/23.

The same use occurs in the 16th century as well:—

Whosoeuer that hath not seene the noble citie of Venis, *he* hath not seene the bewyte and ryches of thys worlde, *Andrew Boorde*, p. 181; whosoeuer wil buylde a mancyon place or a house, *he* must sytuate . . . p. 233. Cf. pp. 236, 238, 242.

Shakspere has often *what—it*:—

What our contempt doth often hurl from us, We wish *it* ours again, *Antony*, I. ii. 127; *what* you have spoke, *it* may be so perchance, *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 11.

(*C.*) *Attraction* is to be observed in *that* = that which:—

Paynem, upon *that* thou me demaundest, I telle to thee . . . *Charles the Grete*, 54/17; Olyuer answered that he wold not, and *that* he sayd was folye, *ibid.* 56/35. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 74/12, 91/7; *Morte Darthur*, 257/31.

Stronger attractions occur in *Blanchardyn*:—

Blanchardyn, sore angry and euyl apayde of *that* he sawe the entrewe knyghte to endure so longe . . . = 'of that which,' 28/13; and wyth theym was the kynge of fryse, that of new had cast doune to the grounde [him] *that* bare the chief standarde of kyng Alymodes, 195/8. *that* = him who.

(*D.*) Omission of the Relative.

The omission of the relative is very common in the 15th and 16th centuries, after *there is*, *there is not* (no):—

There is no man in the world can compare to him, *Charles*, 54/19; yet there were some of the grete lordes had indignation that Arthur shold be kynge, *Morte Darthur*, 43/14; there was none dyd so wel as he that day, *ibid.* 50/12; there was so fewe a felauship dyd suche dedes, 53/33; there was no man myghte passe them, 59/20. Cf. 59/28, 61/17, 68/24, 146/38, 212/4, 222/33, 238/28, etc.

There are many instances of this omission in Berners and in Elizabethan writers:—

Here be two of my nephese shall be pledge for me, *Huon*, 37/21; among them there was one was not content, *ibid.* 73/16; there is no man shal let me, 97/7. Cf. 113/25, 115/32, 122/17, 146/1, 238/30, 249/28, 296/16, 299/8, 440/16. For Shakspere, *see* Abbott, § 244; and *Anglia*, III., p. 115 ff.

Beside the omission after *there is*, several striking instances occur in *Blanchardyn* and *Morte Darthur*. It is impossible to account for this use without entering into a discussion of the whole matter; so I beg the reader to be satisfied for the time with a simple report of the facts:—

Whan blanchardyn understode [that] the knyght thus went thretenyng hym, and that [he] so moche inhumaynly entreated the gentyll pucelle, [he] sayde unto hym, 27/10. Cf. [he] sawe syr Alysander was assoted upon his lady,[1] *Morte Darthur*, 477/12; thou suffrest now thyn enmyes to sette thy land al on a fyre, and wymmen and children to be slayn of them, [that] are comen ferre wythin thy royaulme, *Blanchardyn*, 101/27; haue pyte and compassyon upon thys pore chylde, whiche is now al alone amonge wolves famyshed, [that] be redy to devour me, *ibid.* 180/22.

In a chirche they found one was fair and riche, *Morte Darthur*, 84/5; I shall sende hym a gyfte shalle please hym moche more, 101/2; where is the lady shold mete us here? 146/15; he mette with a man was lyke a foster, 184/29; and thenne was he ware of a faucon came fleynge ouer his hede, 208/11; but thou shalt see a syght shal make the torne ageyne, 219/35; ryght soone ther shal mete a knyght shal paye the alle thy wages, 228/11; by the feythe we owe unto god, 233/8; I wil wel with this he make her amendys of al the trespas he hath done ageynst her, 240/29; for the good lordship ye shewed me, 305/14; that is the grettest payne a prysoner may haue, 400/4.

§ 16. *The Indefinite Pronouns.*

The modern English *one* = people = French *on*, German *man*, does not occur in Caxton. Its place is still occupied by *men*.

And that by his behauoure and contenaunce, *men* might well knowe that he was departed and come of noble extraction, *Blanchardyn*, 50/16; *men* see atte ey his beaulte, 54/33; (she) cam toward a wyndowe, out of whiche *men* sawe right ferre into the see, 55/32. Cf. 57/7, 68/24, 76/28, 80/7, 99/1, 116/11, 129/7.

From the passages 54/33, and 129/7, we see that 'men' was followed by a predicate in the plural. Cf. 'men make often a rodde for theym selfe,' *Aymon*, 97/11. There is one instance of 'man':—

[1] The omission of the relative here is still good English.

A man told me in the castel of four stones, that ye were delyuered, and that *man* had sene you in the court of kynge Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 83/4.

Everiche is equivalent to the modern 'everybody':—

Eueryche (went) in to his owne countrey, *Aymon*, 186/16; to do *eueriche* Iustice and reson, *Charles*, 30/15; there came a byrde to his ere in the presence of *everiche* that *were* aboute hym, *ibid.* 34/3; in a plural sense = all.

THE VERB.

§ 17. *Impersonal Verbs.*

(*A.*) The Impersonal Verbs denoting natural or else external events, as raining, thundering, freezing, etc., have remained the same, with regard to their syntactical use, from Old English down to modern times. We say still: it rains (O. E. hit rīnð), it thunders (O. E. hit þunrað), it freezes (O. E. hit freóseð), it[1] happens that, &c. (O. E. hit gelimpeð), etc.

But those Verbs which express states or actions of the human mind have undergone an important change. As stated above (*see* p. xi, 'Nominative Case'), many once Impersonal Verbs became personal, and we have now but a few instances of such verbs as 'it[1] seems to me, it[1] pleases me.'

In Caxton we see this tendency at work, but the change from impersonal to personal verbs is far from being complete. Here is an alphabetical list of the impersonal verbs in Caxton and Malory; those used personally, too, are marked with * :—

**ail*, Middle English *eilen*, impersonal, and so it is in Caxton. 'Ha broder, what yelleth you?' *Aymon*, 226/26; what eyleth you, fayr cosyns, that ye make so euyll chere? *ibid.* 322/1.

Once personal. And when the duchesse sawe him, she began to wepe full sore; and the duke knewe wel what *she eylede* (Original: yeelde), *Aymon*, 66/2.

**be better.* 'Me were better' is the rule, but there is an instance of the personal use. 'A, foole, said she, *thou* were better flee by tymes,' *Morte Darthur*, 228/33.

forthynke (cf. rewe, repent), to repent. Middle English only impersonal, *see* Stratmann, *s. v.* There are exceptions in the *Ayenbite* (pp. 5, 29), but there Dan Michel apparently copied too faithfully his French original.

[1] This *it* is a false subject, to throw the true subject after the verb.

Caxton does not use the word, which he replaces by 'rewe' and 'repent'; but there are several instances in *Morte Darthur:* '*Me forthynketh* of your displeasyr,' 97/32; 'that me forthynketh,' 82/2. Cf. 324/17.

**hap* = *happen*, generally impersonal as in Middle English. Once personal in *Morte Darthur:* 'And so *he* happed upon a daye he came to the herd men' . . . 369/20. Einenkel quotes an earlier instance from the Life of saynt Elisabeth, Wülcker's *Lesebuch*, II., p. 15: 'For who . . . In that holy iurne happe for to deye . . . he goth a siker weye To heuenwarde.'

**be leuer*, generally impersonal (Caxton, however, prefers 'have leuer.' Cf. *Aymon*, 37/17, 148/12); but there is apparently the beginning of the personal construction in the following mixed expression: 'Ha, false and renyed strompet, *I were me leuer ded*, than that I sholde byleue nor doo thi cursed counseyll,' *Blanchardyn*, 185/32. It is composed out of the two constructions struggling one with another in the author's mind. Similar absurdities occur in *Chaucer: Him hadde wel leever* . . . That she hadde a ship, II. 109; Him lever had himselfe to mordre and dye, V. 323. See *Einenkel*, p. 112; Zupitza, note to *Guy*, l. 5077.

Like is still impersonal. (Caxton prefers *please.*) 'Sir, like it you (may it like, that is, please you) that we have doon,' *Aymon*, 568/25; me lyketh better the swerd, sayd Arthur: Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 74/3; I assente, sayd the kynge, lyke as ye haue deuysed, and at crystmas there to be crowned, and to holde my round table with my knyghtes *as me lyketh*, ibid. 182/10. Cf. 222/10, 230/8. I don't notice any instance of personal use in Caxton; but there is one as early as 1440: 'Here me, and þou shalt like it for euer,' *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 281.

Like is used impersonally (and intransitively) in Elizabethan authors:

> 'Therefore 'tis best, if so *it like* you all,
> To send my thousand horse incontinent.'
>
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, l. 51.

> 'And I'll dispose them as *it likes* me best.' *ibid.* 3839.

Cf. Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, p. 159, *a.*; Greene, *James IV.*, p. 202, *a.*; *George-a-Greene*, p. 260, *a.*

**list*, used both personally and impersonally.

Impersonal. Whan the kynge hath dyned, who that wyl may goo playe *where hym lyste*,—*Charles the Grete*, 118/11; Breuse was so wel horsed, that *whan hym lyst* to flee, he myght wel flee, and also abyde whan *hym lyst*,—*Morte Darthur*, 398/8, 9. Cf. 245/8, 256/4.

Personal. Ye shall now here and understande from the hens fourthon a terryble and a pyteous songe, yf *ye* therafter *liste* to herken, *Aymon*, 59/7; ye shall understonde, yf ye liste to herken, *ibid.* 90/21.

There are two instances of the personal use in *Chaucer*. For he to vertu listeth not entende, III. 1; As doon this fooles that hire sorw eche with sorowe . . . and listen nought to seche hem oother cure, IV. 136.

**ben loth.* *Impersonal.* I wold well kepe me, and *be loth* for to denounce thynge unto you that shulde tourne you to a displeasure, *Blanchardyn*, 76/17; that *is me loth*, said the knyght, *Morte Darthur*, 69/24.

Personal. I knowe thou arte a good knyghte, and loth I were to slee thee, *Morte Darthur*, 203/17; therfor ony of hem will be loth to haue adoo with other . . . *ibid.* 279/2; I am ful loth to haue adoo with that knyght, *ibid.* 383/22.

There is an instance of the personal use in *Chaucer*. 'My soverayn lady . . . Whom I most drede and love, as I best can, and lothest were of all this world displese,' 111/19. But perhaps this use may be traced back to as early as the *Cursor Mundi*. One line shows the state of transition between the impersonal and personal. 'Of chastite *has* lichour leth' (loath), l. 31, Cotton MS. The Fairfax MS. reads: 'of chastite *ys* licchour loþ.' Göttingen and Trinity MSS. read: 'of chastite has lecchour lite.'

In another line, *loth* seems to be used quite personally: (these names) *þat lath er* for to lie in rim, 9240, MSS. C. F. T.

**myster* = need, be in need of; avail.

Impersonal. lady moder, gramercy of so fayre a yefte as here is, For *it mystreth me* wel, *Aymon*, 129/14; borgons, thys worde mystre not to you for to saye, for ye must nedes defende yourselfe, *ibid.* 141/5; what mystreth hym (to Aeneas) to edifie cartage, and enhabyte emonge his enmies . . . *Eneydos*, 62/13.

Personal. Wherefore I mystered gretly of thayde and socours of you and of other, *Blanchardyn*, 77/33. (Of your helpe I had grete myster, *Morte Darthur*, 224/34. Cf. 59/5.)

need seems to be used only impersonally by Caxton and Malory. It needeth not to be doubted that he is come to his extremite of prowes and valyauntnes, *Blanchardyn*, 72/17; it nedeth not to be asked, yf he was therof gladde, *ibid.* 101/4; it nede not to you to make eny sorowe, *ibid.* 278/15. Cf. *Aymon*, 167/7, 490/6; *Morte Darthur*, 278/15. Often used so by Spenser:

Now needeth him no lenger labour spend, His foes have slain themselves.—*Faerie Queene*, I. i. 26; Him needed not long call, *ibid.* II. vi. 19; Me little needed from my right way to have strayed, II. vi. 22. Also by Shakspere, 3 *Henry VI.*, I. iv. 125; *Venus*, 250.

owe = behove. Alas, said sir Lamorak, ful wel *me ought* to knowe you, for ye are the man that most haue done for me, *Morte Darthur*, 337/24. Cf. *Chaucer*, II. 313: and ther she was honoured as hir oughte; *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 215: (she) mette him as hir owte to do.

please only impersonal. It playse me wel, *Aymon*, 75/8. Cf. 29/25, 159/28, 226/22, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 198/3, etc.

**repent.*

Impersonal. Yf ye abide here ony lenger, it shall repente you full sore, *Aymon*, 472/30; Me sore repenteth it, said sir gauayn, *Morte Darthur*, 107/27; that me repenteth, sayd syr Turquyne, *ibid.* 185/25.

Personal. Wherof I me repente sore, *Aymon*, 38/21; I truste in god myn eure is not suche but some neuer of them may sore repente thys, *Morte Darthur*, 59/7; I repente me, *ibid.* 469/23.

rew, impersonal. That rewyth me, sayd the provost, *Blanchardyn*, 156/10.

**seem* not only means 'appear,' but also 'think, believe,' as in Old English, when used personally. There are two passages in *Blanchardyn* which can be interpreted in this way: '*To my seming* ye sholde forclose and take awaye out of your herte all inutyle sorowfulnesse,' 53/5; 'I am sure that he hath in his house a rote that, as to my semyng shal gyf me help,' 70/17; *Me semeth* him a servaunt nothing able, *Courtesye*, l. 455.

There are two passages in the *E. E. Wills* which sanction this interpretation: 'like as mine executours seme best,' 79/21; and still more indisputable: 'as *they seme* that gode ys,' 111/26.

shame, only impersonal.

'Me shamed at that tyme to haue more adoo wyth you,' *Morte Darthur*, 332/5; 'for me shameth of that I haue done,' 324/6.

In Middle English it is impersonal and personal; cf. Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*: '*I* knewe myn own pouert, and *schamede* and dradde,' I., p. 11. Cf. I., p. 9: '*me schamed* and dradde to fynde so grete and so gostliche a bone to graunte.'

thynken = seem, always impersonal. *Charles*, 55/11; *Aymon*, 410/30; *Morte Darthur*, 65/9, etc.

(*B.*) There is another sort of Impersonal Verbs, which denote neither external events nor actions of the mind. These are the verbs *reherce*, *show*, *tell*, occurring in Malory, as in Middle English, without any subject. The context proves that we have to supply 'the author,' 'the book,' though sometimes we find 'in the booke':—

After they were wedded, as it telleth in the booke, *Morte Darthur*, 63/18; as it telleth after, 63/35; as it telleth in the book of aventures folowynge, 64/31; as *it reherceth* after in the book of Balyn le saueage, that foloweth next after, 75/17; as it telleth after in the sangraylle, 91/27; as it reherceth afore, 105/11. I found only one instance in Caxton. The heading of chapter xvii. of *Aymon* runs as follows:—*Here sheweth* how reynawde faught agenst rowland, the whiche he conquered by the wyll of God, etc., 389/12.

This is an old Middle English use :—

Ase *hit seiȝ* þer = as is said there, *i. e.* in the salutations, *Ancren Riwle*, p. 34 ; hi scule habben þat brad þe *seiȝ* iþe godspel (which is spoken of in the gospel), *O. E. Hom.*, I. 241 ; so it her telleȝ, *Bestiary* (in *O. E. Miscellany*), l. 257. Cf. l. 630. (There is another explanation in Grimm, IV. 53.)

(*C.*) There is often a striking want of inflexion in the Impersonal Verbs, especially in *thynk* = seem :—

Bote ne *þinche* ham nawt ȝet þat he is ful pinet (but it seems to them that he is not yet fully tormented).—þe wohunge of ure Lauerd, *O. E. Hom.*, I. p. 283. In the *Cursor Mundi*, me *thinc* is the rule! Cf. 225, 248, 2224, 2941, 3030, 5192, 5863, 6670, etc. ; otherwise as hem thenk*e*, *E. E. Wills*, 124/10 ; as it *please* the seid Denys, *Bury Wills*, p. 46 ; as them best *seme* to doon, *E. E. Wills*, 86/4. In *Caxton*—Me thynk*e* that ye ought to take that the erle proffereth to you, *Aymon*, 410/30 ; It playse me well, sayd the kynge, *ibid.* 75/8 ; thys worde mystre not for you to saye, *ibid.* 141/5. *Lyst* is nearly always without *s*. *See* above.

I suppose that this want of inflection is due to the analogy of the frequent *me lyst*, which is the regular Old English form. Cf. fæst (inf. fæstan), grét (inf. grétan). Sievers, *A. S. Grammar*, § 359/3.

§ 18. *Intransitive, transitive, and reflexive verbs.*

It is an unparalleld freedom of the English language to use the same verb in an intransitive, transitive, or causative, and reflexive sense, *e. g.* change, mend. Many causes have concurred in bringing about this remarkable and most valuable peculiarity. There is a faint germ of it in Old English, *e. g. bidan*, to abide (dwell and wait for), intransitive and transitive ; *féran*, go and carry ; *gesamnian*, to gather, reflexive and causative. It grows in Modern English, e. g. *drive*, used intransitively, *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 1, 15 ; *fill*(en), Intr. *O. E. Hom.*, II. 37 ; *sink*(en), causative, *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 1108 ; *leren* = to learn, *ibid.* 354, 1383, 3486 ; *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 4, 11 ; *understand* = to teach, *ibid.* p. 52 ; *kelen* = to become cold.—Trevisa, *Polychr.* I. 177, etc.

It becomes ripe in the Elizabethan time, when nearly every verb is used in all the three senses.

Caxton exhibits several instances, which show that the development towards the Modern use was nearly complete :—

Cease, used as a causative. Soo pray I you that ye wyl *cesse* your grete sorowe, *Blanchardyn*, 44/2 ; (I beseche you) that ye wyll *ceasse* your sorowe, *ibid.* 53/27.

Learn = teach. She was not *lernyd* to receyue suche geestes, *Blanchardyn*, 67/29. Cf. 141/4.

Malory, too, has several instances of this use :—

I shalle be your rescowe, and *lerne* hym to be ruled as a knyghte, *Morte Darthur*, 197/10 ; who dyde lerne thee to dystresse ladyes and gentylwymmen, *ibid.* 197/17. Cf. 285/33, 333/23. Shakspere, *Othello*, I. iii. 183 : My life and education both do *learn* me How to respect you.

Lose, causative = ruin. But through fortune chaungeable, my lande hath he wasted and *lost* by darius, *Blanchardyn*, 146/5 ; *Morte Darthur*, 82/21.

Possess, causative. When he had gyuen to me my lande, and *possessed* me in my contrey, I wold not accept it, *Charles*, 147/16.

Succombe, causative = subdue. In their folysshe pryde I shal *succombe* and brynge a lowe their corage, *Blanchardyn*, 104/30. The original has : 'Et de la folle entre prinse qu ilz ont faicte pour l'orgueil et oultrage qui les ensuient contre vous vouldroy *abaissier* leur couraige follastre.'

Sit. There is a passage in *Aymon* where *sit* is used as a causative = set ; but there seems to be only one instance of this use, and that makes me suspect a misprint. And he *sat* al his folk in a bushment within a grete wode, 136/18. I never came across this use of *sit* in older English, but several passages in *Melusine*, and the free modern *sit*, as a reflexive or causal, come very near to it. And she thanne wepynge *satte* herself by hym, *Melusine*, 157/2 ; [they] sate themself at dyner, *ibid.* 157/20 ; 'Whatever he did, he was constantly *sitting himself* down in his chair, and never stopping in it.'—Dickens, *Chimes*, 66 ; '*sitting himself* down on the very edge of the chair,' *Pickwick*, II. 356. *See* Storm, *English Philology, Colloquial English.*

Tarry is used as an intransitive, reflexive, and causative verb.

(*a*) but not long *hit taryed*, when tolde and recounted was . . . *Blanchardyn*, 19/17.

(*b*) the knyght there alone *taryed himself*,—*Blanchardyn*, 22/20. Cf. 88/3.

(*c*) other Infynyte thynges that are wont to *tarye* the corages of some enterpryses, *Blanchardyn*, 17/11 ; here we shal tarye tyl oure penne, *ibid.* 182/11.

Walop, causatively. But Blanchardyn wyth a glad chere *waloped* his courser as bruyauntly as he coude . . . = made to gallop, *Blanchardyn*, 42/5. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, 176/5 : and anon he was ware of a man armed *walkynge* his horse easyly by a wodes syde. (Both as in Modern English.)

There are a few verbs used reflexively, which seem to be mere translations of the French.

The whiche, when he sawe Blanchardyn, anone *escryed hymself* hyghe . . . *Blanchardyn*, 32/15; I haue not *perceyued me* of this that ye telle me, *ibid.* 17/15 (Original: je ne me suis pas perceu de . . .); I *perceyue me* well, *Aymon*, 229/15; after this he *toke hym self* to syghe full sore = he began, *Blanchardyn*, 23/16; yet sholde I neuer *consent me* to noo peas, *Aymon*, 409/23; I *assente me*, said Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 71/13; I assente me therto, *ibid.* 340/6.

At last, it is worth noting that a passive construction is sometimes used with the meaning of a reflexive (or intransitive):—

Here we shal leue to speke of her, and shal retourne to speke of Blanchardyn, that in the provostis house *was sette* atte dyner, *Blanchardyn*, 82/22; they wysshe their handes, ant *were sette* at dyner, *Aymon*, 38/8; now *was set* Berthelot and the worthi reynawde for to playe at the ches, *ibid.* 61/21; I pray you that ye wyl telle me in what region and what marche it (*i. e.* the city) *is sette* = lies, *Blanchardyn*, 128/25. Cf. *Huon*, 117/32. This too seems to be due to the French.

§ 19. *Auxiliary Verbs.*

(*a*) The verbs *can*, *may*, *will* are still complete.

1. be able to: How shall I *conne* doo soo moche, that I maye avenge myselfe of Charlemagne, *Aymon*, 61/9; full fayne [she] wolde haue putte therunto a remedy yf by any meanes she *had conde*,—*Blanchardyn*, 97/4.

2. with the meaning = to learn: 'Syre monke, in the deuylles name, *conne* ye well your lesson,' *ibid.* 282/23.

3. The phrase 'I conne you thanke' (French: *savoir grê*): I conne you grete thanke of the offre that now ye haue doon to me, *Aymon*, 30/34, and 70/32.

The infinitive of *may* is *may*, or the more frequent and correct *mowe* (*Old English*, múgan). In *Blanchardyn* there is only 1 *may* against 12 *mowe*.

I pray you that ye wyl doo the beste that ye *shal may* toward the kynge, 91/10; As ye shall *mowe* here hereafter, 14/8; by what manere he sholde *mowe* passe it over, 32/7, 38/14, 43/14, 46/31, 54/28, 68/5, 73/25, 78/2, 101/34, 151/6, 173/33.

Mowe occurs twice as a past participle in *Blanchardyn*. And wherby ye *haue mowe* knowen by the relacion of your captayne . . .

53/13; by all the seruyces and pleasures that I *haue mowe* doon unto you, 53/23.

It is to be thought that he *shall wyl* giue hym one of his doughters in mariage, *Blanchardyn*, 64/25.

Will. I am at a loss how to explain *wold* = be willing,[1] in the following passage: 'from þe owr that ye shal *wold* gyue your loue unto kynge Alymodes, the right happy weal of peas shall be publysshed through alle cuntreye,' *Blanchardyn*, 69/19. Well he *had wold*[2] that they myght be met wythall, *ibid.* 121/17.

Perhaps the past participle has influenced the infinitive, as in the verbs of Latin origin, like 'mitigate, participate,' etc.

(*b*) *Have* often means = lead, take, bring. (The ladyes) toke her up anone, and *had* her to bedde, *Blanchardyn*, 96/20; (Subyon) toke her by the hande, and *had* her up fro the grounde, *ibid.* 177/32, 181/17, 183/2, 189/30; *Aymon*, 92/14, 525/9, 536/10, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 486/17.

(*c*) *May* is equivalent to *can;* they are sometimes used together tautologically. 'The gretest honoure that man *can or may* do to a knyght.'—*Blanchardyn*, 66/10.

(*d*) *do* is used to give the verb which it precedes a causative meaning. I shal *doo passe* this same spyere throughe the myddes of thy body, *Blanchardyn*, 27/17; I shal *doo* folow hym = I shall cause him to be followed, *ibid.* 44/10 (Original: 'Ie le ferai Sieuir'), 112/7, 120/25, 126/28, 137/21, 148/3, 157/12, 186/4, 187/23, 190/3, 200/31. So in Malory. Compare 'make' in § 25 below.

(*e*) *do* used redundantly, as *can or gan* in Middle English. I tried in vain to find out a rule in Caxton for using or omitting this troublesome 'auxiliary.' There are 95 instances of this *do* in *Blanchardyn.*

(*f*) *Come* is once used as an auxiliary, as in French, and probably in obedience to it: 'She called hym nyghe her, and shewed hym the ryght myghty nauye that *cam* to arryue there' = which had just arrived (venoit d'arriver), *Blanchardyn*, 153/35.

(*g*) For *owe*, see 'Impersonal Verbs.'

(*h*) For the use of *shall* and *will*, in order to mark tense and mood, *see* 'Tense' and 'Mood.'

§ 20. *Voice.*

The peculiarity of forming the passive voice from intransitive verbs, which is characteristic of the English language, or rather the

[1] Dr. Furnivall says it is the past participle 'have been willing to,' 'have consented to.'

[2] Past part. wisht, been willing.

conversion of what is the object of a verb into the subject (he was given a book), is, so far as I am aware, not to be met with in Caxton, and I found only one instance in Malory. Cf. the following instances:—

As was tolde hym by the knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 43/1; all that was told hym, *ibid.* 196/20; and whan it was told the kynges that there were come messagers, *Morte Darthur*, 48/27; whan hit was told hym that she asked his hede, *ibid.* 79/25, 327/35;—he departed and came to his lord and told hym how *he was answerd* of sir Trystram, *ibid.* 463/5.

This rigid observation of the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs, with regard to the passive voice, is very strange at the end of the 15th century, as there are instances of the modern freedom as early as the beginning of the 13th century.

Koch quotes one instance from *Layamon:* 'þat *we* beon iquemed,' 1/40; and another from *Robert of Gloucester:* '*ycham* ytold,' 5514.

But I find the passive construction even with the direct and indirect object:—

'Nes among al moncun oni holi dole ifunden *þet* muhte beon ileten blod,' *Ancren Riwle*, 112; *þet* is scarcely the dative; nor is Ure Lauerd in 'Ure Lauerd beo iðonked,' *ibid.* 8, where MS. C has: 'beo *hit* þonked,' for another passage, on p. 112, is indisputable: 'þe *he* was þus ileten blod.'[1]

CHAUCER. I may you devyse how that *I* may be *holpe*, III. 11; I am commaundid, II. 294; ye schal be payd, III. 17; Thembassatours ben answerde for fynal, IV. 306.

Chaucer offers no example of the passive with a double object, but I find one in Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 5: 'I fand Jesus bowndene, scourgede, *gyffene galle to drynke*.'

Perhaps we may see in Caxton's apparent dislike of this construction, a sort of negative influence of the French.

§ 21. There are verbal forms which, in Old English, were indifferent with regard to voice. These were the infinitive, the verbal noun (-ung, -ing), and sometimes the participle past, when used adjectively.

[1] *Einenkel* was somewhat rash in saying, with regard to this use, that in Chaucer's time this revolution had just began, and that we must look upon these instances as mere irregularities and licences, p. 110.

In Middle English there is a faint beginning of creating new passive constructions of the infinitive and gerund by means of the auxiliary *be;* but before the Elizabethan age the modern use of the passive infinitive and gerund is not complete.

In Caxton there is a distinct tendency towards the modern use, but still the active constructions prevail. The Infinitive, Gerund, and Participle will be dealt with in their proper place; here a few instances will suffice :—

He made *the toun sawte* ofte tymes ful sore = to be assaulted, *Blanchardyn*, 152/4; after that greuouse sorowe that she hath had of my *takynge*, *ibid.* 148/32; (he) was *remembred* of it always, *ibid.* 31/7; he was ryght sore merueylled, *ibid.* 139/16.

§ 22. *Tense.*

(*a*) Sometimes the Present Tense occurs instead of the Preterite (Præsens historicum) :—

And then he *taketh* him bytwene his armes, and kisse*th* hym by grete loue; and whan he *had* doon thus, he say*d* . . . *Aymon*, 78/12; all they[m] of theyr companye arayed themselfe, and yssued oute of the castell . . . and soo *go* upon the oost of Charlemagne, *ibid.* 78/25; but Reynawde the worthy knyght *is* not abasshed, but he *taketh* all his folke, and setteth theym afore hym, and say*d* to his brother Alarde, *ibid.* 101/12.

(*b*) The Present used instead of the Future is very rare :—

'To morwe erly, whan we *see* houre and tyme goode, and alle redy, we shal do sowne oure trompetter,' *Blanchardyn*, 157/11.

(*c*) The Preterite is used in the narrative; but sometimes the Perfect alternates with it, often even in the same sentence :—

Charlemain is come to the frensshe men, and commaunded theym for to wythdrawe theym selfe, *Aymon*, 84/7, 8; Reynawde and his bredern are goon upon the walles, and loked about theym, and sawe that the bassecourte of the castell brenned there as their wytaylles were, *ibid.* 98/1, 2; Sir Bleoberis ouerthrewe hym, and sore hath wounded hym, *Morte Darthur*, 296/32.

This use crops up pretty often in Middle English epic poetry. Cf. *Story of Genesis and Exodus* :—

'Wiþ wines drinc he wenten is þhogt,
So þat he haueð þe dede wrogt. 1149, 1150;
Symeon and leui it bi-speken,
And hauen here sister þor i-wreken.' 1855, 1856, 2043, 2101, 2312, 2609, 2622, 3746, 3798, 3956.

(*d*) The Preterite instead of the Past Perfect Tense is still very common in Caxton :—

(We) shall shewe the sorowes and the complayntes of the proude pucelle in amours, and the manyere that she kept after the kysse that blanchardyn toke of her, *Blanchardyn*, 43/8. And (the city) hym semed the most fayre and most riche cyte that euer he sawe, *ibid.* 45/17. Cf. 47/33, 57/29, 59/26, 66/15, 116/8, 128/34, 129/26, 145/12, 162/6, 185/6. Malory, *Morte Darthur*, 37/13, 49/2, 99/31, 150/25, 271/19, 313/14, 325/18, 337/7, 348/3.

(*e*) If what a person thinks, hopes, or tries does not agree with the facts, the verb containing the object of the verbs *think*, *believe*, *trow*, *fear*, *hope*, *try*, etc., appears, as a rule, in a tense anterior to that of those verbs, *e. g.* :—

The prouost and the other of the towne entred ayen in to the cyte, wenyng to them that Blanchardyn had be wyth them, but he was not, *Blanchardyn*, 88/8.

1. for they were bothe fal in swone, so that no lyf coude be perceued in theire bodyes, but trowed all they that were present that they had be bothe deed, *Blanchardyn*, 20/2 ; as they sholde neuer haue seen eche other, they toke leue one of other, 94/5 ; for well he wend that he sholde neuyr haue seen ayen her, 95/30 ; but the prouost . . . trowed that he (Blanchardyn) had ben a sarrasyne as other were, 128/10 ; they were constreyned to enter into the brode see agayne, lest they sholde haue smytten hemself agrounde, 136/13. (She) was in a grete feer lest he had ben drowned in the grete tempest, 152/14 ; she was right glad, wenyng to her that it had be Sadoyne, 183/13 ; and thenne sir launcelot wold haue yeuen hym alle these fortresses and these brydges, *Morte Darthur*, 352/4. Cf. *ibid.* 368/35, 369/30, 392/29, etc.

2. The infinitive of the perfect, instead of the present tense, after such verbs is (with a very few exceptions) strictly observed :—

He wende to haue tourned the brydell of his horsse, *Blanchardyn*, 140/32 ; the cassydonyers had not syth the powere for to haue dressyd it (the standarde) vp ayen, 141/30 ; (the prouost) wend neuer to haue come tyme ynoughe there, 158/3 ; he wende to haue lost his wyttes, 186/33 ; he trowed certaynly to haue fynysshed hys dayes, 188/3. Cf. 107/11, 108/8, 113/22, 117/25, 136/22, 152/29, 166/8, 182/23, 184/2, 197/25, 203/9, 205/25, 205/31, 206/5 ; *Charles the Grete*, 133/1, 142/13, 143/15 ; *Aymon*, 60/2, 85/26, 101/28, 175/23, etc. ; *Morte Darthur*, 35/12, 37/15, 83/1, 83/6, etc.

Exceptions :—

(Alymodes) wythdrewe hym self in to his pauyllyon, commaundyng his folke that euery man shold loke to lodge hym self, trowyng to be in a sewrete that his enmyes as for that same day sholde not comen nomore out of their cyte (but they yssued out), *Blanchardyn*, 59/20; she shal neuer haue no parfytte Ioye at her herte, for loue of a knyght of whom she is enamored, whiche she weneth to be peryshed (but he was not), 155/3. Cf. 167/25, 185/14, 186/22, 186/27, 190/33; *Aymon*, 196/26, 231/11; *Morte Darthur*, 227/13, 248/3.

This use was continued in the 16th century :—

He fell to the erthe, wenyng he had been slayne, BERNERS, *Huon*, 29/25; (Huon) drew out his sword to defende hym selfe, thynkyng the beest wold haue assayled hym, 111/11; cf. 200/31, 291/2; with the infinitive, 11/17, 26/30, 27/3, 31/13, 40/9, 44/20, 62/15, 69/6, 90/5, 100/4, 108/4, 108/30, etc.; he was about in such familiar sort to have spoken to her, SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, p. 27; I was about to have told you my reason thereof, SPENSER, *Ireland*, p. 613; I hope to have kept, *ibid.* p. 620.

'Her scattered brood, soone as their Parent deare
They saw so rudely falling to the ground,
Groning full deadly, all with troublous feare,
Gathred themselves about her body round,
Weening their wonted entrance to have found
At her wide mouth.' SPENSER, *Faërie Queene*, I. i. 25.

'All cleane dismayd to see so uncouth sight,
And half enraged at her shamelesse guise,
He thought have slaine her in his fierce despight.' *ibid.* I. i. 50[5].
Cf. I. ii. 36[2]; I. ii. 39; I. iii. 5; I. iii. 24; I. iii. 41; I. v. 13; I. vi. 3; I. vi. 40; I. vii. 14, etc.

(*f*) With regard to the agreement between the tenses in principal sentences and clauses, the strictness of our modern rules, adopted from the Latin grammar, is still unknown, and, in particular, the Preterite in the principal sentence is often followed by the Present in the clause. This is due to a sort of anacoluthon. There is, as it were, a sudden transition from indirect to direct speech, which is indeed very common in Middle English, as well as in Caxton and Malory :—

(Blanchardyn) prayed hym that he vousshesauff to helpe hym that he were doubed knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 24/2 (Original: 'quil le aid*ast* a adouber de ses armes'); and whan she myght speke vnto her maystres that he that this Iniurye had doon to her what so euer he be, Yf he may come in her handes or in her power, noon shal

mowe saue hym, but he shal lese his hed for the same, 43/13; and *sayde* of a goode herte and a free wylle that he shal furnysshe Rubyon of his requeste, 83/3; Blanchardyn made grete sorowe and lamentacyon, wyshyng full often that he may yet see ones his lady, 97/17, 65/11, 69/19, 138/20, 185/7; (Charlemayne) sware god that he sholde neuer retorne in to fraunce but that Ryynawde were take; and that yf he maye haue hym, all the worlde shall not saue hym, *Aymon*, 73/16; (the kyng) badde hym be redy and stuffe hym and garnysshe hym, for within xl dayes he wold fetche hym oute of the byggest castell that he hath, *Morte Darthur*, 35/33; and there Dynadan told Palomydes all the tydynges that he herd and sawe of syre Tristram, and how he was gone with kynge Marke, and with hym he hath alle his wyll and desyre, *ibid.* 455/12.

§ 23. *Mood.*

Caxton's use of the Subjunctive is nearly modern; in the sentences, however, which express a wish, the *synthetic* use is remarkable. Instead of the modern '*may* god help me' there is 'so helpe me God'; instead of 'might it please God,' 'pleased God,' etc. This, however, is very common, and is continued in the poetry of even modern times. But there is another point worth noting. There are several instances of the Indicative instead of the Subjunctive Mood, which seem to suggest that the modern tendency of supplanting the Subjunctive may be traced back to Caxton's time, or still earlier.

1. Sentences expressing wish :—

I beseke and praye þe, in the worship of the goddes, that at tyme of nede, for the defense of my royalme, thou wylt uttir and shewe that which I see appiere with in þe, *Blanchardyn*, 104/22.

There are several instances of this use in *Huon* :—for I wyll thou knowy*st* she is the fairest mayde that is now lyuynge, 50/14; I wyll thou lay*est* unto me good hostages, 51/9; I wyll thou know*est* that ye shall all lose, 87/28; I doubte me *lest* he h*ath* slayne my sone Lohyer, *Aymon*, 30/17.

Please occurs in Elizabethan authors in the Indicative, when used in principal sentences expressing wish :—

Plea*seth* it you therefore to sit down to supper,—Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 28; plea*seth* you walk with me down to this house—Shakspere, *Errors*, IV. i. 12; plea*seth* you ponder your Supplicant's plaint—Spenser, *Sheph. Cal.*, February.

There seems to be one instance as early as 1360, *Sir Gawayne*

and the Green Knight, 2439: 'bot on I wolde yow pray, displeses yow neuer.'

2. Negative clauses:—

He began to ryde faste by the forest, in whiche he was bothe the daye and the nyght . . . wythout adventure to fynde that *doeth* to be recounted, *Blanchardyn*, 31/19 (original: qui a raconter *face*); wythout fyndyng of eny aduenture that *is* to be recounted, *ibid.* 127/7; it nedeth not to be doubted that he is comme to his extremite of prowes, wythout that amours *hath* ben the cause in the person of some hyghe a pryncesse, 72/19.

3. Conditional sentences:—

(*a*) The clause (introduced by *if*) appears sometimes in the Indicative:—

And yf thou wy*lt* not doo it . . . *Aymon*, 25/6; always yf he ha*th* trespassed ayenst you in ony manere, I am ryghte sory for hit, *ibid.* 30/28; now shall it be seen yf it *is* true or not, *ibid.* 325/3.

The Subjunctive appears in *Aymon*, 25/33, 26/1, etc.

(*b*) Sometimes the principal sentence following a conditional clause appears in the Indicative, though the latter expresses irreality:—

For a ryght gode knyght he *was*, yf he had been a crysten man, *Blanchardyn*, 86/13; for I *was* dysherited and undoon for euer, yf they had not been, *Aymon*, 159/6.

§ 24. *Imperative Mood.*

1. The Imperative is very often followed by the personal pronoun. Instances abound. Cf. p. xiii.

2. Here and there the imperative seems to be represented by the Indicative, as the arrangement of words suggests:—

But wel *ye knowe* that he was not hadde sore ferre from the kynge his fadre, *Blanchardyn*, 13/1 (original: sachiez); A, fayr damoysels, said Amand, *ye recommaunde* unto la Beale Isoude, *Morte Darthur*, 436/16.

This occurs very often in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, as in the *Cursor Mundi* (frequent):—

> 'Almigtin louerd, hegest kinge,
> *ȝu giue* me seli timinge.'—*Story*, 31.

'Adam, *ȝhu knowe* eue ȝin wif,' *ibid.* 397. Cf. 737, 1492, 2072.

The Oriel Text of the *Book of Curtesye* has one instance:—

'As ye be commandyd, so *ye do* algate.' 120.

Hill and Caxton have: 'so do ye algate.'

The Infinitive.

§ 25. *Active and Passive.*

While, as mentioned above, the Infinitive in Old English—as well as in the other Teutonic languages—was indifferent with regard to voice, the later periods of Middle English develope the passive on the same principle as Latin, and are probably modelled on that. Whenever there is an action without a subject to do it, we find the passive construction in Latin—*infinitivus passivi* and *participium passivi* (or rather *gerundium*), *e. g.* militem occidi iussit; credendum est. So far as I am aware both these constructions are translated in Old English, as well as in Middle English of the first centuries, by the simple infinitive. Instances abound:—

Þa hi þæt ne geþafodan, þa het he hi *beheafdian*,—Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 177 (Martyrology); þa heht se casere gesponnan fiower wildo hors to scride, *ibid.*; Eac is to geðencanne, *Cura pastoralis*, 53; denum eallum wæs . . . to geþolianne . . . oncyð, *Beowulf*, 1418; ne bið swylc cwénlic þeáw, idese to efnanne . . . þætte freoðu—webbe, *ibid.* 1941; we nu gehyrað þis halige godspel beforan us rædan, *Blickling Hom.* 15/28. Cf. 55/25, 107/26; hit is lang to areccene, *Wulfstan*, 7/12; seo menniscness is wundorlic ymbe to smeagenne, *ibid.* 15/14, 25/6, 27/1, 158/16, etc., etc.

Middle English:—

Nu ne þerf na mon his sunne mid wite abuggen but toward crist ane mid scrifte swa him his preost lered al swa his festen, þe swiðe ouer Rimet þes flesces wlongnesse and chuc (chirc?) ȝong and god to donne þeruore monie and feole oðre godere werke þe nu were long eou *to telle*,—*O. E. Hom.* I. 9; heo wes wurse to þolien þenne efreni of alle þa oþre pine, *ibid.* I. 43; hwet is us *to donne?*—*ibid.* I. 91; þan alden his to warniene wið uuele iþohtas, *ibid.* I. 109; II. 117, 139; þatt (sc. flocc) tœleþþ þatt *to lofenn* iss, *Ormulum*, 77; þeos (þinges) beoð alle ine freo wille *to donne* or *to leten*, *Ancren Riwle*, 8; leteð *writen* on one scrowe hwat se ȝe ne kunneð nout, *ibid.* 42.

'Ghe knew it for hire owen sune;
And quane it sulde sundred ben,
Ghe bar it teremuth for *to sen*.'
Story of Genesis and Exodus, 2628;

'Ðe bi-leuen *brennen* he bead.' *ibid.* 3154.

'O spuse-brek womman
þat þe Iuus dempt *to stan*.' *Cursor Mundi*, 186;

'worþie for to neuen.' *ibid.* 4056, 4420, 5634, 5678, 6364, 6718.

'And syn he best *to love is* and most meke.' *Chaucer*, V. 77;

'foul artow *to embrace*.' *ibid.* III. 93.

'But ay thay wondren what sche mighte be,
That in so pover array was for *to se*.' *ibid.* II. 310.

'His brest was hole withouten for *to sene*.' *ibid.* III. 13; 'it (sc. þe oost) is to dispyse (orig. spernendum est).' *Boethius*, p. 12.

þis emperour is *to undirstand* our Lord ihesu crist, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 22 (= by this emperour is understood, etc.); I wolle haue this childe, that thi wife has brought forthe this nyght, *to norisshe* in my palys, *ibid.* p. 208; sone the emperoure made letters *to send* to the empresse, *ibid.* p. 213; thenne she brought him out of þe prison, and *gerte bathe him*, *ibid.* p. 312.

The passive construction is rarely to be met with in the earliest Middle English texts. There are, however, numerous instances in the 14th century:—

Cursor Mundi (Cotton, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS.), 4856:

'þair siluer he tok and gaue þam corn
And to þair inne did it *be born*.'

Cf. 5004, 5080, 9098; worthy to be . . . *i-preysed* (= praeconiis attollendi), Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, I. 3; suche seruеþ and is good *to be knowe* of Cristen men, *ibid.* I. 17; that made hem gentil men *y-callid* be,—*Chaucer*, I. 240.

'And suffrith us . . .
ful ofte *to be bete* in sondry wise.' *ibid.* II. 314.

(Petrarch's Original, p. 170: et saepe nos multis ac gravibus flagellis *exerceri* sinit.)

In Caxton the old use is still very frequent, if it is not the prevailing one; and, to conclude from several instances, the passive construction was not quite familiar to him. The proportion between the instances of active and passive construction is in *Blanchardyn* 11 to 8.

(*a*) Governed by adjectives and answering to the Latin Supine.

Active.

The sore of loue is ryght anguyssous and heuy *forto bere*,—*Blanchardyn*, 68/23; lete vs not departe from hens for this is a goode place for *to deffende*, *Aymon*, 108/10; but the foure sones of Aymon were good *to knowe* by thother for they had on grete mauntelles of scarlet furred with ermynes, *ibid.* 224/8.

Passive.

(Subyon) tolde them . . . that he wold wedde the proude pucelle in amours, for many causes and raysons that were to long *to be reherced,—Blanchardyn*, 179/18; here shall you here of the hande hewyng, and of a thynge heuy *to be recounted,—Aymon*, 53/12; Reynawde and his bredern are suche knyghtes that they ben not *for to be* lightly *ouerthrowen*, *ibid.* 104/2; ye are gretly *to be blamed*, *ibid.* 234/6.

(*b*) Governed by verbs, especially by *do* and *make*, answering to the Latin *Infinitivus Passivi*. Caxton very often uses a redundant *do*, so that we find such awkward expressions as, 'he did do make.'

Active.

I shal doo *folow* hym (original: Ie le feray sieuir), *Blanchardyn*, 44/10; he made *to drawe vp* ancres, *ibid.* 111/13; they made *to take vp* the ancres and *to hale vp* their saylles, *ibid.* 127/2; he made the toun *sawte* ofte tymes, *ibid.* 152/4; Subyon domaged theym ryght sore, and their place, wyth their bombardes and other engynes of warre, that he had do *brynge* there, *ibid.* 200/31; but what so euer goode sporte and pleysure that blanchardyn sawe ther *make* for his sake nothyng coude playse hym, *ibid.* 110/11; very striking is *ibid.* 12/22: Blanchardyn was taken in to the handes of a right noble lady of the lande *for to norysshe* and *bryngen vp* (original: pour le nourir et esleuer). Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 208 (quoted above, p. lxii).

There is also both the active and passive construction governed by the same verb:—

Kyng Alymodes commaunded expressely to the mareshall of his ooste, that he shold doo make and to be sette vp a galhouse, *Blanchardyn*, 187/23; *Aymon*, 70/5, 73/30, 74/22, 78/14, 90/24, 96/21, 96/28, 129/4, 145/23, 147/21, etc.

Passive.

for he made *to be brought* vnto hym by his folke al suche armures and harneys as to hym behoued to haue, *Blanchardyn*, 47/19; (Blanchardyn) made hym *to be armed,—ibid*, 47/22; he made his trompetto *to be sowned*, *ibid.* 119/23; *Aymon*, 65/8, 66/14, 69/34, 73/23, 73/26, 74/13, 80/1, 80/21, 84/31, 87/1, 96/24, 101/22, 167/32, etc.; *Morte Darthur*, 37/1, 367/38, etc.

(*c*) Governed by the verb 'to be,' answering to the Latin Gerundium or Futurum Passivi:—

Active.

And where vpon is *to by-leue* that blanchardyn was neuere in hys lyff half so glad, *Blanchardyn*, 80/11; syr Emperour, this paynym

nameth hym self fyerabras, whiche is moche *to redoubte* and hath done moche harme to crysten men, *Charles the Grete*, 42/26; and yf thou mayst come vnto the hye secrets whyche ben strongly *for to doubte* and *drede* in the doubtous courteynes of the most hye prynces. Thenne shalt thou be most messhaunt, *The Curial*, 5/12; ye be to blame (still kept), *Aymon*, 83/7, 99/13.

Passive.

He began to ryde faste by the forest wythout aduenture to fynde that doeth *to be recounted* (original: qui a raconter face), *Blanchardyn*, 31/19; wythout fyndyng of eny aduenture that is *to be recounted*, *ibid.* 127/7; yf Blanchardyn was ryght glad of this aventure, it is not to be axed, 42/1, 12; it is not to be told but Blanchardyn mayntened hymself, 50/29.

Instead of the infinitive there occur two instances of the past participle:—

Thise ben the folke of themperour Charlemayn, that goeth to Ardeyn for to besege a castell that the foure sones of Aymon haue *do made* there, *Aymon*, 70/29; how the kyng Charlemayn wold have *doon hanged* Mawgys incontynent after that oliver had deliverde hym to hym, *ibid.* 365/5. Cf. Alle the werk . . . which I haue *do maad*,—*Bury Wills*, p. 39.

There are striking instances of group (*b*) in Berners's *Huon*:—

(Huon) toke the horne of Iuorey from his necke and toke it to his host *to kepe*, sayenge, 'host, I take you this *to kepe*,' 85/15. Cf. *ibid.* 233/16 (kepe, however, may be the substantive; Middle English, kep. *See* Stratmann s. v.); thyder his doughter was brought to hym *to se*, *ibid.* 313/31; how the duches Esclaramond deliueryd her doughter Clariet to Barnarde *to bere* to the abbot of Cluny, *ibid.* 401/26.

For the Tense of the Infinitive, *see* above, p. lvii.

§ 26. The Simple Infinitive is far from being so much restricted as in Modern English. Caxton's use of it is nearly as free as Chaucer's. A few instances will do:—

How after many dysputacyons Olyuer *ayded arme* fyerabras, *Charles the Grete*, 57/4; But the valiaunt erle of rames pursued hym so nygh that he suffred hym not *goo* at his wylle, *Aymon*, 517/9. Cf. Man schal not suffre his wyf *go* roule aboute, *Chaucer*, II. 226; That wol not suffre us *duellen* here, *ibid.* II. 279.

The Infinitive governed by 'do' is nearly always simple: for instances see the preceding paragraph.

After 'make' the simple Infinitive in a passive sense is very rare.

He *made* the toun *sawte* ofte tymes ful sore, *Blanchardyn*, 152/4; The good lady *made bryng* lynnen, *Aymon*, 129/7. Cf. Chaucer, *Boece*, p. 55, l. 1460: he lete brenne þe citee of Rome and *made slen* þe senatours.[1]

§ 27. *To* and *for to* preceding the Gerundial Infinitive.

As a rule, Caxton uses *for to*,

(*a*) In order to denote aim and purpose; (*b*) after substantives.

The first translates the French *pour*, the latter *de*. There are, however, exceptions. On the first sixty pages of *Blanchardyn*, *to* occurs eighty-six times, and of these only two are governed by nouns, viz., 16/6, 41/20. On the other hand, out of the eighty-six passages containing *for to*, there are but three governed by verbs, viz., 18/18, 29/25, 37/13. Here and there both *to* and *for to* occur in the same sentence:—

They alle sholde mounte on horsbacke *for* tenquyre and seke after his most dere and welbeloued sone, and *to* brynge hym ayen vnto hym, *Blanchardyn*, 20/21; ye myght well kepe your selfe that ye com not so often *to* see vs and *for to* doo vs harme, *Aymon*, 83/9.

§ 28. *Functions of the Infinitive.*

(*a*) Caxton sometimes uses the Infinitive—as in Old and Middle English—where we use the Gerund, especially after prepositions:—

Wythout aduenture *to* fynde, *Blanchardyn*, 31/18; *Wythout to* make ony noyse, *Aymon*, 78/24; yf I goo there wythoute myn armes, nor *wythout to* be as it apperteyneth, *ibid.* 219/31; *wythout to* be dyshonoured, *ibid.* 470/25. Infinitive with the Gerund, *Blanchardyn*, 37/15, 16; he salued hym prayng that *for to paye* well and largely content him, he wold vouchsauf to take hym for his hoste, *Blanchardyn*, 46/9; ye knowe well the offence that your broder halde doon to me, *for to haue* slayn soo cruelly Lohier, *Aymon*, 60/2; but none myght compare wyth Reynawde *for to do* well, *Aymon*, 82/3; yet ye be there and wel ferre *for to* be oute, *Charles*, 93/3; ye are gretely to blame *for to* displease kyng Arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 80/12.

Remnants of this use occur still in Spenser (? as conscious archaisms):—

[1] Dr. Furnivall suggests that this construction may explain Shakspere's puzzle in *All's Well*, III. iv.: 'I see that men make rope's (make us to be ensnared) in such a scarre (fright) that we'll forsake ourselves.'

'Or who shall let me know
On this vile body *for to* wreak my wrong.'
Faërie Queene, II. viii. 28/4.

'feare nought, then saide the Palmer well aviz'd,
for these same Monsters are not these in deed,
But are into these fearefull shapes disguiz'd
By that same wicked witch, to worke in dreed,
And draw *from* on this journey *to* proceed.'
Ibid. II. xii. 26/5.

(*b*) The Infinitive used instead of a whole clause (as a many-worded adverb) :—

They kylled and slue and hurte sore many one, Deffendynge hem selfe soo strongely ayenste their enmyes, to theyr grete losse and damage, and *to* wythdrawe them self ayen = so that they withdrew themselves (original: 'maint en naurerent et occirent en eul deffendant, tellement que leurs ennemis, a leur grant perte et dommage, sen retournerent arrieve sans gaires prouffiter, car moult en yolt de mors et de naures'), *Blanchardyn*, 187/10; he lefte not *for to* be forthwith quartered . . . but that he toke that same sarasyn by the heyre, etc., *Charles the Grete*, 132/18; *for to* renne xxx leghes he wold not be wery, *ibid.* 150/13; Here is to hard a mocke for me, and ye wynne not moche by, *for to* gabbe me of this facyon, *Aymon*, 338/29 (conditional clause); and soo he lete conduyte the harper out of the countrey but *to* say that kyng Mark was wonderly wrothe he was (conditional clause), *Morte Darthur*, 465/12.

There are several instances of this use in Berners's *Huon*, and here and there in Elizabethan writers :—

Syr, quod they, *to* dye in the quarell we shall ayde and socoure you (edition of 1601: were we sure to dye, etc.), *Huon*, 22/2; I thanke the of thy grace to haue gyuen me the puyssaunce to sle such a creature (ed. of 1601: that thou hast gyuen me, etc.), *ibid.* 109/21; as long as I lyue I shal neuer forgete Huon, and shal alwayes, *to* dye in the payne, kepe me for the bodely company of ony man lyuinge (ed. of 1601: and shal alwayes be redy to dye in the payne and kepe me fro, etc.), *ibid.* 195/14; yf he had knowen it *to* haue dyed in the quarel he wolde neuer haue consented to that treason, *ibid.* 284/6; Comforte your men, who hathe great desyre to defende this citye for the sauegarde of their owne bodyes and lyues, thus *to* make sorow ye can wyn nothynge therby, *ibid.* 387/30.

§ 29. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

There is a peculiar use of the Infinitive which turns up first in the second half of the 14th century :—

'I say this, be ye redy with good herte
To al my lust, and that I frely may
As me best liste do yow laughe or smerte,
And never ye to gruch it.'—*Chaucer*, II. 289 (Grisilda).

'Let hym fynde a sarasyn
And y to fynde a knyght of myn.'—*Guy of Warwick*, 3531/2.

I have tried in vain to find any trace of this use in earlier days, and can only account for it in the following way. There is an outspoken tendency in the English of the 14th century to supplant adverbial clauses of time, and express a condition by absolute constructions :—

þe same Plato lyvyng, hys maistre socrates deservede victorie of unriȝtful deeþ in my presence, Chaucer's *Boece*, 184 (original: 'eodemque superstite praeceptor ejus Socrates injustae victoriam mortis me adstante promeruit'); but I withstod þat ordinaunce and overcom it, *knowyng al þis þe kyng hym self,—ibid.* 308; *The service doon*, they soupen al by day, *Chaucer*, II. 364; *This wordes seyde*, she on hire armes two fil gruf, *ibid.* IV. 337; *The cause iknowe, and of his harm the roote*, Anon he yaf the syke man his boote, *ibid.* II. 14.

As appears by the preceding examples, both participles serve to represent clauses in the present and past tenses. But how about the future? Why should there be no absolute construction for a clause with a future tense? The want of a proper participle did not prevent the language from completing the use of absolute constructions. *It resorted to the Infinitive.* Wycliffe tried to introduce a future participle. 'He was *to dyinge*,'—*Lucas*, I. 2 (erat moriturus); '*to doynge*,' *ibid.* 22, 23 (facturus). But this innovation was not accepted. There is, however, a similar formation in Caxton: 'Guy, hir loue and *tocoming* husband,' *Charles the Grete*, 134/27, *i. e.* that was to be; 'Our *tocomyng* souerayne lorde,' *Blades*, 139/140; it occurs also in *Piers Plowman.* Cf. Skeat, Notes, p. 371, and Trevisa, *Polychr.* I. 267. This probably gave birth to that peculiar use which, in the course of its development, became more and more free, so that in the 15th century the Infinitive Absolute often serves to alternate with any principal sentence and clause :—

'I dar the better ask of you a space
Of audience, to schewen oure request
And ye, my lord, to doon right as yow lest.'—*Chaucer*, II. 281.

'Ne (he) in his desire none other fantasye bredde,
But argumentes to this conclusioun,
That sche of him wolde han compassioun
And he to ben hire man whil he may dure.'—*Chaucer*, IV. 127.

'(I mene that ye wolde) agreen that I may ben he
In trowth alway to don yow my servyse,
As to my lady right, and chief resorte
With al my wit and al my diligence,
And I to han right as yow list conforte . . . .
And that ye deigne me so muchel honoure
Me to comaunden aught in any houre,
And I to ben youre veray humble trewe.'—*Chaucer*, IV. 230.

'Men schold him brenne in a fuyr so reed
If he were founde, or if men myght him spye,
And we also to bere him companye.'—*Chaucer*, III. 38.

Item, I geue and quethe to Willm Husher III s. IV d. *and he to haue* his indentour of his prentished. *Bury Wills*, p. 16 (A.D.); Item, I wyll that Maist. Thomas Harlowe sey the sermon at my interment, if he vouchsafr, *and he to haue* VI s. and VIII d. to prey for me, *ibid.* p. 17; *ibid.* p. 18. A striking instance occurs on p. 21: I will that the seid preest ne his successours shal not lete to ferme the seid place to no man nor woman, but *he and his successours to logge;* Also y will þat Iohn Edmund (haue) al þe led . . . *he to pay* þer for as it ys worthy, *Earliest English Wills*, 2/13 (A.D. 1387); I yeue hem halli unto Maude my wyf, *scho for to doo* with them hir owne fre wylle, *ibid.* 95/16 (A.D. 1433); *ibid.* 123/18 ff (A.D. 1439); If all thre sonnes die withoute heires of their bodies, theire moder than lyuyng, then *she for to haue* all the same maners, *ibid.* 124/25, 127/14, 15 (A.D. 1439):—

'frollo þat worthy knyght
Proferyd wyth arthour for to fyght
Vnder þis wyse and condicioun,—
Ho hadde þe Maystrie haue þe crown;
And no mo men but þey twa.'
Arthur, ed. Furnivall, l. 76.

Caxton seems to have disliked this use; the following passages are the only instances I have found of an Infinitive Absolute occurring in his works:—

And with the remenaunte he shold make men ryche, and *to sette* them in good poynte, *Charles the Grete*, 126/3; yf I retorne wythoute to auenge my barons, I shall do pourely, sythe they haue susteyned and borne up the crowne Imperial and my wylle, and I now *to retorne* wythoute to auenge them. He that gaf me suche counceyll, loueth me but lytel, I se wel, *ibid.* 16/14.

But Malory's *Morte Darthur* makes a very large use of it; instances abound; and it is probably due to the influence of this great favourite of the 16th century that the absolute infinitive is very frequent in Berners, and occurs even in Elizabethan times :—

This is my counceill . . . that we lete puruey X knyghtes, men of good fame and *they to kepe* this swerd, *Morte Darthur*, 40/37; for hym thought no worship to haue a knyght at suche auaille *he to be* on horsbak and he on foot, *ibid.* 71/23; hit was neuer the custome of no place of worship that euer I came in whan a knyghte and a lady asked herborugh and *they to receyue* hem and after *to destroye* them, *ibid.* 310/23; and soo they rode vnto the keepers of beestes and alle *to bete* them, *ibid.* 367/38; The custom was suche amonge them, that none of the kynges wold helpe other, but alle the felauship of euery standard *to helpe* other, *ibid.* 533/18. Cf. 461/27, 590/35.

In the following instances the Infinitive Absolute is used without a subject :—

I wylle that ye gyue vnto your broder alle the hole manoir with the appertenaunce, vnder thys forme, that sir Ontzelake hold the manoir of yow, and yerely *to gyue* yow a palfrey, *Morte Darthur*, 134/18; I wyl foryeue the the dethe of my broder, and for euer *to become* thy man, *ibid.* 224/19; thou shalt neuer escape this castel, but euer here *to be* prysoner, *ibid.* 244/14; I will do to yow homage and feaute, with an C knyghtes with me, and alle the dayes of my lyf *to doo* you seruyse, *ibid.* 266/31; he shold fyghte body for body, or els *to fynde* another knyght for hym, *ibid.* 303/14; there is non other waye but thou must yelde the to me, outher els *to dye*, *ibid.* 314/3. Cf. 324/14, 408/8, 496/9, 527/25, 633/14, 646/32.

Berners goes a step beyond Malory in his free use of the Infinitive Absolute :—

Yf it fortunyd that the vanquisser sle his enemye in the feld, or he confesse the treason for the deth of his sonne, that than the vanquyssher *to lese* all his londys, *Huon*, 40/26; it shall be sayde that you who hath lyuyd in so grete tryumphe all the dayes of your lyfe, and now in your latter dayes *to become* a chylde, *ibid.* 47/6; whan thou seest hym sytte at the table, than *thou to be armyde* wyth thy sworde, *ibid.* 50/7; And also thou *to brynge* me thy handfull of the hereof hys herde, *ibid.* 50/20. Cf. 107/5, 116/32, 169/14, 169/20, 185/11, 256/21, 287/20, 303/26, 304/15, etc.

In all these instances the Infinitive Absolute is more or less governed by, or at least in connection with, the finite verb of the

principal sentence; but there are some instances where the Infinitive is used entirely apart from the preceding sentence:—

By God, quod he, I hope alway byhynde! And *she to laugh*, *Chaucer*, IV. 198. Cf. IV. 185, V. 295.

> 'Most sencelesse man he, that himselfe doth hate,
> To love another; Lo! then, for thine ayd,
> Here take thy lovers token on thy pate.
> *So they to fight.*'—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. vi. 47/8.

Mr. Kitchin, in his Clarendon Press edition, explains this expression by 'and they go to fight'; but I am rather inclined to see in it a remnant of the Infinitive Absolute, if not an imitation of the older French use. *See* Littré, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *de*, 20°.

§ 30. The Infinitive in connection with the Accusative (or Nominative) case, where we now put *for* or *for . . to*.[1] As in Chaucer, the Infinitive with the Accusative occurs governed by substantives, adjectives, and impersonal verbs:—

No wondur is a lewid man *to ruste*,—*Chaucer*, II. 16; now were it tyme a lady *to gette* henne, *ibid.* IV. 250; but it is good a man *be* at his large, *ibid.* II. 71: (his folke) putte hem self vpon their enmyes, so that it was force the polonyens *to recule* abak, *Blanchardyn*, 107/18; it is better a man wysely to be stille than folyssly to speke, *Charles the Grete*, 93/5; for it is gods wyll youre body *to be punysshed* for your fowle dedes, *Morte Darthur*, 67/10; for it semeth not yow *to spede* there as other haue failled, *ibid.* 77/34.

In Malory, and even in Shakspere, we sometimes find the Infinitive in connection with the nominative case instead of the expected accusative, after substantives, adjectives, and impersonal verbs:—

Thow *to lye* by our moder is to muche shame for vs to suffre, *Morte Darthur*, 453/4; hit was neuer the custome of no place of worship that euer I came in, whan a knyghte and a lady asked herberough, *and they to receyue hem*, and after to destroye them, *ibid.* 310/23; a heauier task could not haue been imposed than *I to speak* my griefs unspeakable,—Shakspere, *Err.* I. i. 33; what he is indeed, more suits you to conceive than *I to speak of*,—*As You Like It*, I. ii 279; *thou* this *to hazard* needs must intimate skill infinite or monstrous desperate,—*All's Well*, II. i. 186; *I to bear* this . . . is some burden,—*Timon*, IV. iii. 266.

[1] John Fisher has the modern construction: 'It is better *for* a synner to suffre trybulacyon.'—*English Works of John Fisher*, ed. Mayor (E. E. T. S.), p. 41, l. 9.

§ 31. Sometimes the Infinitive is omitted, and its function is included in the preceding auxiliary verb. This is especially the case where we now use verbs like 'go,' 'move,' etc.

This omission is rather frequent in Old English :—

Swa swa oferdruncan man wat þæt he sceolde to his huse and his reste, *Boethius*, 132; ðat hie forgieten hwider hie scylen, *Cura Pastoralis*, 387/14; for oft ðonne hy witodlice geseoþ þæt hy sceolon to reste, *Beda*, 283; þæt he nyste, hwær ut sceolde, *Orosius*, 286/20; Ic him æfter sceal, *Beowulf*, 2817; þonne he forð scile, *ibid.* 3178; þonne ðu forð scyle metod-sceaft seon! *ibid.* 1179; Ac hie to helle sculon on þone sweartan sið, *Genesis*, 732; Min sceal of lice sawul on sið fæt, *Iuliana*, 699; Heo wæs on ofste, wolde ut þanon feore beorgan, þa heo onfunden wæs, *Beowulf*, 1293; ær he in wille, *ibid.* 1371; Ic to sæ wille, *ibid.* 318; nu wille ic eft þam lige near, *Genesis*, 760; ða he him from wolde ða gefeng he hine, *Cura Pastoralis*, 35/19; þa mid þæm þæ hi hie getrymed hæfdon and togædere woldon, þa wearð eorþbeofung, *Orosius*, 160/28; ac þa hie togædere woldon þa com swa ungemetlic ren, *ibid.* 194/17.

Middle English :—

> 'Bot I wyl to þe chapel, for chaunce þat may falle.'
> *Sir Gawayne*, 2132.
>
> 'I frayned hym . . . whider þat he þouȝte.'
> Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B), 16/174.

I could not find this use in Caxton, but there are instances in Malory :—

But the brachet wold not from hym, *Morte Darthur*, 37/24; I wylle to morowe to the courte of kyng Arthur, *ibid.* 446/1; whether wylt thow? *ibid.* 560/32; that wold the none harme, *ibid.* 390/4.

§ 32. *The Present Participle* ending in -yng, -ynge (scarcely in -ing), has the same functions as in Modern English; for *tocoming*, *see* above, § 29, p. lxvii.

With regard to voice, there are but few exceptions to its active meaning. *Desplesaunt* = displeasing occurs in *Blanchardyn*, 27/19; 'thy lyffe is to me so gretly *displeasaunte*.' But several times it has the passive sense = displeased :—

Byfore whiche cyte was yet Kyng Alymodes at siege wyth his oost, wherof the fayr the proude pucell in amours was sore *displaysaunt*, *Blanchardyn*, 127/11; but on thys day . . . so *displaysaunt* ne sory was he neuer as I shal make hym for the, *Charles the Grete*, 62/3; the noble flory pes was moche *dysplaysaunte* for the

necessyte of the frensshe men, *ibid.* 124/26; wher fore thadmyral was so *dysplaysaunt* and angry that he wende to haue dyed, *ibid.* 143/14. The verb *displease* occurs also several times in the phrase: *dysplayse* you not, *ibid.* 113/20, 146/34; and in the past participle *dysplayseed*, *Aymon*, 464/19, 510/8.

Malory has *beholdyng* = beholden:—

Ye are the man in the world that I am most *beholdyng* to, *Morte Darthur*, 42/24; I am moche *beholdyng* vnto hym, *ibid.* 86/22; me semeth ye ar moche *beholdynge* to this mayden, *ibid.* 476/32; therfor ye are the more *beholdyng* vnto god than any other man to loue hym and drede hym, *ibid.* 640/11; *beholden* occurs, *ibid.* 86/11, 89/5. Cf. Skeat, *Notes to Langland*, p. 161. Instead of *holden* [B, A], we find in [C] the form *holdinge*.

This represents a common corruption, which appears also in *beholding*, as used for *beholden* by Shakspere and others, see *Richard III.*, II. i. 129; *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 70; and Abbott, *Shakspere Grammar*, 3rd ed., sect. 372.

§ 33. *The Past Participle* exhibits far more irregularities with regard to voice. Past Participles of transitive verbs used in an active sense, or at least indifferent as to voice, turn up in all the periods of the language.

Old English. Ond ic bebiode on godes naman, þæt nán mon þone æstel from þáere béc ne dó, ne þá bóc from þæm mynstre: *uncúþ* hú longe þær swá gelærede biscepas síen, *Cura Pastoralis*, Preface.

Uncúþ may very likely be an absolute participle = 'it being unknown,' but I am rather inclined to take it in an active sense = 'not knowing,' referring to *ic*. The Middle English use of the word seems to justify this interpretation:—

His muð is get wel *uncuð* with pater noster and crede, *O. E. Miscellany*, p. 4, 112; of his swike he arn *uncuð*, *ibid.* p. 16, 512;

> 'Here dede is al uncuð
> Wið ðat speke ð here muð.' *O. E. Miscellany*, p. 19, 594.

Eftsone we þe beð *uncuðe* þe heuenliche kinge, for þat ure li flode him swiðe mislikeð, alse he wile noht cnowe bute þat þe him beð queme (we that do not know the heavenly king . . . he also will not acknowledge us), *O. E. Homilies*, II. p. 45. Cf. *unwiste*.

There is a parallel to this use in Old Norse. Kunnr = Old English cúð, is used in an active sense:—

Atli sendi
ár til Gunnars
kunnan segg . . . (Attila sent once to Gunther, a knowing, *i. e.* clever man), Edda, *Atlakviða*, 1/3; *Geðrówod* under ðám pontiscan Pilate,—Ælfric, *Homilies*, II. 596/14; hwæt getácnode sé gebrædda fisc, búton ðone *geðrówodan* crist? *ibid.* II. 292/13; and his bróðer sunu Irtacus, yfele *geworht* man, féng tó his ríce, *ibid.* II. 476/17; ond hie þa wurdan hraþe *gelyfde* Crist him sealde gesihþe, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 155/5; *gelyfed* = believing, also Ælfric, *Homilies*, II. 26/32; *Lives of Saints*, II. 302; and æt nyhstan þæt folc ða weard swa wið god *forworht*, þæt he let faran hæþenne here and forhergjan eall þæt land, *Wulfstan*, 14/2. Cf. *ibid.* 155/11; niniućte wæron forsyngode swyðe, ac hy dydan, swa heam þearf wæs, *ibid.* 170/11.

Middle English. The *Old English Homilies* exhibit the same participles as those quoted above:—

And þa welle bi-wisten XII. meister deoflen swilc ha weren kinges to pinen þer wiðinnen þa earming saulen þe *for-gult* weren, *O. E. Homilies*, p. 41; nu leofe breðre ȝe habbeð iherð hwa erest biwon reste þam *forgulte* saule, *ibid.* p. 45; he demað stiðne dom þam *forsunegede* on his efter to-come þet is on domes deie, *ibid.* 95; on hwan mei þe mon modegian þen he beo wel *iþoȝen* and *iþungen*, for he mei findan fele þe beoð bet *iþoȝen* and *istoȝen* þene he, *ibid.* 107; heo setten heore honden ofer *ilefde* men, and heo underfengen þene halian gast, *ibid.* p. 91. Cf. *unbilefde* men, *ibid.* II. p. 81, 171, 195; he scal beon swa *iweorht* þet him mon mote wið speken and his neode menan, *ibid.* II. 111.

There are very numerous instances of participles of compound verbs, the first part of which is *for*:—

All folle wass *forrgillt*,—*Ormulum*, 25, 26; ȝiff þatt tu *forrlanged* arrt, Tu cumen upp till Criste, *ibid.* 1280; hwet sculen norlinges do, þe swikere, þe *forsworene*,—*Poema Morale*, 103. Cf. Alle he weeron *forsworen* and here treothes forloren,—*Chronicle*, ab anno 1137. *O. E. Homilies*, I. 143.

'And it sal ben ðe laste tid,
Quan al man-kinde, ou werlde wid,
Sal ben fro dede to liue brogt,
And seli sad fro ðe *forwrogt*.'

(And the righteous separated from the wicked.) *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 266; *forswonken*,—*Cursor Mundi*, 2017; *forliuen* (Cotton, Göttingen, Trinity), *forliued* (Fairfax), *ibid.* 5315; *forwalked* = tired out with walking,—Skeat, *Notes to Langland*, p. 312; *forwandred* = tired out with wandering, *ibid.*

Chaucer, too, has several instances of this use :—

Now hadde Calkas left, in this mischaunce, Alle ***unwiste*** of this fals and wikked dede, His doughter, IV. 111, 112. (***Unwiste*** = not knowing, ignorant;) þou and god . . . ben ***known wiþ me*** þat no þing brouȝt me to maistrie or dignite; but þe comune studie of al goodenes, *ibid.*; Boece, *Consolation*, 14 (original: 'tu mihi et . . . deus *conscii* nullum *me* ad magistratum nisi commune bonnorum omnium studium detulisse').

'O olde, unholsom, and *myslyved* man!' *ibid.* IV. 313 = man of ill living. Cf. Modern English, *long-lived*, though that is probably an adj. in *-ed* from the compound noun *long-life:* its *i* is long.

Caxton's use of the past participle is pretty regular; there are, however, several instances at variance with modern use. In his reprint of Chaucer's *Boece* or *Consolation*, Caxton alters the 'known' of the passage quoted above, into *knowing*:—

(Blanchardyn) was *remembred* of it allewayes, *Blanchardyn*, 31/6; and the prouost aseed hym yf he was *conseylled* for to fulfylle the construction of that texte, *ibid* 47/12, 178/2; the lady . . . is well *trusted* wyth me, *ibid.* 79/1; wherof he was right sore ***merueylled***,—*ibid.* 139/16, 162/7. Cf. I was *wondyrde* (Harleian MS., I wondered), Hampole, *Prose Treatises*, p. 6; ha false and ***renyed*** strompet = renegate, *Blanchardyn*, 185/31; I meruaylle me moche how thou, that art prudent and wyse of goodes art so *ouerseen* and fro thy self, for to dar expose thy self to so many perillis = mistaken (Furnivall, *Glossary*), *Curial*, 3/13; whan charlemagne sawe hym *seased* of mawgys, he called rowlande, *Aymon*, 365/26. Cf. *Huon*, 94/8; whan Huon sawe that he was *sessyd* of his horne (ed. of 1601: possessed).

Malory is, in this respect as in many others, nearer the Middle English use :—

They are wery and *forfoughten*,—*Morte Darthur*, 87/25, 105/35; I pray you in no wyse be ye *aknowen* where I am, *ibid.* 254/21; thenne he told the kyng alle that batail, And how sir Palomydes was more weyker and more hurte and more *lost* of his blood, *ibid.* 447/13.

§ 34. *The Verbal Noun.*

The verbal noun in Caxton, with its functions of noun and verb, may be traced back to two different sources.

(*A.*) When used as a noun, it derives from the Old English verbal noun in *-ung*, *-ing*. Instances of it are very common in Caxton, as

n modern times. It is only worth noting when it forms part of a ompound :—

Muste I nedes deye thus shamefully, wythoute *deffence makynge ? Blanchardyn*, 188/31 ; the barons and knyghtes thenne of a right ode wyll, wythout answer nor *replye makyng*, in grete haste . . . rent and armed hem self, *ibid.* 189/32 ; in thes *wordes talkyng*[1] to-yder, dyd arryue there foure of their men, *ibid.* 192/25 : Reynawde oke therof vengeaunce vpon Berthelot by good rayson and that more ɜ, it was his *body deffendynge,—Aymon*, 207/29, 566/26 ; and for that *onour doyng* to Sir Tristram he was at that tyme more preysed, *Morte Darthur*, 394/19.

These compounds are common in Old and Middle English :—

Sige forgeaf Constantino cyning ælmihtig, *dómweorðunga,—Elene*, 44 ; sincweorðung, *ibid.* 1218 ; dægweorðung, *ibid.* 1233 ; dustscearung, *Blickling Hom.*, 113/29 ; unriht gitsung, *ibid.* 53/21 ; bi his loðes wrixlunge, *O. E. Hom.*, I. 207 ; by his side openunge, *ibid.* ; n his blod swetunge, *ibid.* ; þere is . . . fallyng in blode shedynge, *Piers Plowman* (Text C), 12/282 ; in housing, in haterynge and in o hiegh clergye shewynge, *ibid.* 15/76 ; late usage be ȝowre solace of eyntes lyues redynge, *ibid.* 7/87 ; þorugh 'ibeatus virres' techynge, *ibid.* 10/321 ; þorw bedes byddynge, *ibid.* 19/373 ; with herte or yȝte shewynge, *ibid.* 13/279 ; without any money payenge, *E. E. Wills*, 107/20 (A.D. 1436).

The more modern phrase 'the house is building'[2] is not met rith in Caxton ; he has still *a* (or *in*) preceding the verbal noun :—

(He) herde the feste and the noyse that was *adoynge* in the prostis house, *Blanchardyn*, 67/5 ; she wyst not what she sholde saye r thynke therof, whether she was *a* wakyng or a slepe, *ibid.* 152/34 ; nd as the feste was *a* doynge, there came a messager . . . *Aymon*, 63/7 ; he founde the chirche of saynte peter *a* makynge, *ibid.* 576/8 ; tte the same oure that this Ioye and feste was *in making* (original : se faisoit'), *Blanchardyn*, 67/1 ; *Morte Darthur*, 84/12, 389/7.

(*B.*) The verbal noun is used as a verb : then it derives from the resent participle.

1. Governed by the preposition *in*.

We now use *in* in connection with the verbal noun, where, in Old English, the simple participle was preferred, *e. g.* 'ealo drinende oðer sædon' = others said *in* drinking ale, *Beowulf*, 1946. I

[1] ? pres. part. absolute 'they talking.'—F. J. F.

[2] It is a pity that 'is being built,' &c., tend to displace this construction.

suppose that *in*, imitated from the French, was grafted upon the old participle, so that it kept its verbal function. Therefore it was not followed by *of*, even in the earliest periods of its use :—

And thei seye, that we synne dedly, *in schavynge oure Berdes*,—*Maundeville*, p. 19 ; he was a dedly Creature, suche as God hadde formed, and duelled in the Desertes, *in purchasynge his Sustynance*, *ibid.* p. 47 ; and *in bryngynge hire Servyse*, thei syngen a Song, *ibid.* p. 310.

Caxton very often drops *in*, as in *Blanchardyn*, 14/20, 16/8, 18/8, 33/12, etc. But even when it precedes the verbal noun, it is not followed by *of* :—

I am come to serue her *in kepyng my worship*,—*Blanchardyn*, 76/11 ; and *in tornynge hemself* ayen, [they] layde hande on their swerdes, *ibid.* 84/27 ; euery man cam forth to doo his deuoyre, eche of hem in his rowme *in defendynge the place*,—*ibid.* 113/4, 123/17; *Charles the Grete*, 26/34, 52/11, 66/34, 85/23, 163/19, etc.

2. There are a few passages in Caxton, which, in my opinion, throw a most interesting light on the use of the verbal noun, both in Middle English and in modern times. 'Most humblie beseekynge my . . . lord to pardon *me* so presumyng,' *Blades*, 140 ; 'take no displaysir on *me* so presuming,' *ibid.* 148. Cf. 165. I see in this construction a mode of expression which was the only one used in old times, and which still remains in vulgar English : 'don't mind *me* sitting down.'

In Old English, as well as in Latin, Greek, and the old Teutonic languages, it is not the action or state as an abstract, but the person or thing acting, which is the subject of perception, feeling, or thought. 'hac *literae recitatae* magnum luctum fecerunt' = the reading of this letter, *Livius*, 27, 29 ; 'poena violatae religionis iustam recusationem non habet' = for the violation of religion,—Cicero, *De Leg.*, 2, 15.

To this principle are due many of the so-called absolute constructions in the Old Teutonic dialects. See *Grimm*, IV. 873, ff.

It appears also in the noun-clauses in Old and Middle English. Instead of the modern abstract sentence, *e. g.* 'you see that he's going away,' the old construction is, 'you see *him* that he goes away.' See *Old English Hom.*, I. 17 ; 'ȝif þu *hine* iseȝe þet he wulle assottie to

þes deofles.' *See* below, 'Noun Clauses.' The same principle appears also in the following instances illustrating the older use :—

Be þe lifigendum (during thy life time), *Beówulf*, 2666 ; be þæm lifigendum, *Beda*, 2, 5 ; To-janes þo sunne risindde = at the time of sunrise, *Old English Miscellany*, 26.

> 'Alle waters als þai sall rynne
> And þat sal last *fra þe son rysyng*
> Til þe tyme *of þe son doungangyng*.'
> *Pricke of Conscience*, 4777 f.

'After the sunne goyng down.'—*Genesis*, 28, 11.

In later times this use began to decay, as indeed in every respect abstraction supplanted intuition, and the verbal noun took the place of the old present participle. Thus *Purvey* alters the instance quoted above to 'aftir the goyng down of the sunne.' Cf. *Exod.* xxii. 26, *Deuteronomy* xi. 30. Perhaps we may see the state of transition in the following passages of the *Ayenbite*. The old participle is kept in its outward form, but the new use, *i. e.* the verbal noun, throws its shade on the construction. Thus we have : 'ȝef he zuereþ fals *be his wytinde*,' p. 6. 'Be *him* wytinde' would answer to the Old English 'lifigendum' ; 'be his wyt*inge*' would be quite modern (as it really occurs, *see* below) ; the connection of both gives 'be *his* wyt*inde*.' Cf. pp. 8, 28, 37, 40, 47, 94, etc. The French has : 'à son (leur) escient.'

Both the mixed and the modern construction occur on p. 73, *Ayenb.* : 'guo into helle ine þine libb*inde* : þet þou ne guo ine þine steru*inge*' (original : 'en ton vivant, en ton morant').

The extremely free use of the verbal noun as an adjective to substantives, which is characteristic of Elizabethan English ('undeserving praise,' 'unrecalling crime' in Shakspere) is not met with in Caxton. Perhaps these are worth noting : 'fallyng sekeness,' *Charles the Grete*, 37/28 ; 'weepyng teerys,' *Morte Darthur*, 338/9. Cf. *Huon*, 219/25 ; *Lucrece*, 1375 ; *Complaint*, 304.

§ 35. *The Adverb.*

I. Derived from Nouns.

(*a*) In the Genitive Case.

Alonge = of longe = fully, at length. As *alonge* by the grace of god it shall be shewed in thistorye of this present book, *Blanch-*

ardyn, 2/6; (Blanchardyn) entred in to a chambre, hanged wyth right fayre and riche tapysserye of the destruction of Troye, well and *alonge* fygured, *ibid.* 15/2; his mayster . . . . well and *alonge* dide aduertyse the chylde, *ibid.* 15/22; he dyde reherce unto blanchardyn al *alonge*, how the royalme of tourmaday was come to a doughter full fayre, *ibid.* 128/29.

Of lighte = lightly. A man that is well garnysshed is not *of lighte* overthrowe, *Aymon*, 106/6.

Of a freshe (*a* apparently mistaken for the article) = anew. After . . . began the batayll *of a freshe*, sore harde and fell, *Aymon*, 110/23.

(*b*) Old Instrumental, now the Accusative case.

Other while (Old English hwilum) = sometimes. It is as requesyte *other whyle* to rede in Auncyent hystoryes, *Blanchardyn*, 1/13

Wonder grete (Old English wundrum). Syr Sadok . . . gaf hym a *wonder grete* falle, *Morte Darthur*, 532/19; soo they hurtled togyders *wonder sore*,—*Morte Darthur*, 433/15; he merueylled *wonder* gretely, *ibid.* 459/35.

Caxton has *wonderfull*. Wherof the good lady Margerye was *wounderfull* wroth and sory, *Aymon*, 36/23. Cf. þat feht was *wunder strong*,—*Layamon*, 1744; it fresethe *wonder faste*,—*Maundeville*, 11; singe *wondir swetly*,—*Gesta Romanorum*, 334; *wondyr hevy*,—*ibid.*

The old instrumental case is contained also in the following adverbial phrases:—

She rydeth *the lytyl paas* (orig.: a petit pas), *Blanchardyn*, 38/22 (Blanchardyn bygan to ryde on *a good paas*,—*ibid.* 40/10); accordyng to my promyse, I haue holpen you *the beste* that I coude, *ibid.* 149/25; but *the beste* that to hym was possyble he dyde recomforte her, *ibid.* 172/21; whiche came rennynge *all his myght* towarde Subyon, *ibid.* 201/20.

Perhaps the following phrases are formed after the same principle, if not in analogy to the cognate accusative:—

Dynadas was ouerthrowen hors and man *a grete falle*,—*Morte Darthur*, 401/22; there was Kyng Arthur wounded in the lyfte syde *a grete wounde* and a peryllous, *ibid.* 412/25; the spere wente in to his syde *a grete wounde* and a peryllous, *ibid.* 442/20.

II. Derived from Adjectives.

Though the final *e* was scarcely more than a mere 'monumentum scriptionis,' yet there are very numerous instances of adjectives used as adverbs by means of (or without) the old *-e*.

1. Before adjectives.

Clene.
Ye cam lyke a madde man *clene* oute of your wytte, *Morte Darthur*, 599/16.

Close.
He lyght ful quykly the shylde alonge the breast and the helmet wel *clos* laced, *Blanchardyn*, 24/16.

Exceeding.
Whan the admirall saw her so *exceeding* fayre he was taken in loue, *Huon*, 162/8.

Hard.
Sire Lamorak was *hard* byge for hym, *Morte Darthur*, 358/2.

Marvellous.
Thys is a man *meruayllous* ryche, *Charles the Grete*, 42/15.

New.
Now be the thre brethern *newe* horsed, *Aymon*, 63/29; there was a chylde *newe* dede, *Charles the Grete*, 37/18; but they knewe hym not for he was *newe* desguysed, *Morthe Darthur*, 636/24; when he sawe that he was *new* horsed agayne he was ioyfull, *Huon*, 291/24.

Wonderful.
The dukes Beues had slayne Lohier, the sone of the kynge Charlemayn, wherof the goode lady Margerye was *wounderfull* wroth and sory, *Aymon*, 36/23.

Wood wrothe.
Whan he sawe a knyght with his lady he was *wood wrothe*,—*Morte Arthur*, 407/12; thenne was kynge Marke *wode wrothe* oute of mesure, *ibid.* 470/15, 487/7, 488/19, 610/13, 647/26; (Launcelot) ranne *wylde wod* from place to place, *ibid.* 593/4.

2. Attached to verbs.

Clene.
They made hym to be wasshed *clene*,—*Blanchardyn*, 148/18; all the estates were set and Iuges armed *clene*,—*Morte Darthur*, 491/33; thenne was sir Palamydes *clene* forgeten, *ibid.* 553/25; I counceyle yow said the kynge to be confessid *clene*,—*ibid.* 577/28, 601/8, 611/10, 638/35, 647/9, 672/11; he saw within the shyppe but one man *clene* aruyd, *Huon*, 447/3.

Clere.
(An hand) helde within the fyst a grete candel whiche brenned ryght *clere*,—*Morte Darthur*, 666/24.

Dear.

Neuer deth was so sore solde ne so *dere* boughte as this shall be, *Aymon*, 38/26.

Fayre.

Nature had *fayre* appareylled the gardyne, *Blanchardyne*, 122/28; (Reynawd) wente *fayr* vpon the folke of charlemagne, *Aymon*, 449/12; soo they did saufly and *fayre*,—*Morte Darthur*, 370/17; he salewed hym not *fayre*,—*ibid.* 659/18, 666/35. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 3, and *passim*; and *fayre* endyd his lyfe.

Foul.

Gerarde of Roussyllon weneth for to fare *fowll* wyth vs, *Aymon*, 42/2; thou hast borne the *foule* this day ageynst me, *Charles the Grete*, 69/31; my fader is kyng Bagdemagus that was *foule* rebuked at the last turnement, *Morte Darthur*, 188/8; *foule* haue ye mocked me, *ibid.* 511/31; haue done *foule* to yow, *ibid.* 599/35.

Incontynent.

She called to her them that were in her chambre to whiche *incontynent* she commaunded that they sholde goo, *Blanchardyn*, 56/16; he shold late hym haue it *in-contynuent*,—*ibid.* 60/4; the maystres dyd perceyue *incontynent* by her wordes . . . . *ibid.* 64/30, 187/1, 194/7, etc.; than duke Naymes departyd, and *incontenent* he incounteryd Charlot, *Huon*, 32/14; but Huon releuyd hym *incontynent*,—*ibid.* 56/24, etc. Cf. Marlowe, *Tamburlain*, 52; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. vi. 8/5; *ibid.* II. ix. 1/7; Peele, *Alphonsus*, 229 *a*.

Late.

Now haste you thi rewarde, for my lorde Lohyers deeth that thou *late* slew, *Aymon*, 56/18; he was but *late* made knyghte, *Morte Darthur*, 471/15; cf. *Blades*, p. 172. Cf. That likewise *late* had lost her dearest love,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, IV. viii. 3/4; *ibid.* I. ii. 11/2.

Loude.

He smote his hors wyth the spore . . . . escryeng as *loude* as he myght, *Blanchardyn*, 170/13.

Nere.

I am myself *nere* goon, *Aymon*, 565/23; the knyghtes name was called Accolor that after had *nere* slayne kyng arthur, *Morte Darthur*, 89/15.

New.

Thou *newe* made knyght thow hast shamed thy knyghthode, *Morte Darthur*, 108/7; there was a fayre medowe that semed *newe* mowen, *ibid.* 228/17; A. M. horses let to be *new* shode, *Huon*, 113/10; let her be bayngned and wesshyde and *new* arayed, *ibid.* 536/25.

Cf. And streems of purple blood *new* die the verdant fields,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. ii. 17.

Nyghe.
How *nyghe* was I lost, *Morte Darthur*, 654/27.

Passyng.
Sir Palamydes dyd passynge wel and myghtely, *Morte Darthur*, 557/21 (there is also *passyngly*,—*ibid.* 543/13, 544/33). Cf. And all the wyles of wemens wits (she) knew *passing* well,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, III. viii. 8/9.
Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, 107.

Playne.
I ware yow *playne*,—*Morte Darthur*, 621/34. Cf. By which he saw the ugly Monster *playne*, Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. i. 14/6.

Scarce.
For they be not vytaylled *scars* for foure dayes, *Charles the Grete*, 122/3. Cf. *Scarce* them bad arise,—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. iv. 14/14, 22/8.

Softe.
He salued hym full *softe*,—*Aymon*, 33/27.

Stronge.
Soo *stronge* he spored his horse, that he wente ayenste Reynawde, *Aymon*, 86/23.

The common *adverb of negation* is not used as in Modern English.

Ne = not (preceding the verb) occurs but quite exceptionally: in *Blanchardyn* only *nys* = ne is:—

There *nys* no tonge humayn that coude to yow recounte ne saye the grete sorow, *Blanchardyn*, 19/22; ther *nys* so grete sorowe, but that it may be forgoten at the laste, *ibid.* 133/4; ther *nys* no tonge of no creature mortall, that vnto you coude telle . . . the grete Ioye, *ibid.* 148/2; there *nys* noo man so oolde but he sholde soone gete hete there, *Aymon*, 452/12.

Here and there *ne* turns up also before other verbs:—

Charlemagn *ne* shall see the beste torne of the worlde, *Aymon*, 168/18; I *ne* entende but onely to reduce thauncyent ryme in to prose, *Charles the Grete*, 39/6; he *ne* preysett kyng ne erle, *ibid.* 42/17; *ne* doubte ye not for I shal rendre you anone al hole, *ibid.* 95/11.

Ne = nor.
I holde nother castelle *ne* fortresse of hym, *Aymon*, 25/22.

Double negatives are very common :—

He *neuere* had borne *noon* armes, nor herde speke therof, *Blanchardyn*, 13/24 ; *nor* also had *not* seen the manere and thusage of Ioustynge, *ibid.* 14/1 ; (Blanchardyn) *neuere* had taken theratte *noo* hede, *ibid.* 15/2, etc. etc. There is an instance of four negatives in one and the same sentence. For *neuer* daye *nor* owre the childe Blanchardyn toke *noo* fode of *none* others brestis, *ibid.* 13/3.

§ 36. *Prepositions.*

A = in or on.
(He) herde the feste and the noyse that was *a*doynge in the prouostis house, *Blanchardyn*, 67/5. For other instances of this kind, *see* Gerund. The prouoste descended *a lande* (= on land), *Blanchardyn*, 198/30, 199/25 ; *Aymon*, 145/30, 525/7, 529/4. They lepte *a horsbak* (= on horsbak), *ibid.* 180/27, 183/16 ; *Aymon*, 26/28; the kynge ascryed hym self *a* hyghe (= on high), *ibid.* 20/12 ; he descended from his hors *a* foote, *Aymon*, 35/10, 186/5, 232/29, 490/20 ; they wende that the cyte had be sette a fyre (= on fire), *ibid.* 511/30, 583/9 ; he thus founde hymselfe *a* grounde (on grounde), *ibid.* 45/1, 232/10, 564/14.

A is often = of.
(He) cut his helmet and the coyffe of stele in suche manere *a*wyse (= of wyse) that the goode swerde entred in to the brayne, *Blanchardyn*, 28/20. Cf. above, Genitive.

Against = upon, towards.
Hym happend *ageynst* a nyghte to come to a fayr courtelage, *Morte Darthur*, 200/3 ; (Launcelot) *ageynst* nygyt rode vnto that castel, *ibid.* 574/6.

At = to.
He myght not brynge his entrepryse *at* an ende, *Blanchardyn*, 41/14 ; the bloode ran vp *at* her face, *ibid.* 64/16, 84/36, 176/26, 177/7, 177/21, 188/1. (He) wente wyth all hys oost *at* Mountlyon, *Aymon*, 69/14, 66/27, 79/21, 349/5, 408/1, 430/9, 496/8.

At = on.
Reynawde toke the kynge and drewe hym a lityll *atte* oo side, *Aymon*, 146/7, 453/7.

By = from, out of.
(He) laughe at them *by* grete love, *Aymon*, 230/25, 298/3, 303/30.

By = in.

(He) smote a knyghte *by* suche a wyse, that he putte his spere thorughe the body of hym, *Aymon*, 42/15, 61/24, 304/5, 453/1.

By = on.

They dyd soo moche *by* their iourneys that they cam to saynt Iames, *Aymon*, 156/19, 235/20, 239/32.

By = with.

(He) smote a knyghte *by* suche a strengthe that he ouerthrewe hym, *Aymon*, 43/12.

By is used alternately with *of* and *with* in passive constructions; but *of* prevails. Cf. *Blanchardyn*, 1/15, 2/12, 11/11, 18/10, 19/3, 42/13, 66/8, 97/35, 98/27, 101/27, 109/32, 113/34; by, 1/26, 124/16, 169/21; with, 91/19, 124/14; *Aymon*, 52/34, 53/1.

For = in spite of, is rare in Caxton, but occurs several times in Malory:—

This child wylle not laboure for me *for* ony thyng that my wyf or I may do, *Morte Darthur*, 102/22; I wyll accomplysshe my message *for* al your ferdful wordes, *ibid.* 167/31, etc. This use is very common in Elizabethan writers. Marlowe, *Massacre*, 2114; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, 1, 3, 24/5; Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, 453, b; Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, 17; Shakspere; *see* Schmidt, *s. v.*

For = from.

After she asked whi they were departed *for*[1] the kynges courte, *Aymon*, 36/19.

In = into, is still very frequent.

Yf he may come *in* her handes or *in* her power, noon shal mowe saue hym, *Blanchardyn*, 43/14; the prouost came ayen *in* the sayd place, *ibid.* 81/16, 96/29, 105/5, 109/14, 109/24, 116/24, etc.; *Aymon*, 63/1, 159/20, 210/20; *Morte Darthur*, 252/13.

Here and there also in the 16th century:—

By rise of virtue, vice shall grow *in* hate, *Gorboduc*, 180; how canst thow *in* this condition; Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 35.

In = on, is rare.

That . . . *in* the crosse suffred deth and rassyon, *Aymon*, 24/20; ye ascended in to heuen and lefte for your liyeutenant saynt Peter thappostle *in* erthe, *Charles the Grete*, 71/27; Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 760.

> 'I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven
> Cannot compare with kingly joys *in* earth.'

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[1] Misprint for *fro*.

Cf. Lord's Prayer: Thy will be done *in* earth. And *in* the honour of a kyng he sweares,—Marlowe, *Edward II.*, 1216. He is *in* England's ground, *ibid.* 1705; Shakspere, *Venus*, 118; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 185; *Troilus*, V. ii. 169.

Maugre = in spite of.

(They) ledde the lady by force to castel forde, *maulgre* Subyon, *Blanchardyn*, 8/25, 9/1, 179/24, 180/29, 180/34, 189/9; *Aymon*, 86/14, 229/1; very often in Malory, and still in Shakspere.

Maugre occurs also as a substantive:—

They myghte no lenger endure the grete *magre* that Reynawde bare to theym (original: 'dommaige'), *Aymon*, 86/16; I haue herd moche of your *maugre* ageynst me, *Morte Darthur*, 405/28. So twice in Spenser:—

> 'Ne deeme thy force by fortunes doome unjust,
> That hath (*maugre*[1] her spight) thus low me laid in dust.'
> *Faërie Queene*, II. v. 12/9; III. iv. 39/8.

(= a curse upon? Morris, Glossary to Spenser's Works, Globe edition).

Of differs in its functions from the modern use in several essential points.

1. It denotes reference, *as to*:—

Pardoune me *of* the rude and comyn englyshe, *Blanchardyn*, 2/9; the childe grewe and amended sore *of* the grete beaulte, *ibid.* 13/6; *of* the tables and ches playinge and *of* gracyous and honeste talkynge, he passed them that were his elder in age, *ibid.* 13/19, 20; demaundynge *of* the bataylles of Troye (= about), *ibid.* 14/13; the same, 15/8; wel shapen *of* alle membres, *ibid.* 37/21; sore troubled *of* wyttis, *ibid.* 45/8, 48/31, 65/21, 97/10, 99/14, 145/30, etc.; *Aymon*, 54/25, 64/5, 290/32, etc.

2. It denotes cause, *in consequence of*:—

(They) iudged hem self right happy *of* a successoure legytyme, *Blanchardyne*, 12/17; sory *of*, *ibid.* 21/4; euyl apayde *of* (original: maltalentif), *ibid.* 28/13; *of* a custume (= in consequence, according), *ibid.* 112/32, 130/8; he ought *of* rayson to be well rewarded, *ibid.* 126/6, 133/10.

3. *Of* = by in passive constructions. See *by*.

4. It seems to be mistaken for *on*, *upon*:—

(Kyng Charles) beyng in his dormytorye, trustyng *of* the syde of our lord in grete deuocyon began to say the psaulter, *Charles the Grete*, 33/32.

[1] ? by the ill will of.—F.

This mistake, probably brought about by *a* being equivalent to *of* and *on*, is common in the 16th century :—

They began to slee alle suche as wolde not beleue *of* Ihesu Cryst (ed. of 1601 *on*), *Huon*, 152/24 ; the same, *ibid.* 417/30, 462/12, 464/28 ; I wyll send thee *of* my errand, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, 494 a ; my master riding behind my mistress ; both *of* one horse, *Taming Shrew*, IV. i. 71 ; as when thou shouldst be prancing *of* thy steed, Greene, *Alphonsus*, 235 b.

On mistaken for *of* :—

On hym is no care, *Aymon*, 62/27 ; she began to thynke *on* that poure man, *Charles the Grete*, 13/33. Probably also the phrase : *on* lyue = alyue, *Aymon*, 64/18. *See* Genitive : he seith not ryght *on* me, *Morte Darthur*, 138/25—16th century :—

> 'I tell you true, my heart is swoln with wrath
> *On* this same thievish villain Tamburlaine.'
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 520.

> 'And tyme may yield us an occasion
> Which *on* the sudden cannot serve the turn.'
> Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 473, 1078, 2338, 4690.

The middle *on*'s face, *Lear*, IV. v. 20 ; my profit *on*'t, *Tempest*, I. ii. 365, 456 ; I'm glad *on* 't, *Jul. Cæs.*, I. iii. 137.

Ouer = of :—

Kynge alymodes knyghtes had grete enuye *ouer* hym, *Blanchardyn*, 65/22 ; right enamored they were *ouer* hym, *ibid.* 66/25 ; to thende he myght be auenged *ouer* hym, *ibid.* 86/30 ; Blanchardyn, that grete slawghter dyde make *ouer* his men, *ibid.* 107/27.

To = up to, equal to :—

Suche a worship apparteyneth not to be doon to me, for I am not *to* the value therof, *Blanchardyn*, 109/20.

Tofore = before :—

(He) presented hym selfe *to-fore* the kynge, *Aymon*, 186/24.

It is a remarkable custom in Caxton and other writers of the 15th century to use, for variety's sake, two different prepositions for the same purpose :—

O thou free knyght, replenysshed *wyth* prowesse and *of* grete wordynesse, *Blanchardyn*, 49/15 ; she cam and brought wyth her a fayre whyte coueryng of damaske clothe, wher*of* she made the hors of blanchardyn to be couered *wyth*,—*ibid.* 61/7, 8 ; loue serued her *wyth* a messe sharp and sowre ynoughe tyl her tast that is to wyte *of* a louely care, *ibid.* 67/17, 18 ; (Blanchardyn) cam ridyng through the toun accompaned *wyth* the prouoste and *of* many other knyghtes,

ibid. 83/23; the knyght *of* whom my sayde lady is so sore enamoured *vpon*, hath to his name blanchardyn, *ibid.* 130/17; Sadoyne sawe their shyppes redy and well stored *wyth* vytaylles and *of* other thynges, *ibid.* 150/28; they all were eten *wyth* bores and *of* lions, *Aymon*, 52/34, 53/1; Charlemayne apoynted not *wyth* the foure sones of Aymon, nor *to* Mawgys, *ibid.* 58/24, 25; I shall shew you whether I can do any thyng *wyth* the spere and *of* the swerde, *ibid.* 83/28; I am not a chyld where*of* men oughte to mocke wyth, *ibid.* 360/12. (He) toke it and robbed wythall the nose, the mouth, and the eyen *of* rowlande, and in like wyse *to* all thother xii peres of fraunce, *ibid.* 371/21, 22; wysdom desyreth you *to* be hys wyf, and *for to* be quene, *Charles the Grete*, 14/8,9; it is the same *of* whyche your god was enbawmed *wyth*,—*ibid.* 56/29, 30; O fayre Quene of Orkeney, Kynge Lot's wyf and moder *of* sir Gawayne and *to* sire Gaheris, and modir *to* many other, for thy loue I am in grete paynes, *Morte Darthur*, 425/12; and the begynnynge of the kynges letters spak wonderly short vnto Kynge Arthur, and badde hym entermate *with* hym self and *with* his wyf and *of* his knyghtes, *ibid.* 456/32, 33; thenne *by* his aduys and *of* sire Sadoks he lete stuffe alle the townes and castels, *ibid.* 495/19.

§ 37. *Conjunctions.*

And used redundantly (compared with the Old English and the present use), turns up pretty often in Caxton, as in other writers of the 15th century, and is not unfrequent in Elizabethan times:—

And the thyrd tyme with a full grete herte she revyled hym, *and* sayyng to hym that he was lyke an hounde, *Trivet*, p. 233; yf thow wolt telle me, *and* I shalle gete the on fallyng to thin estate, *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 173; the vertu of the broche is this, that who so euere ber hit vpon his brest late him thinke what he wolle, *and* he shalle mete þerwith at his likinge, *ibid.* p. 181; forsothe, sir, quod he, *and* I shall tell you, *ibid.* 202; sir, quoþ he, *and* I shall tell you not, *ibid.* 322; whiche boke I late receyued in frenshe . . . for to reduce and translate it in to our maternal *and* englysh tonge, *Blanchardyn*, 1/9; by my feyth, sayd Reynawde, *and* we shall deffende ourselfe also to our power, *Aymon*, 235/11; O, brother Reynawd, *and* what doo you here, *ibid.* 244/26; cosin Reynawd, sayd Ogyer, *and* we shall kepe vs fro you, *ibid.* 263/11; alas, *and* that I dyde grete harme, *ibid.* 283/4; for the more that ye praye him, *and* the worse shall he doo, *ibid.* 330/27; syre, sayd Richarde, *and* ye shall see me anone, *ibid.* 343/22; sir, sayd mawgis, *and* I yelde me to you, *ibid.* 357/5; I praye you lete hym come here *and* that he awake myn vncle Charlemagne oute of his slepe, *ibid.* 405/12; whan he herde the duke naymes speke so, *and* it moved his blade full sore, *ibid.* 419/6; I neuer put man to the erthe *and* thys hors present, *Charles the Grete*,

70/10; I requyre the that it may playse the to take the payne for to rescowe and socoure my loue guye, *and* ellis I am a loste woman, *ibid.* 135/3; alle the barons cam thyder *and* to assay to take the swerd, *Morte Darthur*, 42/35: syre knyght, sayd the other, whoos name was Hontzlake of wentland, *and* this lady I gat by my prowesse of armes this day, *ibid.* 114/23; wylle ye, sayd syre Gawayne, promyse me to doo alle that ye maye . . . to gete me the loue of my lady. Ye syre, sayd she, *and* that I promyse you, *ibid.* 150/11; whanne Elyzabeth, Kyng Melyodas, myst her lord, *and* she was nyghe out of her wytte, *ibid.* 273/27; a mercy my lord, sayd she, *and* I shalle telle you alle, *ibid.* 275/33; wel, said the Kyng Melyodas, *and* therfor shal ye haue the lawe, *ibid.* 275/35; but their horses he wold not suffre his squyers to medle with, *and* by cause they were knyghtes erraunt, *ibid.* 442/29; telle me, said palomydes, *and* in what manere was youre lord slayne, *ibid.* 518/31; and therfore ye may be sory, said sire Tristram, of your vnkyndely dedes to so noble a kynge. *And* a thynge that is done may not be vndone, sayd Palomydes, *ibid.* 542/29; sir knyghte, said she, and ye wille ensure me by the feyth that ye owe vnto knyghthode that ye shalle doo my wylle . . . *and* I shalle brynge yow vnto that knyght, *ibid.* 652/12; syr *and* I wille doo hit, sayd sir launcelot, *ibid.* 658/9; thenne had the kynge grete joye, and dressyng hym to sytte up, *and* toke the swerde by the pomel, *Melusine*, 153/16; and þenne gaf hym the sword ayen, and thus makyng his wounde opend, *and* out of it ranne blood, *ibid.* 153/22; by my feyth, said thenne Anthony, *and* I accorde therunto, *ibid.* 217/10; sens he was aduertesyd, that with kepyng his tonge fro spekynge he myght abrege hys iorney, *and* he sayde that surely he wolde that way, *Huon*, 64/24 (ed. of 1601 omits *and*); syr, quod themperour, *and* he shal derely abye it, *ibid.* 305/27.

Gorboduc. 'Loe, this is all; now tell me your aduise.
Arostus. *And* this is much, and asketh great aduise.' *Gorboduc*, 146;

'Warre would he haue? *and* he shall haue it so.' *ibid.* 680;

Barabas. 'Haply (the Turks) come for neither, but to pass along
Towards Venice by the Adriatic sea;
With whom they have attempted many times,
But never could effect their stratagem.
Jew. *And* very wisely said. It may be so.'
Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 205;

'Is she so fair?
And matchless beautiful.' *ibid.* 617.

'O earth-mettled villains, and no Hebrews born!
And will you basely thus submit yourselves
To leave your goods to their arbitrament?' *ibid.* 310;

'Well, yet the old proverbe to disprove I purpose to begin,
Which always saith that cowardly hearts fair ladies never win:
Shall I not Julia win, *and* who hath a cowardlier heart?'
Sir Clyamon and Sir Clamydes, 507, *a*;

> *Kendal.* 'Thou, how art thou a gentleman?
> *Jenkin. And* such is my master.' Greene, *George-a-Greene*, 259, *a*;
>
> *Hamlet.* 'Will the king hear this piece of work?
> *Pol. And* the queen too.' *Hamlet*, III. ii. 53;
>
> *Cass.* 'This rudeness is a sauce to his good wit.
> *Brut. And* so it is.' *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 307.

Also = as:—

Also nighe as I can, *Blades*, 132.

As = as if, is very common:—

Lepyng alwaye here and there, *as* hors and man had fowgthen in thayer, *Blanchardyn*, 42/7; her gowne that she had on was therof changed *as* grete shoure of rayne had come doune from the heuens, *ibid.* 43/17; after thys fortune I haue ben syn, as force compellyd me therto, seruaunt vnto a kynge sarasyn, *as* I had ben one of theym, *ibid.* 133/31; he smote vpon his enmyes *as* it had be the thonder, *ibid.* 169/2; he hewe the sarasins *as* they had ben wythoute harneys, *Aymon*, 137/20; (he) kept hymself styll like *as* he had ben deed, *ibid.* 179/11.

Still frequent in Elizabethan authors:—

> 'And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong,
> *As* he her wronged innocence did weet.'
> Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. iii. 6/3. Cf. *ibid.* I. v. 20/9; III. i. 6/5;
>
> 'I hope our credit in the custom house
> Will serve as well, *as* I were present there.'
> Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 94. For Shakspere, see Schmidt, *s. v.*

As is used redundantly before other conjunctions and adverbs in Malory:—

I wist it were soth that ye say I shold do suche peryllous dede *as* that I wold slee my self to make the a lyar, *Morte Darthur*, 84/38; awaite vpon me *as* to morn secretely, *ibid.* 287/22; I wille be-redy *as* to morne, *ibid.* 311/4; for *as* that same day this lady of the lake knewe wel that kynge arthur shold be slayne, *ibid.* 361/25; he charged the lady of the lake not to discouer his name *as* at that tyme, *ibid.* 362/22; nay, said sire Palomydes, *as* att this tyme I wille not Iuste with that knyght, *ibid.* 382/23; for *as* to morne the grete turnement shalle be, *ibid.* 383/23; that shalle ye not wete *as* at this tyme, *ibid.* 408/22; ye shalle not wete *as* at this time, *ibid.* 412/10.

Both (postponed) = as well, also occurs in *Morte Darthur*, not only in order to connect two, but more persons and things:—

I am sore hurte and he *bothe*,—*ibid.* 134/10; he smote syr galahantyne on the helme that his nose braste out on blood, and

eerys and mouthe *bothe,—ibid.* 192/5; for my hors and I ben fresshe *bothe,—ibid.* 323/20; now I wil say vnto you and to hym *both,—ibid.* 349/3; fals treason hast thou wrouȝt and he *both,—ibid.* 403/31.

Eke (Old English *eác*) = also :—

eke harneys, *Blanchardyn*, 60/21; I shall delyuere you hors, and wherof his son and *eke* Blanchardyn came, *ibid.* 126/13.

Ne = nor, *see* 'Adverbs,' p. lxxvii.

Nor—also = nor—either :—

For not a peny he wolde take of it, *nor* his brethern *also,—Aymon*, 145/7.

So = if :—

Yf nedes I shal dey, I were of it all well content, soo that it were in the absence of her, *Blanchardyn*, 188/23; I shall now quyte you and relesse vnto you all the servyse that ye owe me, to you and to your eyres for evermore, *soo* that ye will take Richard, the sone of Aymon, and see that he be hanged, *Aymon*, 324/7; I will not take your yeldyng vnto me, But *so* that ye wylle yelde you vnto syr Kay the Seneschal, *Morte Darthur*, 200/32; I wille ryde with you *so* that ye wille not rebuke this knyght, *ibid.* 348/32.

This use is also frequent in Elizabethan authors :—

> '*So* now the mighty emperor hears of you,
> Your highness needs not doubt but in short time
> He will . . . redeem you from this deadly servitude.'
> Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 1011; *ibid.* 3839; *Faustus*, 1364; *Jew of Malta*, 189; *ibid.* 190.

Than = then = when (Old English *ðonne*) :—

Thenne Brastias saw his felawe ferd so with al, he smote the duke with a spere that hors and man fell doune, *Morte Darthur*, 54/2, than Syre Tor was redy he mounted vpon his horsbak and rode after the knyght, *ibid.* 109/20; thenne the duke sawe he myghte not escape the deth, he cryed to his sones and charged them to yelde them, *ibid.* 155/4; and *thenne* Beaumayns sawe hym soo well horsed and armed, thenne he alyghte doune and armed hym, *ibid.* 222/26.

Than = than that, than if :—

For I had leuer that ye were confused and dysmembred *than* I shold take armes or hors for to Iuste lyke as ye say, *Charles the Grete*, 43/17; and yf thou haue broughte Arthurs wyf, damd Gweneuer, he shall be gladder *than* thow haddest guyen to him half fraunce, *Morte Darthur*, 167/24; now am I better pleasyd, saye

Pryamus, *than* thou haddest gyuen to me all the prouynce and parys the ryche, *ibid.* 178/2; I had leuer to haue ben torn with wylde horses *than* ony varlet had wonne such loos, *ibid.* 178/4.

That, like the Greek ὅτι, is often used to introduce a direct speech (oratio recta), so that it is equal in value to the modern colon :—

He sayd full angerly to the styward, *that* 'to an euyll owre hath your lady ben so madde as to mary her self to a ladde, a straunger.' *Blanchardyn*, 184/9; (Merlyn) late wryte balyns name on the tombe with letters of gold, *that* here lyeth balyn le Saueage, *Morte Darthur*, 98/35; [*how* in the same function occurs, *ibid.* 84/7; (the kynge) wrote the names of them bothe on the tombe, *How* here lyeth launceor the kynges sone of Irlond, that at his owne requeste was slayne by the handes of balyn.]

That often replaces other conjunctions in compound clauses, especially *when;* this is a literal translation of the French 'que' in the same function :—

When they of the cyte had seen the manere and the rewle of their enmyes, and *that* all wyth leyser they had seen their puyssance and their manere of doynge, The Captayne and the prouoste of the towne dyde ordeyne a stronge and a bygge worde, *Blanchardyn*, 58/17; *when* he knewe and *that* he was aduertysed by his sone . . . he was al ynough content, *ibid.* 126/10; and *whan* she sawe that by no manere of meanes she myght not tourne ne chaunge the corage of her cruel fader, And *that* she herde hym saye blame of her god . . . she by grete wrath sayd, *ibid.* 186/9; and *whan* the nyght was passed, and *that* reynawd was vp he went here and there, *Aymon*, 434/23; and *whan* the tables were take vp and *that* everi man had eten at his ease, they wente to their warde, *ibid.* 463/27; and *whan* the morowe came and *that* mawgys had his newe sloppe and his hode he toke his palster, *ibid.* 467/9.—And *after* that the worke was ended, and *that* all their enmyes were taken or slayn, they brought hym and entred wythin the cyte, *Blanchardyn*, 195/26; *after* that Sadoyne was crowned to be kynge, and *that* he had archyeued and made all his ordonnaunces . . . Blanchardyn, his felawe, dysposed him self for to retourne ayen toward Tormaday, *ibid.* 196/22.—So began he to be ful of thoughte and all annoyed of hym self *by cause* he was not armed tyl his plesure, and *that* he myght not yssue out, *ibid.* 59/30; they sholde make theim gode chere of suche goodes as god had lent hem: *by cause* they semed to be knyghtes, and *that* it was sore late to ryde eny ferther, and *that* noo housyng nor no retrayt was nyghe, *ibid.* 204/27, 28; thother laborers had so grete enoy *by cause* he dide better his devour than thei, and *that* he was better loved than thei, *Aymon*, 575/16.

That is used tautologically :—

None can telle it you, bycause *that* it (the beaulte) was so grete, that god and nature had nothyng forgoten there, *Blanchardyn*, 13/7 ; it is bycause *that* he is a straunger, *ibid.* 91/20 ; I shall now quyte you and relesse vnto you all the servyse that ye owe me . . . for evermore, soo *that* ye wyll take Richard . . . and see that he be hanged, *Aymon*, 324/7 ; ye knowe how longe *that* he hath dammaged vs, *ibid.* 402/14 ; me thynketh that we oughte to avenge vs vpon hym, sith *that* we have hym, *ibid.* 402/16 ; ye wote well that I left him by cause *that* peas shold be made, *ibid.* 407/26 ; I am wel admeruaylled fro whens *that* cometh to the suche presumpcion *Charles the Grete*, 53/13 ; for it is longe sythe *that* they haue ony thynge holpen vs, *ibid.* 140/30.

II. SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE.

§ 38. *Concord.*

The first rule of every syntax, namely, that a finite verb agrees with its subject *in number*, is very often sinned against in the early periods of the English language.

(*A.*) The slightest violation of grammar is the construction of *collective nouns with predicates in the plural* (*κατὰ σύνεσιν*). Of this concession made by grammar to logic, there are instances from Old English down to our own day :—

Old English : þæt folc sæt . . . and arison, *Exodus*, xxxii. 6 ; se here swór þæt hie woldon, *Chronicle*, 921 ; þin ofspring sceal âgan *heóra* feónda gata, *Genesis*, xxii. 17. (March, *Comparative Gram.*, § 402.)

Middle English : þat israelisshe *folc* was walkende toward ierusalem on swinche, and on drede, and on wanrede, and þo wile *was* hersum godes hese. Ac efter þan þe *hie weren* wuniende in ierusalem . . . þo *hie* forleten godes lore, *O. E. Homilies*, II. 51. Ðis wird of engeles metten him, *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 1790.

'And *euerilc on* ðat held*en* wið him,
ðo wurð*en* mirc, and swart, and dim.'—*ibid.* 285.

'And als *ilkan* for sere resun
Com for to mak *þair* orisun.'—*Cursor Mundi*, 10,222.

'That all the folk schuln laughen in this place.'—*Chaucer*, II. 231.

'And saugh wel that hire folk weren al aweye.'—*ibid.* IV. 201.

'The remenaunt were anhanged, more and lesse.'—*ibid.* III. 84.

This use is rare in Caxton. 'People, folk,' are followed by a singular verb, e. g. *Aymon*, 38/12, 100/19; the plural is an exception, e. g. *Aymon*, 70/26: 'what *are* this folke?'

(*B.*) Plural nouns, or several nouns joined together by a copulative conjunction, take a singular predicate. This striking irregularity crops up very early, and is very frequent in the 15th century, and in the time of Shakspere:—

Moren and wilde (h)uni *was* his mete, *O. E. Homilies*, II. 139;

> 'In firme begining, of nogt
> *Was* heuene and erðe samen wrogt.'—*Story of Gen. and Exod.*, 40;
>
> 'For *was* sundri speches risen.'—*ibid.* 668;
>
> 'ðor was laid adam and eua.'—*ibid.* 817;
>
> 'Alle his wundres þat he doþ, *is* þurch þene vend.'—*The Passion of Our Lord*, l. 60 (*Old English Miscellany*, 39).
>
> 'Alle his wundres þat he doþ, *is* þurch þene quede.'—*ibid.* l. 250.

(he) steȝ into heuene þet is aboue alle ssepþe þet *ys* ine heuene, *Ayenbite*, p. 11; þe neȝende article and þe þri laste belongeþ to þe holi gost and *is* þellich, p. 13.

Siþen þe sege and þe assaut *watz* sesed at Troye, *Sir Gawayne*, l. 1; out tak the forsayd matyns bokys that is bequethe to Thomas my sone, 5/14; *Early English Wills*, 5/14;—the hole goodis that is my owne, 92/12; þis *es* the dettis þat *es* [h]owynge to me, 39/34 (*Essex*, ab. 1417); the 80 mark þe whiche *is* in Thomas Harwodes hand, 44/12; forto dispende the goudis that es therin, 71/2; On the finger *was* wretyn word*is*: 'percate hic,' *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 7. Cf. Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 298.

Caxton. The kyng Alymodes and alle his oost *was* right sore affrayed, *Blanchardyn*, 119/29; here *is* xx li of money, *Aymon*, 332/7; here is grete merveylles, *ibid.* 444/31; Such II. brethren as *is* kyng Ban and kyng bors, *Morte Darthur*, 57/38; there ben but fewe now lyuynge that *is* so myghty as he is, *ibid.* 241/22; he arryued up in Irland euen fast by a castel where the kynge and the quene *was*,—*ibid.* 285/9; there *was* slain that morowe tyde x M good mennys bodyes, *ibid.* 53/12.

There are many instances of this freedom in the literature of the 16th century:—

There *is* more nobler portes in England, *Andrew Boorde*, p. 120; there is at Bath certain waters, *ibid.*; the olde noble the Aungels and the halfe aungels, *is* fine golde, p. 121; in Cornwall *is* two speches, p. 123; in Wales *is* used these two stalticious matters, p. 127; yet in Ireland *is* stupendous thinges, p. 133; XVIII Scotish pens is

worthe an Englysshe grote, p. 137; the mountains *is* very baryn, p. 160; the greater *is* the flods, p. 161; there is many great mountains, p. 165. Cf. 171, 172, 185, 191, 195, 208, 245.

There *was* many Dukes, Erles, and barons, *Huon*, I. 2/22 (ed. of 1601: were assembled); there *was* lenynge in wyndowes ladys and damesels, *ibid.* 38/28 (ed. 1601: were); there was present in the feld lordes and knyghtes, 43/4. Cf. 90/19, 115/19, 126/30, 156/6, 157/9, 167/3, 210/24, 313/25, 325/25, 371/13, 388/29, 390/6, 394/21, 413/15, 414/23, 422/11, 423/4, 471/22, 472/19, 473/31, 555/23, 29, 589/24, 605/28.

'What shooting is, how many kindes there *is* of it—is tolde.'—
Ascham, *Toxoph.* 31.

'Both the mastur and rular of the sterne *ys* wyse and experte.'—
Starkey, *England*, etc., p. 57, l. 1071.

'See, Diccon, 't was not so well washed this seven year, as ich neeen.'—
Gammer Gurton, 193.

'There *is* five trumps besides the queen.'—*ibid.* 199.

'What need*s* these plaints?'—*Mucedorus*, 232.

'What need*s* these words?'—*ibid.* 232.

'Here *is* four angels for you.'—Greene, *Looking-Glass*, 125, a.

'Here *is* twenty angels.'—*ibid.*

'Each others equall puissaunce envies,
And throug their iron sides with cruell spies
Does seke to perce.'—Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, I. ii. 17, 4/6.

'He had yet lived, whose twelve labours display*s*
His endless fame, and yet his honour spreads.'—*Tancred*, I. iii.

'Here'*s* your thirty shillings.'

'Our neighbour*s*, that were woont to quake
And tremble at the Persean Monarkes name,
Now sit*s* and laugh*s* our regiment to skorne.'—
Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 115.

'. . . . . about their necks
Hang*s* massie chaines of golde . . .'—*ibid.* 314.

'Whose fiery cyrcles beare encompassed
A heaven of heavenly bodies in their Spheares
That guide*s* his steps and actions to the throne.'—*ibid.* 464.

'*Was* there such *brethren*, sweet Meander, say?'—*ibid.* 567.

'What sa*ies* my other friends?'—*ibid.* 768.

'Upon his browes was pourtraid vgly death,
And in his eies the furie of his hart,
That shi*ne* as Comets, menacing reueng,
And cast*s* a pale complexion on his cheeks.'—*ibid.* 1054/55.

'for Wil and Shall best fitteth Tamburlain,
Whose smiling stars giue*s* him assured hope.'—*ibid.* 1136.

'What is beauty, sai*th* my sufferings, then?'—*ibid.* 1941.

'Now shame and duty, loue and feare present*s*
A thousand sorrowes to my martyred soule.'—*ibid.* 2166.

'My lord, such speeches to our princely sonnes
Dismaie*s* their mindes before they come to prooue
The wounding troubles angry war affoords.'—*ibid.* 2646.

'from Trebizon in Asia the lesse
Naturalized Turks and stout Bythinians
Came to my hands full fifty thousand more,
That, fighting, knowe*s* not what retreat doth meane.'—*ibid.* 3538.

'See now, ye slaues, my children stoop*s* your pride
And lead*s* your glories sheep-like to the sword!'—*ibid.* 3748/49.

'Distrest Olympia, whose weeping eies
Since thy arriuall here beheld no Sun,
But closde within the compasse of a tent,
Ha*th* stain'd thy cheekes, and made thee look like death.'—
ibid. 3883.

'The Humidum and Calor, which some holde
Is not a parcell of the Elements.'—*ibid.* 4477.

'Sometimes like women, so unwedded maides,
Shadowing more beautie in their ayrie brows,
Then ha*s* the white breasts of the queene of Loue.'—
Marlowe, *Faustus*, ed. Breymann, 149 (B).

For Shakspere, see *Abbott*, § 335.

The instances with *-s*, and *-th*, however, may be also explained as remnants of Northern and Southern endings.

§ 39. *Co-ordination instead of Subordination.*

It is a well-known characteristic feature of poetical style to use sentences as co-ordinate ones, which, logically, stand in the relation of subordination. But Caxton's prose also exhibits several striking instances of this use. Two principal sentences are asyndetically joined together, where we should expect a principal sentence and a subordinate clause:—

Whan he see Blanchardyn, that all prest was to furnyshe hys enterpryse, gaffe to hymselfe grete meruaylle, and praised hym but litell, *he asked hym of whens he was. Blanchardyn answerd*, that for no drede nor fere that he had of hym he shuld kepe his name from hym, *Blanchardyn*, 84/3; whan the sarrasyns saw the kynge of the gyauntes dede they were sore frayed and gretly abashed, for in hym was alle their hope. *they fled toward their tentes as faste as they myght. Blanchardyn and* they of Tormaday pursued them, *ibid.* 87/14, 15; Sadoyne behelde the pucell beatryx that so gentyl was and so odly fayr, *he enbraced and kyssed her*, sayeng, *ibid.* 143/21. Cf. 33/2, 39/16, 141/25, 168/24.

In the prose of the sixteenth century I noticed this use only in Berners:—

So he went to hys lodgyng sorowfull and in grete dyspleasure, and than he imagyned and studyed on the mater, and howe to brynge about his interpryse; than he departed fro hys lodgyng, and went to Charlot the kynges sone, with whome he was ryght pryuey; he founde hym syttyng on a ryche couche with a yonge knyght, *Huon*, 13/3—9; thus they 2 bretherne departyd and kyssyd theyr mother, sore wepynge. Thus they toke theyr horses and theyr companys, *ibid.* 14/3, 4; Charlot came agaynst the 2 brethern; the Abbot of Cluny saw Charlot commynge al armyde, *ibid.* 19/13, 14; as they lokyd in to the see they spyed a shyppe charged with xxx paynemes, and grete ryches; then Gerames saw how the shipp was commynge to that porte, then he sayd to his company, syrs, lett vs go, *ibid.* 129/11, 12. (But, perhaps in this case *then—then* answers to Old English *ðonne—ðonne* = when, then.) Cf. 134/20, 149/6—9, 152/16, 185/3, 4, 203/1, 273/8, 297/4, 313/25, 381/24, 388/2.

§ 40. *Noun Clauses.*

(*A.*) The Subject Clause, which, in Modern English, is introduced by *that*, turns up very frequently in the shape of an Accusative in connection with an Infinitive. 'It is better a man wysely to be stille, than folysshly to speke,' *Charles the Grete*, 93/5. *See* § 30.

(*B.*) Much more interesting is the difference in the construction of the Object Clause. Compare the following two sentences: 'And God saw the light that it was good' (*Genesis*, i. 4); 'You see that I am composed' (Dickens, *Dombey and Son*, iii. 9).

Logically speaking, the two constructions are equivalent; but psychologically, how different is the idea which they represent! In the first case the sentence expresses an abstract result; in the second, the verb *see* has a concrete object, in which a certain attribute is perceived.

The former way of expression is the older as well as the more intuitive, and it crops up very often in Early English, though the more modern one seems to have crept in at a very early period:—

Old English: Ic *þæt* gehýre, *þæt* þis is hold wëorod, *Beowulf*, 290; We *þæt* gehýrdon þurh hálige héc, þæt éow dryhten geaf dóm unscyndne, *Elene*, 364. Cf. 853.

Middle English: Gif þu *hine* iseȝe *þet he* wulle asottie to þes deofles hond send to his werkes. þet þu hine lettest, *Old English Homilies*, I. 17; he scal soðfeste men setten him to irefen. and for godes eie libban his lif rightliche and beon on erfeðnesse anred and edmod on stilnesse. and his *ofspringe ne iþauie þet hi beon unright-*

wise (and shall not suffer his offspring to be unrighteous), *ibid.* I. 115;

> 'ful wel þu *me* iseie þauh þu stille were.
> *Hwar ich* was and *hwat i dude* þauh þu me uorbere.'—
> *On God Ureisun of ure Lefdi*, 105/106;

> 'He wayned me vpon þis wyse to your wynne halle,
> for to assay *þe surquidre, ȝif hit soth were,*
> þat rennes of þe grete renoun of þe Rounde Table.'—
> *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, 2457;

> '(They) louen more here folye avowis to
> fulfille *hem* þan to fulfille goddis hestis.'—
> Wyclif, *Unprinted Engl. Works*, ed. Matthew, p. 103;

> 'When the emperowre harde telle
> *All þat case, how hyt felle,*
> That Saddok was so slayne,
> Therof was he nothyng fayne.'—
> *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, 1498;

> 'When he sawe dewke Raynere
> And the constabull Waldynere,
> How þer men were broght to grownde
> Wyth grete yre yn a stownde,
> Gye beganne to crye in hye.'—*ibid.* 1967.

For other instances in the same work, see Zupitza's note to l. 1497.

I aske *þe ien* of alle the men . . . *þat þei be pikid oute,*—*Gesta Romanorum*, p. 154; knowist thow not *me, what I am?*—*ibid.* 208; he weht to the sheldes where they lay, *ibid.* 235; and he had grete envie of þis childe þat þe emperour loved him so moche, *ibid.* 322.

Caxton and Malory are well acquainted with the old use. The following instances are equivalent in their structure to those quoted above:—

Syre, I knowe not *your persone, what ye be*, nor to whom I speke, *Blanchardyn*, 183/26; whan sadoyne, that was the same tyme lokyng out at a wyndowe wythin his castell of Cassydonye, and his wyf the fayr Beatryx by hym sawe *the two oostes that they wold Ioyne togyder* to batayl, he gaf hymselfe gret meruayl, *ibid.* 193/29; the lady, that was shette wythin, was full sore and wroth *for her frende blanchardyn, that he was soo ferre* from her, *ibid.* 197/30; (he) went to the ryuage of the water, and byhelde *it that it ranne* lyke a quarel out of a crosbowe, *Charles the Grete*, 157/26; byholde *me how I am* obedyent to the commaundements of the chyrche, *ibid.* 238/25; (he) came to the bataille and sawe *his knyghtes how they had* vaynquysshed the bataylle, *Morte Darthur*, 171/35; and we here knowe *the* wel that thou arte syre Launcelot du laake, *ibid.* 186/

38; and therfor alle the myssayenge that ye myssayed me fordered me in my bataill, and caused me to thynke to shewe and preue *my self* at the ende *what I was,—ibid.* 229/35; that shalle cause *me that I shall not* be knowen, *ibid.* 258/1; he knewe *sir Blamor de ganys that he* was a noble knyght, *ibid.* 303/17; syr Danadan knewe *the knyght* wel *that he* was a noble Knyght, *ibid.* 429/4; but euer sir Dynadan thought he shold knowe *hym* by his shelde *that* it shold be sir Tor, *ibid.* 429/18; he euermore desyred *her to wedde her,—ibid.* 575/34; anon the good man knewe *hym that* he was one of the knyȝtes erraunt, *ibid.* 671/33.

But the real meaning of this old construction seems already drawing to decay in Malory and Caxton; for in many instances *that* is no longer understood as a conjunction, but as a relative pronoun; consequently the personal pronoun is dropped, and the noun clause becomes an adjective one:—

Whan the kynge herde *the prouoste, that* soo grete offre made for to haue ageyne blanchardyn, He gaff hym self grete merueylle, *Blanchardyn*, 91/29; but ouer moche dysplaysed her to see her feyth-full *frende Blanchardyn that* wolde goo ayen out of the lande, *Blanchardyn*, 172/14; of that other part, he sawe *his only doughter, that* denyed and defended hym his comynge in to his cyte, *ibid.* 184/7; (Alymodes) sawe hym self bannyshed and chassed out of his towne and royalme, and also *his doughter that* was wedded to his mortayll enmye, *ibid.* 191/30; the kynge Alymodes, seeng *his folke that* fled . . . cam and yelded hym self in to the handes of blanchardyn, *ibid.* 195/16; he sawe his cheff banner ouer thrawen, and hym self enclosed of al sydes, *his men that* fled, and awayte non other but after the stroke of deth, *ibid.* 203/17; thenne whan Charlemagne saw *his peres that* were soo sore moved wyth angre agenste hym, he sayd to theym, *Aymon*, 485/21; and whan reynawd saw *mawgis that* dyde so well, he was glad, *ibid.* 516/19; neuertheles, Rychard beyng on a lytel montayn, and byhelde *the hoost* of the paynyms came ageynst hym with grete courage, ye may wel ymagyne in what estat his hert was, *ibid.* 150/29; feragus, beyng euyl contente *for hys hors that* was dede, took hys swerde for to smyte Rolland, *ibid.* 222/28.

(*C.*) Whenever the object noun-clause is at the same time an adjectival one, Caxton uses the old construction. Take for instance this sentence, 'He saw a shield that he knew to be his brother's.' Instead of using our accusative with the infinitive, Caxton says (as we also often do now): 'He saw a shield that he knew was his brother's':—

She commaunded that they sholde goo and arme them self for to resiste ayenst her enmyes at their commyng on lande, *whiche she sawe approched* alredy right nyghe, *Blanchardyn*, 56/19; and also for of the grete dysplesure that he had of the quene his wyffe, that suche a sorowe made for her entyerli beloued sone blanchardin *whiche she wyste not where he was becom . . . ibid.* 112/1; the fayr pucelle and proude in amours myght not seasse nor leue her sorowe ther fore, that she contynually made for her right dere frende blanchardyn; *that* for the loue of her *she trowed that he had other be lost or ded,—ibid.* 120/11; the pouere folke of prusse, that is to wyte, the barons and knyghtes that Sadoyne had brought wyth hym were sore dyscomfyted and full of sorowe for thabsence of their maystre, *that they sawe was brought prysonner* of the paynems, *ibid.* 171/30; I am he *that thou knowe that dyd doo destroye* rome your cyte, and slewe the Pope and many other, and bare awaye the relyques that I there founde, *Charles the Grete*, 52/30; fals creature that thou arte (whome I byseche god confounde), thou wendest to haue made me to muse in thy folyes, *ibid.* 119/8; and amonge them he sawe his broders sheld syr Lyonel, and many moo *that he knewe that were his felawes,—Morte Darthur*, 185/7; and so shull ye haue wel rewarded me of all *that ye say that* my brother and I haue doo for you and for your realme, *Melusine*, 153/1; and thanne all they that were there byan to sorowe and wepe for the pyte they had of the kyng, And also of the sorow that they sawe the virgyne, his daughter, made so pitously, *ibid.* 154/22.

§ 41. *Change of direct and indirect speech.*

It is a frequent anacoluthon in Old French, Middle High German, and Middle English writers to pass abruptly from indirect to direct speech. This occurs several times in Caxton, but Malory makes a most extravagant use of it:—

'Wex derke, ðis coren is gon,
Iacob eft bit hem faren agon,
Oc he ne duren ðe weie cumen in,
"but go wið us senden beniamin;"
ðo quað he, "quan it is ned."'—*Genesis and Exodus*, 2240;

'The dewke clepyd Gye there,
And bad, yf hys wylle were,
That Harrawde schulde haue wyth hym eche dell
Fyve hundurde knyghtys armed well,
And wende forthe, wythowte fayle,
Boldely them for to assayle,
"And ye, syr Gye, a thousande
Bolde men and wele bydande."'
Guy of Warwick, ed. Zupitza, 1785;

'He clepyd hys hunte to hym there
And seyde, he wolde chace þe dere

Erly in the morowtyde
In the forest, þat was so wyde,
Bothe at hartys and at hyndys,
And wylde bestys of odur kyndys,
" Preuely that hyt be wroght,
That þe dewke wytt hyt noght."'—*ibid.* 2328/29;

'The emperowre asked then,
What were all tho armed men.
Oon seyde, hyt was syr Gyowne,
"All in wrath goyth fro þe towne
In odur stedde to do hys beste
Wyth schelde and spere to fyght preste."'—*ibid.* 3162/70.

Cf. Zupitza, note to l. 1785.

Than the messanger sayde to her that the kyng made to hym so harde and heuy countenaunce, that he wold nat heere speke worde, neyther of yow hys lady, neyther of youre chylde, in any maner that myght be, *Trivet*, p. 239 (Chaucer Society's *Originals & Analogues*); and syth whan she was come ayen to her self, that she had the myght to speke, she sayde to the prouost that soone and incontynent he shold go toward the kyng Alymodes for to wyte, yf for golde or syluer he wolde take to raenson þe knyght. And yf his playsure was to sende hym ayen to her, 'I shal gyue him for his raenson seuen dromadaryes al laden with fyn gold,' *Blanchardyn*, 90/2; he right reuerently salued hym, sayeng vnto hym, that he was come there for to beye ayen þe straunge knyght . . . thus right gladly she wolde haue hym ayen, yf your plesure were for to putte hym to raenson, *ibid.* 91/23; Alymodes ansuerd to hym, and sayd that it was more than a monthe ago that they neuer made noo yssue . . . and that they were made full symple, syth that the yonge knyght was taken, whiche I betok you for to be brought vnto the kynge of salamandrye, *ibid.* 116/14; Sadoyne departed and com to fore the kynge his fader, to whome in the best wyse that he myght or coude dyde shewe vnto him his wyll, and . . . that a lawfull and Iuste cause he had to do soo, for to gyue socoure and helpe the yonge knyght straunger, 'that thourgh his prouesse and grete worthynes hathe socoured you,' *ibid.* 126/1; the prouoste tolde to hym . . . that neuer syth that she receyued the letter that he dyde sende to her by hym, she had no Ioye at her herte, nor shal neuer haue vnto the tyme that she see you ayen, *ibid.* 156/33; thenne they auysed the kynge to send for the duke and his wyf by a grete charge, And yf he wille not come at your somons thenne may ye do your best, *Morte Darthur*, 35/25; the kynge commaunded II. knyghtes and II. ladyes to take the child bound in a cloth of gold, and that ye delyuer hym to what poure man ye mete, *ibid.* 59/6; (A squyer) told hym how ther was a knyght in the forest had rered vp a pauelione by a well, and hath slayne my mayster a good knyght, *ibid.* 68/25; Balyn told his broder of his aduenture of the swerd, and of the deth of the lady of the lake, and

how kyng arthur was displeaysyd with hym, wherfor he sente this knyȝt after me, *ibid.* 83/8, 9; (Pellinore) charged the heremyte with the corps that seruyse shold be done for the soule, and take his harneys for your payne, *ibid.* 117/15. Cf. *ibid.* 119/5, 129/26, 136/3, 146/34, 149/28, 169/13, 170/32, 178/22, 183/22, 203/5, 208/4, 227/17, 231/17, 239/10, 240/9, 242/37, 247/8, 271/20, 281/6, 282/2, 315/21 and *passim;* for yf they had not be, the paynemys had dystroyed them all, or had constrayned to be conuerted to theire fals lawe, whiche had be to vs wers and heuyer than ony deth corporall, *Melusine*, 152/5, 6.

This freedom is very frequent in Berners, and occurs as late as the second half of the 17th century:—

(Huon) embrassyd hym and sayde how often tymys he had sene Guyer, his brother the prouost, wepe for you, and whan I departyd fro Burdeux I delyueryd to hym all my londes to gouerne, *Huon*, 62/31, 32; than the admyrall answeryd, and sayd how he wolde pardon hym on the condycyon that he shulde neuer after trespas hym, nor no man in his countre, and be syde that, to become my man, and to do me homage, *ibid.* 150/1; he founde Iuoryn, to whom he shewed . . . howe he and his company founde the sayd knyght and your nece the fayre Esclaramonde, *ibid.* 163/18; than he called all his couent, and chargyd them, in the vertue of obedyence, to reuest them selues with crosse and myter and copes, to reseyue Huon, the ryghtfull enherytour to the countre of Burdeux though the kynges of fraunce be our founders, *ibid.* 219/11, 12; they alyghted and kneled downe before Huon, and requyred hym to haue mercy, and pyte of theym as to saue theyr lyues and put vs in pryson, *ibid.* 336/17; (Huon) commaunded him that incontynent he sholde go to the emperour, and say vnto hym that yf it be his pleasure to here spekynge of any peace, I shall condyscende therto, *ibid.* 342/10; then he sayd to kynge Arthur, 'syr, I wyll ye holde your peas, for if ye speke one worde more agaynst Huon the souerayne kynge of the fayry, that he wold condemyne hym parpetually to be a warwolfe in the se,' *ibid.* 602/21; they told him that they were poor pilgrims going to Zion, but were led out of their way by a black man, clothed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him,—Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress,* 133/1.

§ 42. *Adjective Clauses.*

(*A.*) For the construction of adjective clauses, *see* 'Relative Pronoun,' § 15, B, p. xxxvii above.

(*B.*) Adjective clauses are sometimes used with a conditional sense (who would speak = if somebody would speak):—

Certes, who someuer brought her this sorowfull and pyteuose tydynge I doubte not but that she shold slee her self for grete displaysir, *Blanchardyn*, 155/30; and I promyse you, that who shall hange Richarde, I shall goo to Reynawde, and shall put myself in hys pryson, *Aymon*, 326/23; who that sholde speke of the bredern of reynaude and of theyr dedes, it were to longe to be recounted, *ibid.* 536/3; for who that might take them fro the sarasyns, none of them shuld neuer retourne foot, in sury nor in tharsy, *Melusine*, 169/32; 'By my hed,' said Anthony, 'who that shuld punysshe you . . . ye were not puyssaunt to make amendes suffysaunt therof,' *ibid.* 209/26; 'but, fayre Cousyn, it is wel trouth, that who myght goodly tary the day of your weddyng it were your honour,' *ibid.* 238/1; and who that shuld enquire of me what folke they were, I shuld say it was one of Claude of Syon bretheren that camme toward his brother at his mandement, *ibid.* 249/5.

For the so-called figures of syntax, like anacoluthon, pleonasm, *see* the Appendix below, on Caxton's style, p. cix, &c.

III. ARRANGEMENT OF WORDS.

§ 43. *Subject and Predicate* (*Inversion*).

Compared with Early English, the inversion of the present language ranges over a very limited space. Caxton, in this respect, is very near the Modern English; in two cases, however, he has kept the Middle English.

1. Inversion used in emphatic sentences:—

Sore troubled of wyttis, and gretly vexed wythin her mynde as ye here, *rode forthe the gentel pucelle,—Blanchardyn*, 45/10; so *smot they* hem self wythin callyng vp a hyghe crye in to þe thikkest of their enmyes, *ibid.* 59/4; and syth *made eche hem self* to be armed hastely whan *dressid and redy they were*, they made their coursers to be had forth out of the stable, *ibid.* 60/33; and after that announced *was there comyng*, men made them to entre in to the chambre of parement, *ibid.* 76/27; to the rescue of blanchardyn *cam also the gode prouost,—ibid.* 166/23.

2. Co-ordinate sentences introduced by *and* are often inverted. This use may be traced to the pre-historic time of the English language. It appears in the oldest Teutonic dialects, and is still kept in Modern German, though learned grammarians are untiring in ridiculing this time-honoured use:—

Old English: Her Aeþelheard cyning forþferde *and feng* Cuþræd to Westseaxna rice, *Chronicle*, a. 741; ac monige sindon me swiðe onlice on ungelærednesse, þeah þe hi næfre leorningcnihtas næren, wilniað ðeah lareowas to beonne, and ðynceð him swiðe leoht sio byrðen pæs lareowdomes, *Cura Pastoralis*, p. 24.

Modern English: Syon was sum hwile iclepet þe hehe tur of Ierusalem. And *seið syon* ase muchel on englische leodene ase heh sihðe, and *bitacneð þis tur* þe heh schipe of meidenhad, *Hali Meidenhad*, p. 5; and *was his* holie lichame leid in buriels in þe holie sepulcre, *Old English Hom.*, II. 21; alse hit bi þe wimman and bi sheawere. hie bihalt hire sheawere. *and cumeð hire* shadewe þeronne, *ibid.* 29; and gif hit is swo. me ðingð ne bringð no synful man quemere loc þene teares sheding for his sinnen. *and wiste* seinte peter, and Seinte Marie Magdalene, *ibid.* 65. Cf. *ibid.* 83, 127, 165, 213; *Saules Warde*, 249 (*Old English Hom.* I.);

'And tanne comm he siþþen ut
All dumb and butenn spæche,
and toc to becnenn till þe folle,
and spacc he nohht wiþþ tunge.'—*Orm.* 224;

'He made an aucter on godes name,
And sacred he ðor-on, for sowles frame.'
Story of Genesis and Exodus, 626;

'ðo sente he after abram,
and bitagte he him is leman.'—*ibid.* 782;

'It semet wel ðat ge spies ben,
And into ðis lond cumen to sen,
And cume ge for non oðer ðing
But for to spien ur lord ðe king.'—*ibid.* 2171;

'And al ðis unweder ðor atwond,
And wurð ðis weder sone all stille.'—*ibid.* 3059.

Caxton offers several instances of this use:—

Thenne dylygently he demanded his mayster of the subtylnes of the werke, of thystorye and of the personnages. *And* first *recounted vnto hym his mayster* the puyssaunce the right grete cyrcuyte, and the noblesse of the cyte of Troyes, *Blanchardyn*, 15/9; the wawes wexed so bygge and so grete, that they semed to be mountayns. *And was the tempeste so perelouse*, that they were constreyned to enter into the brode see agayne, *ibid.* 136/11; Kynge Alymodes made the towne to be assayled, *and was there made grete alarme and grete fray*,—*ibid.* 152/23; and within a whyle they cam to the heremytage and took lodgyng *and was there gras otys* and breed for their horses, soone it was sped *and full hard was their souper*,—*Morte Darthur*, 111/7; for moche he langed that he myght there be arryued for to shew hym all the tydynges. *And dured* not long *the* scarmoushe, *Melusine*, 127/4; Uryan thanne made the standarde to passe fourth rydyng in batayll moche ordynatly *and was Vryan before*, hauyng a staf on hys fyste,

ibid. 131/22; anoone camme there Vryan, whiche alyghted, toke hys speere, and so dyde hys folke moche appertly, and made hys banere to be dysployed abrode, *and were the crosbowe men* on bothe sydes of hym vpon the bridge, *ibid.* 131/30; and so moche they dide that the fals paynemes might gete nothing on them, but that they lost twyes asmoche more, *and was scarmusshing* moche fyers and peryllous, *ibid.* 137/20; and thanne Vryan smote hym vpon the helmet a grete stroke with all his might, *and was the sawdan so sore charged* with that stroke that he was so astonyed and amaysed that he neyther sawe nor herde, *ibid.* 145/28; and thene Vryan and his folke lodged them self in the paynems lodgys, *and was the sommage of the cristen sent fore,—ibid.* 146/18. Cf. 203/17, 214/7, 12, 215/13, 234/7, 240/6.

§ 44. The Predicative verb, especially the verb *be*, is, as a rule, placed at the end of adjective clauses, and exceptionally also in others :—

The knyght thenne beholdynge the Iouencell Blanchardyn, that right yong *was*, and sawe hym alone, Rose anone vpon his feet, *Blanchardyn*, 26/16; theire sperys (that sore bygge and stronge *were*) broke also all to pyces, *ibid.* 28/10; thenne her maystres, that sage and dyscrete *was* comforted her, *ibid.* 43/19; whan blanchardyn had wel loked and rede the verses that grauen *were* in the marbell vpon the gate, and well vnderstode theire sentence, a lytyl he bygan to smyle, *ibid.* 47/8; there beganne the trompettes, the hornes, the olyphauntes, and the busynes to blowe, that suche a noyse *made*, that the see and the erthe retentyssed wyth alle, *ibid.* 183/6. Cf. 41/29, 49/10, 51/18, 60/31, 62/20, 64/30, 88/27, 94/29, 97/6, 99/8, etc.

§ 45. *Place of the Object.*

(*A.*) The object, when a noun, precedes the verb: 1. in emphatic sentences; 2. in clauses, especially before past participles and infinitives :—

1. *Your loue and lady* I shal yelde vnto you this day, *Blanchardyn*, 25/2; so smot they hem self wythin callyng vp a hyghe crye in to þe thikkest of their enmyes, where they slew and detrenched many one, *And dyuerse tentes* and pauyllons they pulled doune, *ibid.* 59/6; for so helpe me god, as I loue you wyth all my veraye herte, and am so esprysed wyth your loue, that *reherce it to you* I can not, *ibid.* 9/34; he toke his way forth on, and *folke* he met ynoughe by the waye, *ibid.* 98/30; *to the rescue* of blanchardyn cam also the goode prouost, *ibid.* 166/22.

2. Thenne the proude pucelle in loue, after a lytyl musyng, vnderstode well by the wordes of the captayne, and by the cognyssaunce that he tolde her of his horse, that he was that self knyght that *the*

kysse had taken of her, *Blanchardyn*, 51/26; I shal suffre for this nyght hym that *so grete a dysplaysure* hath don to me this day, *ibid.* 51/31; Blanchardyn thanked the messager, and prayed hym curtaysly that he wold haue hym for humbly recomended to the goode grace of the noble pucelle, that *so fayre a present* had sent to hym, *ibid.* 82/6; the paynem knyght, that was full curteys, made a token to hym that *his request* he dyde graunte, *ibid.* 90/26; and for *thys werke* to conducte and brynge to an ende, I graunte you euen now, and chose you, for to be in oure behalue Conestable and hed captayne of oure present armye, *ibid.* 100/27; and none of them abode there, but that he was ded or taken excepte som that fled awaye, that *this tydynges* brought to Alymodes, *ibid.* 191/9; that god that created the firmamente, and made alle thynges of noughte for *the people* to susteyne . . . kepe and saue the, *Aymon*, 24/19; I complayne me to you of the foure sonnes of Aymon, that hathe *my londe* dystroyed and wasted, *ibid.* 89/13; they coude *no counceil* gyue, but said they were bygge ynough, *Morte Darthur*, 47/10.

(*B.*) The personal pronoun as an object is not bound by this rule. In Old English its place was generally before the finite verb, as may be seen from the *Blickling Homilies*, where more than 80 per cent. of the pronouns in the oblique case precede the verb. In Middle English prose the modern arrangement carries the day, and in Caxton there are but a small number of instances exhibiting the old use; but even in these the French influence may have been of some effect:—

I *me* recommende ryght humbly vnto your good grace, *Blanchardyn*, 133/18; and to the surplus, to the playsure of oure lorde, and *hym* playsed ye shal vnderstande by mouthe ferthere of myn astate, *ibid.* 134/4; and yf I maye take hym, I shall not leue hym, for the duke Aymon that shamfully is goon from me, nor for his foure sones that I haue made knyghtes, wherof I *me* repente sore, *Aymon*, 38/21; the kyng gaaf hym ayen his salute, and *hym* demaunded what he was, *ibid.* 40/26; he called afore hym his barons, and *to theym* sayd, *ibid.* 104/18; ye knowe wel the grete dishonour thei have doon to me, wherof I *me* complayne vnto you, *ibid.* 183/15; I *you* supplye with al myn herte that now ye wyll rewarde me wyth a yefte that I shal desyre, *Charles the Grete*, 49/28; therof, madame, I *you* assure, *ibid.* 92/30. Cf. 127/1, 159/19, 160/15; God *me* spede, said Blamor de ganys, *Morte Darthur*, 306/26; the kyng rode euen to her, and salewed her, and said god *yow* saue, *ibid.* 541/5; I haue none other wylle than to endeuoyre me þerto, how be it certayn that I may not acomplysshe to the regarde of the grete honour that ye haue *me* shewed, *Melusine*, 152/13; but it augmenteth my doulour, wherfore I *you* commande that ye cesse of this heuynes, *ibid.* 155/8; but the

hauoir that is departed amonges my felawes I may not *it* rendre or yeld to you, *ibid.* 211/6.

§ 46. *Place of the Attribute.*

(*A.*) One attribute.

In Old and Middle English, adjectives (as a rule) precede the noun; this before-putting, though not unfrequent in poetry, occurs rarely in prose. In Caxton, adjectives—not only of French, but also of Teutonic origin, as well as present and past participles—follow the noun, and we may safely say that this is due to French influence.

(*B.*) Of two adjectives belonging to the same noun, the first precedes, the second follows it. This is nearly like the French use; but Caxton was far from copying his original, he simply kept a very old good English tradition:—

Old English: Gif ænig man hæbbe *módigne sunu and rancne,*—*Deuter.* xxi. 18; to gódum lande and wídgillum, *Exod.* iii. 8; wæron on þissum felda unríme gesomnunga hwíttra manna and fægerra, *Beda*, v. 13; he gefór . . . gód man and clæne and swiðe æðele, *Chronicle*, 1056; þat se anweald . . . becume tó *gódum men* and tó *wísum,*—*Boeth.* xvi. 1.

Middle English: heo wulle under fon *swa he*ȝ *þing* and *swa hali* swa is cristes licome, *O. E. Hom.*, 25; þet *frumkenede childe* and þet *lefeste,*—*ibid.* 87; non þe ledeð *feir lif* and *clene,*—*ibid.* 137; *monie wundre* and *muchele,*—*ibid.* 139; þat *loðeliche ward*, and *ateliche*, and *grisliche,*—*ibid.* II. 5; lomb is *drih þing* and *milde,*—*ibid.* 49; þe olde men þe þo weren and lif holie, *ibid.* 51; after summ *apel man & good,*—*Orm.* 611; *Rihhtwise men* and *gode,*—*ibid.* 116; full *mehhtiȝ mann* and *mære,*—*ibid.* 806;

> 'Of hem woren ðe getenes boren,
> *Migti men*, and *figti*, [and] *for-loren.*'—
> *Story of Genesis and Exodus*, 564;
>
> 'A *michel fier* he sag, and an *brigt.*'—*ibid.* 951;
>
> 'Ghe bed him gold, and agte, and fe,
> To maken him *riche man* and *fre.*'—*ibid.* 2018;
>
> '*Long weige* and *costful* he ðor fond.'—*ibid.* 3880;

Troye, þat *god mon* was and *wys,*—*Robert of Glos.*, p. 10; a *lute bal* and *round,*—Wright, *Pop. Treat. on Science*, p. 137; Sire Emerde Valence, *gentil knyght* and *free,*—*Polit. Songs*, (Camden Soc.) p. 216; ful *modi man* and *proud,*—*Anecd.*, p. 2; He was *hardy mon* and *strong,*—*Alis.*, 4402; the *foulest contree*, and *the most cursed*, and *the porest,*—*Maundeville*, p. 129; a *heȝe ernde* and a *hasty,*—*Gawayne*, 1051; to *knawe god* and *lonye,*—*Ayenbite*, 88; *soþe blisse* and *ziker,*—*ibid.* 93; þa is *guod lyf* and yblyssed, *ibid.*; a *gode zone* and *trewe,*—*ibid.* 101;

and namely with a *yong wif* and a *fair*,—*Chaucer*, II. 327; an *old man* and a *pore* with hem mette, *ibid.* III. 98; of such a *parfyt God* and a *stable*,—*ibid.* III. 6; in a foul *stynkynge stable* and *cold*,—*Wyclif*, 17; in grete *fatte hors* and *nedeles*,—*ibid.* 60; *gaie houses* and *costy*,—*ibid.* 61; *open heretiks* and *stronge*,—*ibid.*; *new song* and *costy*,—*ibid.* 76; an *heuenly yiefte* and *gostly*,—*ibid.* 82; here *worldly lif* and *cursed*,—*ibid.* 99; *proude men* and *delicate*,—*ibid.* 120; *wide clopis* and *precious*,—*ibid.* 128. Cf. *ibid.* 129, 140, 145, 156, 181, 223. I am come of *gret blode* and *riall*,—*Gesta Romanorum*, 23; a *strong man* and a *mighty*,—*ibid.* 42; a *wise man* and a *redy*,—*ibid.* 148; a *noble man*, and a *worthi*,—*ibid.* 172; *riche yiftes* and *fair*,—*ibid.* 190; a *worthy knyȝt* and a *riche*,—*ibid.* 202. Cf. *ibid.* 251, 264.

Caxton: and so *grete a stroke* and so *heuy* he gaffe hym, *Blanchardyn*, 62/22; god hath well kept hym from so *moche an hap* and so *hyghe*,—*ibid.* 75/24; that knewe hym for a *trusty man* and *secret*,—*ibid.* 81/23; he lete fall vpon daryus suche a *stourdy strok*, and so *grete*,—*ibid.* 86/17; a *grete tempeste* roose in the see, and so *horryble*,—*ibid.* 97/20; that was a *fayr knyght* and *yonge*,—*ibid.* 110/2; ye shall doo as a *wyse woman* and *well counseylled*,—*ibid.* 178/1; the *best tyme* and *most entier*,—*ibid.* 179/5; the *grete strokes* and the *dangerous*,—*Aymon*, 392/9; that was a *worthy knyghte* and a *wyse*,—*ibid.* 504/20; a *myghty spere* and *sharpe*,—*Charles the Grete*, 48/27; O *ryche emperour* and *noble*,—*ibid.* 84/16; I had had fyue of the *valyauntest erles* of fraunce and of the *grettest*,—*ibid.* 88/3; she ledde them by an *olde gate* and *secrete*,—*ibid.* 94/1; in spayne he had XVI *grete townes* and *stronge*,—*ibid.* 205/6; she was called a *fair lady* and a *passynge wyse*,—*Morte Darthur*, 35/7; that is a *passyng true man* and a feythful, *ibid.* 38/29; that was a *passyng good man* and a *yonge*,—*ibid.* 52/8; thou art a *boystous man* and an *vnlykely*,—*ibid.* 84/20; he was a *likely man* and a *well made*,—*ibid.* 94/27; the *best knyght* and the *myghtyest*,—*ibid.* 192/35; many in this land of *hyghe estate* and *lowe*,—*ibid.* 198/1; this is an *horryble dede* and a *shameful*,—*ibid.* 211/13; this is a *foule custome* and a *shameful*,—*ibid.* 310/31; they foughte vpon foote a *noble batail* togyders and a myghty, *ibid.* 346/21. Cf. 353/5, 408/16, 412/25, 425/31, 432/2, 435/7, 442/20, 509/2, and *passim*.

§ 47. *Place of the Adverb.*

There is an evident tendency in Caxton to place the adverb before the verb, and very often even before the subject:—

Thenne *dylygently* he demanded his mayster of the subtylnes of the werke, *Blanchardyn*, 15/7; Blanchardyn *toward the stables* tourned his waye, *ibid.* 17/20; right thus . . . cam the yomen & grommes of þe stable makynge grete noyse and crye for þe grete courser of þe kynge, whiche *that night* was stolen fro theim, *ibid.* 19/10; (Blanchardyn)

founde a knyght that lay there on the grounde, armed of all pieces, the whiche *full pyteously* complayned, *ibid.* 22/18; for hir sake I wyl fight with you in fauoure of þe good knight her true louer, þe whiche *falsly*, as an vntrewe knyght, ye haue be trayd, *ibid.* 26/11; they founde þe knyght, that awayted after theym, that *well and curtoysly* saluted Blanchardyn, *ibid.* 33/5; of the teerys that *from her eyen* fyll doune, her gowne that she had on was therof charged, *ibid.* 43/16; Blanchardyn herkned the prouost, to whom *boldly* he answered, *ibid.* 48/15. Cf. 72/31, 85/8, 86/21, 87/21, 99/4, 101/5, 131/26, 133/17, 140/9, 145/7, 147/25, 151/7, 164/31, 169/25, 186/11, 194/12.

This is especially striking in passive constructions, where the adverbial combination, stating by whom something is done precedes:—

So was he *by the two doughters* brought in to a chambre, *Blanchardyn*, 50/21; of what dethe mygt I do make hym to deye for to gyue vnto hym his payment of the grete oultrage *by hym* commytted in my persone, *ibid.* 52/30; and seen the battaylles and scarmysshynge that *by them of the towne and their enmyes* were made, So began he to be ful of thoughte, *ibid.* 59/27; syth he also perceyued the black sleue that *vpon his helmet* was sette fast, *ibid.* 63/27; many of the gretest of hem had ben slayn or taken, yf *by the vertue and strengthe* of blanchardyn they had not be socoured, *ibid.* 66/13; I doubte not that yf by aduenture she were out of his remembraunce, and *by hym* putte in oblyuyon, that god forbede but that sholde dey sodaynly, *ibid.* 74/1; he called blanchardyn his new Conestable and tolde hym how, *by hym and his barons*, was ordeyned to hym the charge and conduyte of his werre, *ibid.* 103/21; he sholde neuere haue Ioye at herte tyll that the deth of his brother, and the damage that he had receyued were *by hym* auenged, *ibid.* 107/24; he awoke out of his slepe thurghe the pyteouse crye that *of his men* was made, *ibid.* 113/16. Cf. *ibid.* 142/34, 143/31, 159/19, 161/11, 194/8, 9, 10, 199/4.

§ 48. *Apposition.*

A word in apposition to a possessive genitive is, in Middle English, and still in Caxton, put after the noun governing the genitive (Cf. Skeat, notes to *Piers Plowman*, pp. 42, 157, 307, 329; Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 687). This arrangement is very old, though the modern one may be found exceptionally as early as the *Chronicle*, about the year 890:—

Old English: for his wed broðeres luuen Oswi, *Chronicle* 656 (Laud MS.); for Saxulfes luuen þes abbodes, *ibid.* (very frequent); on Torcvines dagum þæs ofermódan cyninges, *Boethius*, 16/1;

be Cnútes dæge cinges,—Hickes, *Dissert.*, ep. p. 2. (Quoted by Mætzner, *Grammar*, III., p. 355.)

Middle English: þurh daviðes muð þe prophete, *Old English Hom.*, I. 139; in august time þe Imparour, *Cursor Mundi*, 11277; ion heued, þi prisun, *ibid.* 13167; in Kynges hous Arthor, *Gawayne*, 2275; þe duches doȝter of Tyntagelle, *ibid.* 2465; for marye loue of heuene, *Piers Plowman*, B I., 157; for the lordes loue of heuene, *ibid.*, B VI., 19; the kynges metynge Pharao, *Chaucer*, V. 163; that was the kynge Priamus sone of Troye, *ibid.* IV. 108; and byd him that on alle thynge That he take up Seys body, the kynge, *ibid.* V. 159; the faire yonge Ypsiphile the shene That whilom Thoas doughter was the kynge, *ibid.* V. 321; to praye for my lordes soule,—Sir Thomas West, *Early English Wills*, 7/4, 5; on þe maydenys halfe Blanchflowre,—Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, 687; the dewkys men Segwyne, *ibid.* 2427; my lordes sone þe emperowre, *ibid.* 2827; the erlys doghtur Rohawte, *ibid.* 4005; the erlys sone Awbrye, *ibid.* 4339, 5352, 6054, etc.; goddes sone of heuen,—Perry, *Religious Pieces*, p. 2.

Caxton: for syn that he was departed from *his fadres house, the kynge of fryse*, [he] had nothre eten nor dronken, *Blanchardyn*, 31/21; but wel he tolde hym that he sholde be well lodged in *the prouostys house of the towne*,—*ibid.* 46/3; here foloweth the ballade that was wryton vpon the gate of *the prouostis place of Tourmaday*,—*ibid.* 46/21; for right moche he desyred to shewe hymself, for *his ladyes loue, doughter to kyng Alymodes*,—*ibid.* 83/9; the *kynges sone of Irelond*,—*Morte Darthur*, 80/23; I loue Gweneuer, the *kynges doughter Lodegrean*,—*ibid.* 100/15; his name is syr gauayne *kyng Lots sone of Orkeney*,—*ibid.* 108/37; I am the *lordes doughter of this castel*,—*ibid.* 127/30; his name is Marhaus the *kynges sone of Irelond*,—*ibid.* 141/4; for the *kynges loue of heuen*,—*ibid.* 177/32; he sawe his *broders sheld syr Lyonel*,—*ibid.* 185/6, etc.; of the *kyngis deth of Armenye*,—*Melusine*, 178/14.

There are also two instances of the modern construction:—

(They) gaff eche other soo vnmesurable strokes that the *kynge of Polonye spere* brake al to peces, *Blanchardyn*, 108/1; they fonde three of þe *kynge of frysys seruauntes*,—*ibid.* 112/17.

§ 49. *Contraction.*

Instead of saying 'the father came, and the son came,' as primitive tribes still do, we use the contraction 'the father and the son came.' Caxton exhibits several interesting traces of that state of the language, which takes the middle course between the primitive repetition (anaphora), and the modern contraction.

1. Two adjectives and one noun:—

The grete strokes and the dangerous, *Aymon*, 392/2 (instead of 'the grete and dangerous strokes.' *See* above, § 46).

2. Two subjects and one predicate :—

(He answered) that he sholde putte peyne that his honoure sholde be kepte, and his body ayenst hym, *Blanchardyn*, 48/19; hym semed, yf he wold be baptysed and all his folk, and to byleue in our feith, that the tempeste shold breke, *ibid.* 137/18; wold subyon or not, and all his helpes, the noble lady, proude of loue, was taken oute of his power, *ibid.* 197/20.

3. One verb and two objects :—

They were in a grete daunger of Subyon, that damaged theym ryght sore, and their place, *Blanchardyn*, 200/29.

4. One object governed by two verbs :—

But the knyght, that was ryght curteys, guyded hym and conduyted a whyle, *Blanchardyn*, 39/30.

To sum up :—Caxton's syntax, on the whole, is nearer Chaucer than Shakspere; and there is a still greater kinship between his prose and that of the fourteenth century, than that of the Elizabethan age. In reading Caxton's books, the general impression resembles very much that received by reading *The Tale of Melibeus*, or even *Maundeville;* and the results of a minute analysis agrees with that impression. It is true, many peculiarities of Caxton's language turn up also in Shakspere and Spenser; but we must keep in mind, that there is always a sort of tradition in poetry, which links together the remotest periods, while in simple prose, as in daily life, the distance of times is of great influence. There is a wide gap between the language in Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, not to speak of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and his *View of the State of Ireland.*

Thus, the plural of abstracts is very frequent in the poem, but very rare in the prose treatise; the article is extremely often omitted in the former, while it is used in the latter, etc.

There are several points, which draw a very marked line between Caxton's syntax and that of the sixteenth century :—

1. *Ye*, not *you*, is still, with a few exceptions, the nominative of the 2nd pers. plural personal pronoun. This is quite common in Berners. *See* p. xiii.

2. Adjectives referring to preceding nouns are not yet followed by *one*. *See* p. xxviii.

3. The personal pronoun, when a subject, is still very often omitted. *See* p. xxxiii.

4. *Self* is still considered an adjective, as seen by the 3rd person plural: *themselfe*, never *themselves*. The latter becomes the rule about the middle of the sixteenth century.

5. *Who* (in the nominative) as a relative pronoun is still unknown.

6. The indefinite pronoun *one* is not yet used; in its stead we find *men*. *See* p. xlvi, § 15.

7. Constructions like 'we are banished the court' are not yet in use; there seems to be still a rigid observance of the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs, with regard to the passive voice. *See* p. lv.

8. Agreement between tenses (*consecutia temporum*) is not yet strictly observed. *See* p. lviii.

9. The infinitive absolute is still in use. *See* p. lxvi.

10. The arrangement of words is much more free than in later times. *See* pp. ci—cix.

APPENDIX.

I. CAXTON AS A TRANSLATOR. HIS STYLE.

'In his translation of this work, Caxton shows himself piously literal. Words and phrases, both foreign and unusual, he transferred bodily to his text; nothing ever deterred him, simply because it was French; he wandered along every winding of the sentences he was rendering, and brought them over with all their sinuosities into English. In consequence, his translation is perhaps one of the most literal that has ever been produced in the English language; and though to some extent stilted and even awkward, yet it is impossible not to admire his faithfulness to his original; and the very quaintness of those peculiarities of language sometimes adds a charm to his composition.'—Octavia Richardson, in the Introduction to her edition of *The Four Sonnes of Aymon*, E. E. T. Soc., p. vii.

I don't think Caxton was such a pious slave. His translation of *Blanchardyn*, no doubt, is as 'quaint' and even as 'awkward' as that of *The Four Sonnes of Aymon;* but I cannot admit Miss Octavia Richardson's statement with regard to his 'piety.' On the other hand, I contend that he was as good and free a translator as any of the 15th century, and in his style certainly not inferior to Peacock, the greatest prosaist of his time.

What makes Caxton's style appear so awkward in the eyes of a modern reader, is his repetitions, tautologies, and anacolutha. But these irregularities are, for the most part, conscious sins, committed not only by him, but also by all the writers of his time. Read the following sentences from Malory, whose like never occurs in *Blanchardyn* or *Aymon*, and you will admit that Caxton was a very able translator, for his time:—

Well, saide Merlyn / I knowe whome thou sekest / for thou sekest Merlyn / therfore seke no ferther / for I am he, *Morte Darthur*, 36/16—18; and moche blood they bledde bothe / that al the place there as they faught was ouer bledde with blood, *ibid.* 71/26—28; but traueilynge men are ofte wery, and their horses to / but though my hors be wery / my hert is not wery, *ibid.* 96/21—23; for I haue sene many of their sheldes that I knowe on yonder tree / there is kayes shelde / & sir braundeles sheld / and syr Marhaus sheld, and syre Galyndes shelde, and syre Bryan de lystnoyse sheld, and syr Alydukes sheld with many mo, *ibid.* 195/36, 196/4; and toke his swerd redy in his hand, redy vnto bataylle / and they were al armed in black harneis redy with her sheldes, *ibid.* 206/18—20; but alweyes quene gweneuer preysed syr kay for his dedes / and sayd what lady that ye loue / and she loue yow not ageyne, she were gretely to blame, *ibid.* 122/15—17; thenne ther was a lady in that countrey that had loued kynge Melyodas longe / And by no meane she neuer coude gete his loue; therfore she lete ordeyne vpon a day as kynge Melyodas rode on huntynge / for he was a grete chacer / and there by an enchauntement she made hym chace an herte by hym self alone / til that he came to an old castel, *ibid.* 273/19—25; but as yet he may not yet sytt sure on horsbak / for he that shalle be a good horsman / hit must come of vsage and excercyse, *ibid.* 344/23—25; and as she wold haue ranne vpon the swerd, and to haue slayne herself / alle this aspyed kyng Marke / how she kneled doune and saide / swete lord Ihesu haue mercy vpon me, *ibid.* 368/34, 369/2; now maye ye saye, sayd syr launcelot vnto youre frendes, how & who hath delyuered you, *ibid.* 199/24—26; thenne syr, he sayd, my name is Garoth, and broder vnto syr Gawayn of fader and moder,

ibid. 218/21, 22; fy on you bothe, said sir Gahoryse, for a fals traitour / and fals treason hast thou wrouȝt / and he both vnder the fayned chere that ye made vs, *ibid.* 403/29—31; but the Kynge of Irland whos name was Marhalt, and fader to the good knyghte sir Marhaus that sire Tristram slewe, had alle the speche that sir Tristram myghte here it, *ibid.* 529/19—22; he told he of whens he was / and sone vnto Launcelot, *ibid.* 622/3, 4.

Of course, Caxton followed the drift of the narrative in his original as closely as possible; but so far as I am aware, there is no ground whatever for supposing that he slavishly sacrificed the genius of his native language to Latin or French. It will be seen by the Introduction that Caxton's Syntax is essentially English, as much so as that of Chaucer and Gower; his arrangement of words is, in spite of his original, truly Saxon; and even in his introduction of foreign words, he only continued what the preceding centuries had begun.

There are a very few decided Frenchisms in *Blanchardyn;* but these are rather slips of the pen, than intended or conscious innovations. Such are *require*, *demand*, governing the dative case, see § 6, p. xxiii; *swear*, with the accusative, *see* § 7, p. xxiv, *A;* the article used in the vocative case, § 7, *a;* the *his*, § 7, *b*, p. xxvi. Cf. Dr. Furnivall, Introduction to *Eneydos*, p. xix.

As strong evidence against Miss Richardson's opinion, I quote the fact that there is not one instance of the French *moi* = *I* being translated by 'me'! *See* § 4, p. xi. With regard to Caxton's style, its main feature is the *tiresome tautology*, which is apparently produced by the translator's desire to make as much as he could of his work, to render it as showy as possible;[1] his whole age was affected by this fashion of intolerable verbosity: to convey an idea through the medium of as many words as possible was considered as a beauty of style.

This appears first in the choice of words. Generally, one French expression is rendered by two consecutive synonyms; sometimes the first of these is the word of the original, sometimes another; sometimes one is French, the other Saxon; sometimes one strange, the other familiar:—

[1] Compare the American girl who liked creaky shoes because they announced her coming and made folk look at her.

Regned in fryse a kynge of right *benewred* and *happy* fame (orig. de tres horeuse renomme), *Blanchardyn*, 11/10; but *priuated* and *voyde* he was of the right desyred felicite, 12/1; of *lignaye* or *yssue* of his bodye (orig. lignie), 12/2; I leue to telle the *bewayllyngis* and *lamentaciouns* (orig. regretz), 12/4; *by her self al alone in solytary places* (orig. en lieux solitaires), 12/6; now it is soo that atte *his byrthe and comyng in to* this world (orig. a laduenement duquel), 12/12; *sourded* and *rose vp* (orig. sourdy), 12/14; *prest and redy* (orig. preste), 23/20; by his *behauoure and contenaunce*, men myght well knowe that he was departed and come of *noble extraction* and *hyghe parentage* (orig. haulte lignee), 50/16, 18; I holde hym so courtoys and *dyscret*, or *wyse*, 54/27; for bothe of hem *loued* sore blanchardyn, and right *enamored* they were ouer hym, 66/24; *Amoures* or *loue* serued her wyth a messe, 67/17; she sette neuere nought by *amours* and *loue*, 75/15; Blanchardyn *sawe* and *perceyued* the noble, 77/1; mouyd wyth *grete wrath* and *yre*, 92/7; she wolde not *putte in oblyuyon* nor *forgete* hym, 94/11; she myght *see* ne *chuse* the nauye, 135/28; she byganne to *chuse* and *perceyue* the saylles, 135/30; to gyue *socoure* and *helpe* vnto her, 150/16; the grete *malyuolence* or *euyll wylle*, 153/21; (the proude pucelle) mounted vp to a high toure for to *see* and *beholde* the batayl, 163/14; right grete was the *effucyon* or *shedyng* of blode, 165/22; wythout *answer* nor replye, 189/32.

It is, however, worth noting that the original too sometimes indulges in slight tautologies :—

Pourquay ne a quelle cause, 22/20; ne le sceut ne peult, 52/21, 66/10, 103/5, 122/20.

A second sort of tautology is Caxton's additions of his own, for which there is not the slightest necessity whatever. (But who of us doesn't like touching up other men's work?) Compare the following instances, to which many more can be added :—

Blanchardyn grewe in beawte, wytte, and goode maners *beyonde mesure, and passed all other of his age*, 13/10, 11; and recounted vnto him his mayster . . . the right grete valyaunce of Hector of Troylus, Parys and Deyphebus brederen, *and of Achilles*, 15/15; after, he demaunded of his mayster, the names *and blasure* of the armes, 15/23; wythout that ony body coude telle any tydynges *where he was becomen*, 18/13; thenne Blanchardyn, moued of pyte, *alyght from his courser, and* sette fote on erthe, 23/9; to thees wordes sayde Blanchardyn to the knyght, *and prayed hym* that he vousshesauff to helpe hym, 24/1; he sholde auenge hym of his enmye, *and that he shulde yelde ayen his lady vnto hym*, 24/5; and that he shulde therfore dye shamefully *in that place*, 27/2; and yf thou auaunce, *or haste* not thy self, I shal doo passe this same spyere

thrughe the myddes of thy body, 27/17; O thou proude *berdles* boye (orig. garchon), 27/24; (Blanchardyn) syn departed, sore troubled atte herte for the pyteouse dethe of the two *true* louers, 31/1; (he) had nothre eten nor dronken, but onely that whyche he fonde vpon the trees growynge in the grete forest, as crabbes and other wylde frutes *that are wonte to growe in wodes*, 31/24, 25; (a marener) brought hym a boote goode and sure that from the knyght *of the ffery* was sent vnto hym, 32/26; right well it were your fayt *and welthe* for to goo rendre your personne vnto her, 38/10; she rydeth the lytyl paas vpon her *swete and softe palfraye* (orig. sa haguenee), 38/23. Cf. 44/1, 4, 12, 46/18, 26, 50/10, 52/3, 55/13, 20, 56/21, 58/30, 59/11, 63/12, 64/6, 65/34, etc.

There are very few passages in which Caxton is less verbose than the original. Cf. 24/16, 44/6, 65/16.

There are also few instances in which Caxton seems to have misinterpreted the French:—

For syth that by fayre meanes thou wylt not yelde agen the pucelle, thou most nedes deffende the nowe, ayenst me, the right that thou pretendest vpon her (orig. Il te conuient contre moi deffendre le droit que tu y pretendez a auoir), 27/15, 16. Cf. 29/1.

The sudden transition from one construction to another is pretty frequent in Caxton, and seems, to a certain degree, to have been considered as a figure of speech. Compare the following passages:—

For I confesse me not lerned, ne knowynge the arte of rhetorik, ne of suche gaye termes as now be sayd in these dayes and vsed, *Blanchardyn*, 2/11; soo that by his dylygence taken wyth an ardaunt desyre, fonde hymself nyghe her and of her maystres wythin a short space of tyme, 41/24; O thou free knyght, replenysshed wyth prowesse and of grete wordynesse, haue mercy vpon our fadre, 49/15: (then sayd blanchardyn) that hym semed yf he wold be baptysed and all his folk, and to byleue in our feith, that the tempeste shold breke, 137/18; I gyue my self vnto you, prayeng that ye wol saue bothe me and my cyte, and to take vs in to your mercy, 142/14.

Against the first important principle of modern composition, the unity of sentence, Caxton often sins. Such strong *anacolutha* as the following would be impossible nowadays; but Caxton and his contemporaries used them without any scruple.

1. A principal sentence co-ordinate with a participle clause; a perfect tense being substituted for a participle, or having its conjunction and subject suppressed:—

The knyght thenne *beholdynge* the Iouencell Blanchardyn that right yong man was, and *sawe* hym alone, Rose anone vpon his feet, *Blanchardyn*, 26/16; and euyn at these wordes *cam* the prouost tyl his owne knowlege ageyne, and *vnderstandyng* that he had lost the felde for cause of the stourdy stroke that he had receyued of the spere of blanchardyn, And *sayde* in this maner, 49/22; Alimodes, *seeng* his enmyes cam a lande, and in so fayre ordonaunce *y-sette* of that one part, and of that other syde *he sawe* them of the cyte that cam wyth a grete puyssaunce vpon hym and his folke, It is well ynough to be byleued, that he was not well assured, 162/24; Alymodes *seeng* his folke lose grounde, and *were smytten* ded doun right by the hyghe prouesse and grete worthynes of blanchardyn, desyred sore wyth al his herte to joyne hym self wyth hym, 167/20; the kynge Alymodes, *seeng* his folke that fled, his cheff standarde ouer thrawen and layng vpon the grounde, His barons all to bet adoune, and also *sawe* that Impossyble it was to hym to escape hym self quyk from the bataylle, wherfore, assone as he mygt, or euer that a more grete myscheff sholde happe vnto hym, cam and yelded hym self, 195/16.

2. Direct speech interrupting an indirect one. *See* Noun Clauses, § 40, p. xcv.

3. A principal sentence co-ordinate with a relative clause:—

(She) douted leest he shuld sette his loue on one of the doughters of the prouoste, *whom* she hasteli sente for *and spake to hym* [= to whom she spoke] as it foloweth, *Blanchardyn*, 69/12; and of another part she sawe a grete noumbre of folke *that* retourned to the tentes, [and then she] *thoughte wel*, and also her hert Iudged and gaf it to her, that that was the worthy blanchardyn, 89/16; *how* sodayne toke leue of his fader the kyng, and [how] so *dyde* Blanchardyn, and [how both] toke the see wyth a grete naue, 125/16; he was cast in to an hauen of the see of the sayde lande, *where* he made grete wast, [where he] toke and slewe many men, and [whence] many *he dyde* brynge wyth hym prysoners, 145/15; certes, *who-someuer* brought her this sorowfull and pyteouse tydynge, I doubte not but that she shold slee her self, 155/30; he perceyued a right myghty nauey, *wherof* they that were comen vpon lande, *he sawe hem* in grete nombre, 162/3.

4. Other instances:—

(He) byganne for to desyre the goode grace of the same proude pucelle in amours, wythout *makynge* of eny semblaunt, *nor to dyscouere* [= or discovering] it to the knyght, *Blanchardyn*, 37/15; (she) commaunded hym to presente hit hastely from her behalue vnto blanchardyn prayng hym *that* for her sake and loue, *to dye* [= he would dye] the whyt coloure in to red, 168/21; whan the proude pucelle in amours sawe her frende blanchardyn departed from her

chambre, *where* she lened vpon a wyndowe that loked vpon the see, makyng full pyteouse rewthes for her loue that she sawe, nor neuer thens she wolde departe as longe as she myght see the shyppes, 174/28 [*where* she = she there].

II. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS OF THE ROMANCE.

The story of Blanchardyn and Eglantyne, not being connected with the great epic subjects of the Middle Ages, viz., Arthur and Charlemagne, has hitherto been but very little dealt with in the literary history of England and France. We therefore seem still rather in the dark about the origin and development of the story. Up to now, the following versions are known :—

I. In French verse, all in MS. :

1. Bibl. Nationale, Fr. 375.
2. Bibl. Nationale, Fr. 19,152.
3. Turin, coté $\frac{44}{158}$, I K 35.
4. British Museum, Additional, 15, 212, ff. 197—266 *b*.
5. Fragments, communicated by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, 1889.
6. Fragments of a Middle High-German translation, or rather rehandling, communicated by Haupt, *Germania*, xiv, p. 68 ff.

II. In prose, 2 French in MS., 3 English in print :

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 24,371.
2. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.[1]
3. Caxton, unique, 1489 (?) : here reprinted.
4. 1595, in two Parts, unique. At Britwell. For the full title, *see* p. 227.
5. 1597. Part I., unique : Public Library, Hamburgh.

In 1867, H. Michelant published at Paris an edition of the French Romance, *Blancandin et L'Orgueilleuse d'Amour*, from the MS. 375 in Paris, and the Addit. MS. British Museum. The Poem had before been analyzed by Emile Littré in the *Histoire littéraire*, tome xxii (1852), pp. 765—778, and Henry Ward has described the Museum MS. in his *Catalogue of Romances* in the B. Mus. (1883), i. 727-8. He says :—

[1] Michelant prints the chapter-headings of this in the Introduction to his *Blancandin*, pp. xiii—xviii.

BLANCHANDIN ET ORGUEILLOSE D'AMORS. A poem of adventures, in about 4800 octosyllabic lines. *French.* 'Blanchandin is the son of a king of "Frise" (Phrygia?). He has been kept in ignorance of chivalry, till he sees some figures upon a tapestry. He steals away from home, and, after a few adventures, kisses Orgueillose d'Amors, the Princess of Tormadai (apparently in or near Syria), out of sheer bravado. Her indignation is before long changed into affection. She is besieged by another suitor. Blanchandin is taken prisoner. He is shipwrecked on the coast of India. In the end he returns to Tormadai with Indian allies under a Prince Sadoine, and they relieve Orgueillose d'Amors.'

M. Michelant thus sketches the contents of the earliest version of the story in the St. Germain MS. 1239, of the 13th century, which contains 4,826 lines (p. v—vii) :—

'Blancandin has fled from his Father's court—where the practice of arms was forbidden him—to seek adventures abroad. On his road, a knight advises him to go and kiss, in the midst of her retinue, the beauteous *Orgueilleuse d'amour*, whose name denotes her character. This audacious deed stirs most highly the wrath of the young princess. She vows she will take astounding vengeance on the culprit, who has fled. She recognises him next day in the middle of a tourney where he carries off the prize; but the valour and good looks of the young knight make love supplant hatred in her heart; and the two lovers have just avowed their mutual feelings, when an old Saracen king (Alimodes) arrives, who besieges *l'Orgueilleuse d'amour*, to force her to marry him, in spite of her repeated refusals. Blancandin offers to defend her, and distinguishes himself in the fight; but, overpowered by numbers, is taken prisoner. In vain is the highest ransom offered to the Saracen king. He has sworn the death of his rival, and sends him captive to a King of the Indies, whose brother, Blancandin had slain in battle.

'During the voyage, a storm rises, which wrecks the vessel, and Blancandin alone escapes. He arrives safe and sound at the court of a certain King of Athens, who is besieged by a powerful enemy. Blancandin offers his services to the King, and frees him. The King, from gratitude, wishes to marry Blancandin [to his daughter?], but Blancandin, faithful to 'the Lady-proud-in-love,' refuses. He confides his secret to the King's son (Sadoine), with whom he is bound in firm friendship, and both embark to succour the still-besieged Princess. At sea, they meet some of her folk; and Blancandin, without making himself known, charges them to announce his speedy arrival, for the purpose of delivering her. But, in very sight of the harbour, a tempest drives them away, and Blancandin takes advantage of the terror of his companions, to convert and baptise them. He lands, with his friend Sadoine, in the very kingdom of the Prince

(Alimodes) who was besieging the Lady-proud-in-love, where his own Father was moaning in the direst captivity. Blancandin promises to give Sadoine in marriage the daughter of King Alimodes, a young and beautiful Saraceness who, in the customary way, at first sight falls in love with the Knight (Sadoine), whom she sees out hunting. Blancandin takes the city, kills the King's son Darie, gives his sister in marriage to his friend Sadoine, and sets his own father free. Then all retake the road to Tormaday, where the Lady-proud-in-love is besieged. She sends her Provost to know who the new-comers are, and to ask them for help. The Provost—who had formerly been Blancandin's host—recognises him, and announces his arrival to the Lady-proud. She wants to prepare a brilliant reception for him, while his foe Alimodes, on his side, makes ready for battle. In the middle of the fight, the Lady-proud, to encourage Blancandin, sends him her sleeve on the point of a spear; he redoubles his efforts, and puts his rival to flight. Alimodes re-embarks in all haste. And the two lovers, united at last, after so many thwartings, celebrate their marriage; and the wedding ended, every one, says the poet in concluding, goes home,

S'en vet en sa contrée.'

The end of the text is—*Michelant*, p. 208 :—

Et quant la messe fut chantée,
Tuit s'en vont en la tor quarrée.
Mult i ot harpes et vieles,
Et tantes melodies beles:
Tuit li baron del païs né,
Iiii jors i sont séjorné.
Au quint departent lor mesniée,
En lor terre l'ont envoiée.
Le roi de Frise s'en revet,
Et en sa contrée s'en vet.
Arriere s'en revet Sadoine,
A sa moiller en Cassidoine,
Des or a Blanchandins amie,
Sage et proz sans vilenie.
Blanchandins est sires et dus:
Li romans faut; je n'en sai plus.

Explicit de B. et de O.

This, says M. Michelant (p. vii) is the original story. But we have two other versions of it which run almost side by side, and differ from the original romance by an addition of about 1200 lines.

The second version is that in the Turin MS. coté $\frac{44}{158}$, I K 35, a small quarto of the 13th century (copied A.D. 1331), of which the first Part may have been taken from the St. Germain MS. 1239, with a few copier's changes, while the second Part is singularly close to the 3rd version in MS. 375 (formerly 6987) in the National Library, Paris, which Michelant has printed. The Turin MS. (*Mich.* p. 210) ends thus :—

XIIII jors dura la cours.
Qant Blanchandins fu coronés,
Sadoines est arrier alés
O sa moillier de Carsidonie.
Ensi se departi Sadoine
De son compaignon Blanchandin.
Nostre chançons prant ici fin.

Explicit de Blanchandin.

The story of the later addition to the first version of the Romance is thus told by M. Michelant on pages viii, ix, of his edition :—

'In the fight which ended in raising the siege of Tormadai, Sadoine, who had slain the brother of Alimodes, was taken prisoner by the latter, and sent to Cassidonie [Chalcedony], to be there put to death. Blancandin sets out to succour his friend, and delivers him at the moment he was to be strung up on a gallows, notwithstanding the prayers of the daughter of Alimodes, who begged in vain for pardon for her spouse. Alimodes is conquered again. But, during the absence of Blancandin, his Seneschal—in whose guard he had left the Lady-proud-in-love—gets together the chief Lords of the country, and plots with them to carry off at once both the Crown and Love of Blancandin, that he, the Seneschal, may force her to marry him. Two vassals who remain faithful, conduct Orgueilleuse to a castle, where the treacherous Seneschal besieges them. They, however, find means to warn Blancandin, who hastens to return to Tormadai to revenge himself. The traitor flees,—pursued closely by Blancandin and his friend Sadoine,—and takes refuge at a neighbouring brigand's, where he hopes to get rid of the two knights who have isolated themselves in the ardour of their pursuit. They, though received with apparent good-will, suspect a snare; they persist in keeping their arms, in spite of the most pressing invitations to give them up; and, seizing on a favourable moment, they cut to pieces the band of robbers, and carry off their leader and the Seneschal, whom they punish with death. After this exploit, Blancandin returns to Tormadai, where he celebrates his nuptials and those of his friend Sadoine, with the greatest magnificence.'

Such, says M. Michelant, is the new ending of the poem in the MSS. of Turin and the French National Library, 375. The differences of it in these MSS. consist only in this, that in the Turin MS. the episode of the amours of Sadoine with the daughter of Alimodes, the first interview of the two lovers, and the combats which precede the taking of Cassidonie are treated at greater length, and with details which are not found in the other version.[1]

The chapter-headings do not agree, word for word, with Caxton's. They divide the Story into 3 Parts, and differ in expression, as the englishing of a few below will show :—

This present book contains 3 Treatises, of which the First speaks of the birth of Blanchendin; how he set out from the court (*ostel*) of his Father, and why; how he became a knight, and how he kissed *l'Orgueilleuse d'amours:* the which first Treatise is divided

[1] Does not this point to the Turin version being the later of the two?

into 10 Chapters, of which the First tells of the birth of Blanchendin, of the joy which sprang from it, and how he was put to study as soon as he was of fit age (*eut aage*), and how he got on (*profita*).

The 2nd Chapter tells how, on the information (*relacion*) of his Master, and also because of his own inclination, his departure is settled (l. 125 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 10th Chapter tells in what manner Blanchendin managed to kiss (*parvint au baisier de*) the Proud-Lady-of-Love, and of the displeasure that she took at it (ab. line 687 of the Verse-text).

The Second Treatise tells how Blanchendin came to Tourmaday, and how he fought his Host; how and by what means he recovered the good-will of the Proud-Lady-of-Love, and of the imprisonment of the above-named; and contains 16 Chapters, of which the First tells of the sharp grief that the Proud-Lady-of-Love made on account of the aforesaid kiss; of the arguments between her, and her mistress who comforted her (ab. line 710 of the Verse-text).

The 2nd Chapter speaks of the threats of the Lady-Proud-in-Love to Blanchendin, and how Blanchendin came to Tourmaday to lodge; of the Provost, and the verses which he found on the Provost's door (line 781 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 16th Chapter tells how Blanchendin slew the King of the Giants; how Blanchendin was captured; of the grief which the Lady-Proud-in-Love made thereat; how she sent the Provost to (*devers*) Allimodes for the ransom of Blanchendin; and of the refusal of Allimodes, and how he had Blanchendin shipt off (*fist enmener*) by sea (line 1903 of the Verse-text).

The Third Treatise tells how Blanchendin behaved himself (*se gouverna*) at Athens towards the King; of his return; of the conquest of Cassidonie; how he recognized his Father; of the victory that he won against Allimodes and against the traitor Subiien; and is divided into 22[1] Chapters, of which the First says that Allimodes had Blanchendin shipt off; and how, by chance, he (Blanchendin) was saved from the dangers of the sea, and pretended to be a Saracen (line 2119 of the Verse-text).

The 2nd Chapter tells how Blanchendin was retained by the King of Athens, and brought to good end (*lui acheva*) a war that he had in hand (*auoit*). (line 2285 of the Verse-text). . . .

The 22nd Chapter tells how Subien thought to save himself; and the way he was taken, and then hanged (line 5954 of the Verse-text).

We evidently want an edition of the Brussels MS., to show its full differences from Caxton's original.

As to Blanchardyn pretending to be a Saracen, the Verse-text says (p. 75) that after escaping to land from the shipwreck,

[1] Michelant prints xii., but gives headings of xxij.

Il est en .I. tertre montés :
Devant lui vëoit tors asses
Hautes, qui furent Rubien,
Un roi du lin Octevien. 2234
Octeviens fu rois de Grece ;
Rubiens fu roi de Losgece.
Son barnage ot par grant poeste
Trestout ensanle à une feste ;
Paiens i ot et Sarrasins.
Lors se porpense Blancandins 2240
Comment il pëust escaper,
C'arriere se puist retorner.
Diu reclama, le fil Marie,
Que il li puist sauver sa vie, 2244
Sarrasin dist qu'il se fera,
Et lor langage parlera,
Car il set bien Sarrisonois,
Et bien Latin, et bien Grigois, 2248
D'une herbe son visage frie,
Lors fu plus noirs que pois boulie.
A tant s'en torne le marois.
Devant sa tor sëoit li rois :
Il ot la barbe et les grenons
Dusqu'as orelles gros et lons . . . 2254

To enable the reader to judge how Caxton's French-prose original expanded and altered the poem, the last 50 lines of M. Michelant's text are given below. The robbers arm to attack Blanchardyn and Sadoine :—

Lors sont li laron haubergié, 6080
Puis issent de la cambre hors.
Selvains s'escrie, li plus fors :
" Signor, prendes ces .II. glotons.
Fremes les huis que les aions.
Si me faites cel pont lever, 6085
Qu'il ne s'en puissent escaper."
Blancandins voit le traïson,
Et a dit à son compaignon : 6088
" Companis, dist il, nos sons trahi.
Ce sont larron que je voi ci.
S'or ne deffent cascuns sa vie,
Jamais ne reverra s'amie. 6092
Veïstes mais tele aventure ?
Mult par est fols li hom qui jure
De rien qui avenir li doie."
Lors recommence li harnoïe. 6096
Li larron les dansiaus requierent
Et cil as brans d'acier i fierent.
Au premier colp ocist Selvain,
Blancandin le fiert de sa main ; 6100
Après a l'autre porfendu,
Et Sadoines i a feru 6102
A une hace qu'il trova ;
.III. des ciés du bu sevra.
Que vous feroie plus lonc conte ?
Tous les ocient à grant honte ; 6106
N'en escapa viex ne kennus.
Subiiens i fu reconnus ; 6108
Nel vaurent pas illuac ocire,
Ains l'enmenront à lor empire.
Le matinet, à l'esclairier,
Joste le fu le vont loier. 6112
Asses li font et duel et paine ;
Puis donent lor cevaus avaine,
Et de la vitaille au larron
Se courrerent li baron. 6116
Asses orent, et un et el,
Et el demain wident l'ostel.
Si enmainent lor prisonier ;
Tant penserent de chevaucier, 6120
Que repairié sont à lor gent
Qui d'aus estoient mult dolent ;
Mais deseur tot fait grant dolor
Ma dame Orgilleuse d'amor. 6124
Mais quant son dru voit revenir,
A ses .II. bras le va saisir,
Et cil le baise, et ele lui.
Là s'entrespusent ambedui ; 6128
S'es espousa .I. archevesques.
Ases i ot abes et vesques,
Et menestreus et ionglëurs.
.VIII. jors entiers dura la cours, 6132
Et Blancandins fu coronés,
Et Sadoines s'en est r'alés
O sa moillier en Cassidoine.
Blancandins se part de Sadoine. 6136

CHI FINE DE BLANCANDINS.

As another sample, take the incident of the kiss, and note how the prose writer has suppresst much of the Maid-of-Honours' talk, and has made Blanchardyn kiss Eglantine only once, instead of three

times. Orgilleuse's barons are talking of the uselessness of suitors courting their mistress (p. 22, l. 633) :—

Blancandins n'ot soing de lor feste,
Ains chevauce, pas ne s'areste
Desor les mules Sarrasines :
Là chevauchierent les mescines, 636
Et si vont .II. et .II. ensanle.
Li damoisiaus mult biaus lor sanle
Et mult lor plaist à esgarder.
L'une commença à parler, 640
Cele estoit fille au roi d'Espagne ;
Si le mostra à sa compaigne :
" Ves quel dansel sor cel destrier !
Com a gent cors per embracier ! 644
Ki'n porroit faire ses soulas
A son plaisir, entre ses bras,
Tos tans auroit joie d'amor ;
Jamais n'aroit nule paor. 648
Car plëust ore au fil Marie,
Qu'il fesist de moi s'amie !
L'autre dist : " Ce seroit damage :
Trop estes de legier corage. 652
Si ne vous ameroit por rien ;
Mais en-droit moi seroit il bien,
Car il est biax, et je sui bele,
Virge de cors, gente pucele. 656
Si ameroit miex mon deduit
Que le vostre, si cum je cuit."
L'autre pucele s'en aïre,
Par mautalent li prist à dire : 660
" Damoisele, trop estes baude,
Et de vostre corage caude.
Se or le voloit commencier,
Ancui le porroit assaier 664
Laquels feroit mix à plaisir
U jou, u vous, à lui servir."
Tant se sont entreamprosnées
Que andeus se fuissent mellées, 668
Mais eles n'osent ; si se tienent,
Car Orgilleuse d'amor criement
Cascure forment le redoute,
Et ele vient après sa route, 672
Desor son palefroi Norois
Dont li resne furent d'orfrois.
La testiere fu bien ouvrée,
.I. fevre i mist mainte jornée. 676
Les clokes furent, et les serres,
Aportées d'estranges terres.
Li poitraus fu de mult ciere œvre,
Mainte escalete d'or le cœvre. 680
Toute la sele o le ceval
Fu covers d'un vermel cendal.
De jouste li fu sa maitresse,
Ki n'a perdue mainte messe 684
Et mainte voie de moustier
Por li et duire et castoier.
Blancandins chevauce par force
Tot .I. cencin, lés une roce, 688
Et vit Orgilleuse d'amors.
De li baisier fu angoissous,
Et dist qu'il nel lairra por voir
Que il n'en face son pooir, 692
Coique soit ore del falir ;
Miex en vorroit après morir !
Lors point son ceval, et eslesse
Entre la dame et la maistresse, 696
Jà nel tenra on por malvais.
Cele part vint de plain eslais,
Entre les .II. dames se mist,
Et de l'autre tant s'entremist, 700
Ains qu'ele fust bien acointie,
L'ot Blancandins .III. fois baisie ;
Puis s'en torna grant alëure,
Plus que galos ne amblëure, 704
Mais tant comme cevax puet rendre,
Car il n'a soing de plus atendre,
Mais de l'escaper, se il pot.
Ains se porra tenir por sot, 708
Se Diex n'en pense, qui tout fist,
Car Orgilleuse-d'-amor dist
Qu'ele jamais ne sera lie
Desi qu'ele ne sera vengie : 712
" Car il m'a faite trop grant honte.
S'il est fix à rois u à conte,
Si perdra il demain la teste ;
Jà n'en ert de si grant poeste. 716
A tant est këue pasmée
Del ceval, sor l'erbe enversée.
Mult en fu triste et courecie
Sa maistresse, plus ne detrie, 720
De pasmison le releva.
Oies comment le conforta . . .

Caxton's copy of his French original, which he sold to the Duchess of Somerset, and from which he made the present translation, was the same prose version which I have collated in Paris. In

the table of contents, in the headings of the chapters, and in the whole drift of the narrative, both texts agree; there are but very slight differences, pointed out in the footnotes, which may be either due to the MS. which Caxton had before him, or, what is much more probable, to the translator's system of touching-up his original.

The only known existing copy of Caxton's work, in the Library of Earl Spenser, is imperfect. All the text after sig. M.iiij., and one leaf after B.i., are wanting; they are now supplied from the French original. *See* pp. 34 and 211 ff. Blades thus describes Lord Spencer's copy:—

No. 78.—The History of Blanchardin and Eglantine. *Folio. Sine ullâ notâ* (1489?).

Collation.—Imperfectly known. The introductory matter makes a 3^{n} [ternion], signed **i, ii, iii,** the 6th leaf being blank. **A B C D E F G H I K L M** are 4^{ns} [quaternions], and there were probably several other additional signatures.

Typographical Particulars.—Without title. The Type is all No. 6. The lines, which are all of one length, measure 4$\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and there are 31 to a full page. Woodcut initials. Without folios or catchwords.

The Text begins on sig. **j** recto, with a prologue by Caxton . . . [and] finishes on the verso of the same leaf . . . The table follows on sig. **ij,** with a 2-line initial . . . and finishes on the 5th recto, which, however, in the only copy known, is unfortunately in manuscript. This appears to have been copied from the very rare reprint[1] by Wynken de Worde,[2] the last 4 lines being:—

'How Blanchardin wedded his love the proude / pucelle in amours: And of the grete ioye that / was made there . and of the Kynge of Fryse deth. capl° liiij°.'

The 6th leaf is blank. On sig. **Aj** recto, the 1st chapter commences . . . As to the date there are only the typographical particulars to guide us, which, however, all point to about the year 1489.

The only known Existing Copy is in the library of Earl Spencer. It is, unfortunately, imperfect, wanting the 5th leaf of the preliminary matter, **A**5, **Bij,** and all after **Miiij.** It is in a fair state, and measures 8$\frac{3}{4}$ × 6$\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

One leaf (sig. **L iij**) has also been preserved among the Bagford collections in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 5919, fol. 3 *b*), and from this our specimen at Plate LIV has been obtained.

[1] Why not from the chapter-heading on the last page of Caxton's Text?

[2] An imaginary book. I can find no trace of it in Herbert's Ames, Bohn's Lowndes, Hazlitt, &c.

SALE PRICES

Year.	Sale Lot.	Seller.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Purchaser.
1776	783	J. Ratcliffe	3	6	0	G. Mason.
1799	IV. 261	G. Mason	21	0	0	Duke of Roxburghe.
1812	6360	Duke of Roxburghe	215	5	0	Earl Spencer.

Blades, *Life of Caxton*, ii. 216-7 (1863.)

Of the edition of 1595—of which Mr. Christie-Miller has the only copy—there are, in the present edition, two long specimens under Caxton's text. Part I. of ed. 1597 is at Hamburg.

The shortest, and therefore the most ancient, version of *Blanchardyn and Eglantyne* is that contained in the MS. 19,152 of the National Library at Paris. In it the poet is kind enough to marry both Blanchardyn and Sadoyne after their return from Cassidonie, where they have killed Darie, the son of Alymodes, and conquered the entire kingdom. The whole story answers to Caxton's chapters 1—42, and half of 43.

The Paris MS. 375, and that at Turin, add the taking of Sadoyne in the Castle, Blanchardyn's setting out in order to save him and the treason of Subion, as related by Caxton in chapters 43—56.

Thus far the report of M. Michelant, in his edition of *Blancandin et L'Orgueilleuse d'Amour* (Paris, Librairie Tross, 1867), is right. But with regard to the prose versions he commits a very gross mistake. He believes the two only extant prose versions to be one and the same. After having given a description of the Brussels MS. he, referring to a short note dedicated to an unknown gentleman, says:—

'Nous crayons qu'il est ici question du Duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bel, qui à fait faire bon nombre de ces translations, notamment celles de Siperis, d'Hélène, d'Eric et Enite, que l'on trouve dans la même bibliothèque, bien que le second exemplaire de cette translation semble infirmer notre hypothèse. Ce dernier fait partie du fonds de Sorbonne N°. 466, petit in-folio sur papier, aux armes de Richelieu, de cent cinq feuillets à longues lignes, d'une écriture du xve siècle, qui paraît postérieure à l'autre MS. La table dont la première manque, contient en tout 54 chapitres sans division de livres; elle diffère de la précédente *bien que roman offre le même texte.*'

I really cannot conceive how the editor could venture to put forward such a fallacy. The prose MS. of the Brussels Library has

not the least connection with that of Paris. They are quite independent of each other, and differ not only in the Tables of Contents, but also in the text. The Brussels MS. is a brief abstract of the story,—as Michelant might have seen by the small number of leaves, —while the Paris prose version is a full rendering of the romance. Besides this, the former agrees with the poetic version as printed by M. Michelant, in every *name*, while the latter, or Paris MS., exhibits a most important alteration in the names of persons and places.

In the Brussels MS., as well as in Michelant's edition, Blanchardyn kills Rubion, the 'roy des Gaians,' and is sent by Alymodes to Salmandrie. During a storm he escapes, and comes to the shore of *Athens*. He presents himself to the king *Ruban*, who makes him 'senechal' of his army, against his enemy *Escamor de Beaudaire*.

This is quite different in the Paris MS., in which Blanchardyn is cast on the shore of *Prussia*, and comes to Marienburg. The king of Prussia is pleased with him, and appoints him (Blanchardyn) head-captain of his army. Meanwhile a wounded knight arrives with the news that the king of *Poland* has invaded Prussia. Blanchardyn, with Sadoyne, is sent against the Poles, and Blanchardyn unhorses the king, who gives himself up as a prisoner.

What induced the author of the Paris prose version to alter Athens into Marienburg? Probably he wanted a country better known to the people of that time as a scene of constant war, and in this respect his choice was very well made. After the Crusades to the Holy Sepulchre had lost their charms, the knights of England and France very often joined their colleagues of the Teutonic order, who were in a state of constant warfare with their heathen neighbours in Lettow (Lithuania), Ruce (Russia), and elsewhere. Compare Chaucer's description of the Knight:—

> 'At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne;
> Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bygonne,
> Abouen alle nacionns in *Pruce*.
> In Lettowe hadde he reysed, and in Ruce,
> No cristen man so ofte of his degre.—The *Prologue*, 51—55.
>
> Forthy who secheth loves grace,
> Where that these worthy women are,
> He may nought than him selve spare
> Upon his travail for to serve,
> * * * * * *

So that by londe and eke by ship
He mot travaile for worship,
And make many hastif rodes,
Somtime in *Pruse*, somtime in Rodes,
And some tyme into Tartarie.'
Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ii., 5 C.

I feel grateful to Lord Spencer and Mr. Christie-Miller for so kindly allowing their treasures to be used for this reproduction, and I thank Mr. Graves and the other Officers of the British Museum for the facilities they have afforded me. I am also indebted to Dr. Furnivall for adding side-notes and head-lines to the text.

Vienna, Nov. 14, 1889.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1888.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1888. CASH RECEIVED.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.		
To Balance		58 16 5
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1888—		
For Arrears	6 6 0	
,, Entrance Fees	7 7 0	
,, Subscriptions, 1888	95 11 0	
,, ,, in Advance	1 1 1	
		110 5 0
Excess on Cheques		0 2 0
For Sale of Transactions by Treasurer	7 0 0	
,, ,, Trübner & Co.	10 18 1	
		17 18 1
		187 1 6
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary		42 16 0
		£229 17 6

1888. CASH PAID.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.		
By Printing—Austin & Sons, Transactions, Abstracts, etc.		125 0 0
,, Binding		0 8 6
,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments		20 13 0
,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk (1887 and 88)		4 4 0
,, Treasurer's Postage, etc., including Dictionary		1 17 0
,, Bankers' Charges		0 4 2
,, Balance at Bankers (including Dictionary account)	42 14 0	
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	4 19 10	
		47 13 10
		200 0 6
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary		29 17 0
		£229 17 6

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APRIL 26, 1889.

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Jan. 1.						
To Balance				47	13	10
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To Sums received in 1889—						
For Arrears	3	3	0			
„ Entrance Fees	5	5	0			
„ Subscriptions, 1889	91	7	0			
„ „ in Advance.....	2	2	0			
				101	17	0
Special Donations (some further payments have been received since Dec. 31, and others are still expected)				107	2	0
Excess on Cheque.....				0	0	6
For Sale of Transactions by Treasurer ...	0	2	0			
„ „ Trübner & Co.	10	12	2			
				10	14	2
				267	7	6
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				16	2	0
				£283	9	6

1889. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—Austin & Sons (being the Balance due for Transactions, etc., and moiety of Ellis, Part V.).....				195	0	0
„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				16	15	0
„ Hon. Secretary's Clerk (1889)				2	2	0
„ Treasurer's Postage, etc., including the Dictionary.....				2	0	0
„ Bankers' Charges				0	0	6
„ Balance at Bankers' (including Dictionary account)	40	2	2			
„ „ in Treasurer's hands...	6	9	10			
				46	12	0
				262	9	6
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